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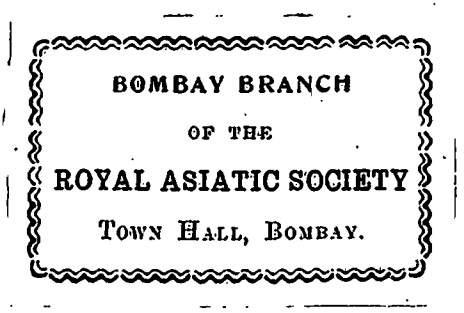


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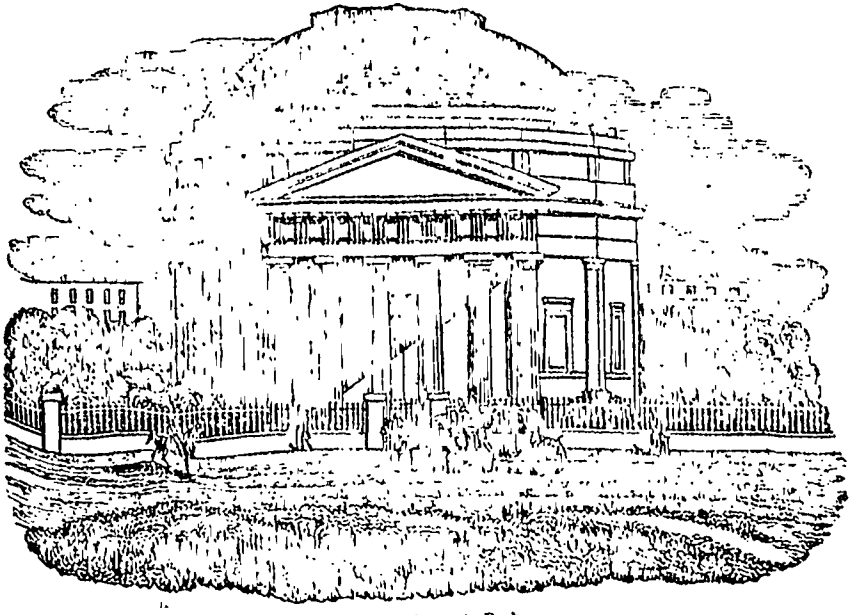

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# THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

*(Translated.)*

THE Writer of the following Journal of a Campaign, the most memorable and glorious in our military *fasti*, has no other motive in publishing it, than to unite together the facts, and afford a circumstantial narrative of them to those who are eager to be acquainted with the transactions of General Bonaparte. It is his wish to invite other General Officers to publish their Memoirs of their several Campaigns. Such Journals will be invaluable to the future Historian. For who can afford him such authentic materials as we who have served and acted in the Campaigns we relate? But let me express a hope that the Journal of the great Hero himself will appear. Cæsar has left us the memoirs which bear the title of his Commentaries: Why should not Bonaparte give us his? Does he not possess that other trait of resemblance to Cæsar,—to write as well as to command? Perhaps no person is so well qualified as himself, to record his own

transactions in appropriate language. He will compose with the strength and simplicity that characterise genius.

I have thought proper to terminate the Narrative of the Campaign, with the signing of the preliminaries of peace at Leoben, because, in fact, that transaction concluded the war against Austria, and because my own personal knowledge and participation go no further.

# ORIGINAL JOURNALS

OF THE

# Campaigns

OF

# *THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.*

## CAMPAIGN OF GENERAL BONAPARTE

### IN ITALY, 1796-7.

WHILST all the governments of Italy conspired to oppose the progress of the French, the timid and impotent prayers of a few enlightened natives invited the republic to carry her arms across the Alps. The neutrality of Genoa and Venice was merely the attitude of a weakness afraid to act, and the aristocracy of their senates was even more inimical than the cabinets of kings to the principles of liberty. Inaction was regarded as the means of safety; and they dreaded every kind of popular movement solely from a consciousness of their inability, in the moment of effervescence, to direct it at their will. The lately established neutrality of Tuscany was the effect of motives scarcely more generous or sincere; but it superadded the hope of becoming for a time the centre of all the commerce of Italy, if it could succeed in keeping on a friendly footing with France and England. All the other Italian powers had joined the coalition, and together possessed a formidable military force.

Notwithstanding the recent defeat of General De Vins, the Austrians had lost only that part of the sea coast of the Genoese territory which stretches from Savona to Voltri, and the facility of communicating with the English fleet,—an advantage, which though of but small importance, the British cabinet affected to estimate highly. The French had neglected to reap the benefits.

that might have been expected from their late victories; and the Emperor had time to reinforce his army, which he entrusted to the command of General Beaulieu.

The Austrian forces at the opening of the campaign amounted to - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 80,000
The King of Sardinia's army of the line - - - - - - 60,000
His militia armed and embodied - - - - - - - - - 30,000
The Pope had assembled - - - - - - - - - - - - 30,000
The King of Naples had - - - - - - - - - - - - 80,000

Of these 40,000 were assembled in two camps on his frontiers, while 2,400 of his cavalry joined the Austrians in Lombardy. The Duke of Parma, and particularly the Duke of Modena, supplied the coalition with money and provisions instead of troops, whom they could not, or durst not, furnish. Venice and Genoa were neither less perfidious, nor less liberal in their supplies. Thus Italy displayed an armed force of 280,000 men, ready to oppose the aggression of France.

Farther obstacles awaited the French on the other side of the mountains. They had to contend with the ardent heat and insalubrity of a climate, which had so often proved fatal to their countrymen. They had to encounter the opposition of a numerous and powerful clergy, and their influence over a people sunk in superstition, whom the ecclesiastical order had been assiduous in prejudicing against the French, and particularly against their opinions, more formidable still than their arms. It was, therefore, necessary, that the new Brennus should be as politic and sage as valorous. It was necessary, that he should know how to conquer, and when to pardon; and that he should be able to intoxicate his army with glory, and protect Italy from the avidity of troops condemned for two years to the most urgent privations, on the sterile rocks of the river of Genoa. France had need of another Cæsar, —and she found him in a young officer of artillery, of twenty-eight years of age. The directory of the French Republic named General Bonaparte to the supreme command of the army of Italy. They had recognized great military talents in the dispositions which he advised and executed, for the retaking of Toulon from the united armies of England and Spain; and since that time, he had rendered new services to the present constitution. The strength of the army of Italy did not exceed 56,000 men; and its supply in provisions and carriages was extremely defective. In such circumstances, an ordinary man would have felt himself paralized: Bonaparte beheld only, in this deficiency, the necessity of acting with dispatch,

and of success. "If we are vanquished," said he, "I shall have too much; if conquerors, we stand in need of nothing."

All the passes and heights of the Alps, which command the river of Genoa, were occupied by the Austrians and Piedmontese. The French had their right supported by Savona, and their left towards Montenotte; while two demi-brigades were considerably advanced in front of their right, at Voltri, six leagues from Savona, and three from Genoa. Uneasy at this neighbourhood, the Genoese, while they provided for the defence of their city on the side of Voltri, permitted Beaulieu's troops to pass without interruption towards Novi, Gavi, and the Bochetta, under the cannon of posts almost impregnable, and contented themselves with vain protestations against this violation of their territory, which, however, they secretly approved.

After some days spent in movements intended to deceive the French, Beaulieu, on the ninth of April, ordered ten thousand men to attack the post of Voltri. General Cervoni, with three thousand men, defended it with the usual intrepidity of the soldiers of liberty, and retreated during night, in the greatest order, and in sight of the enemy, to the church of Our Lady of Savona, in consequence of directions from Bonaparte, who covered the retreat with fifteen hundred men, posted, for that purpose, on the avenues of Sospello, and the heights of Verraggio. On the tenth, Beaulieu, at the head of fifteen thousand men, attacked and drove in all the posts which supported the French centre, and presented himself, at one o'clock of the day, before the redoubt of Montenotte, the last of their intrenchments. Notwithstanding repeated charges, this redoubt, which was defended by the Chief of Brigade Rampon, with fifteen hundred men, kept firm, and arrested the progress of the enemy. Rampon, by one of those impulses which characterize a brave soul formed for great actions, made his soldiers, in the midst of the fire, take an oath to perish in the redoubt, and, during the whole night, kept the enemy at the distance of pistol-shot. In the night-time, General Laharpe, with all the troops of the right, took post behind this redoubt. Bonaparte, followed by Generals Berthier and Massena, and the Commissioner Salicetti, brought up the troops of his centre and left, at one o'clock in the morning, by Altara, on the flank and rear of the Austrians. This manœuvre was to pave the way for victory, and decide the contest.

On the eleventh at day break, Beaulieu, who had received reinforcements, and Laharpe, attacked and charged each other with various successes, when Massena appeared, scattering death and terror on the flank and rear of the Austro-Sardinians, where

General Argenteau commanded. Soon after, the enemy's Generals, Roccavina and Argenteau, being grievously wounded increased the disorder, and the rout became complete. Fifteen hundred killed, two thousand five hundred prisoners, of whom sixty were officers, and several standards, signalised this victory. The Austrians were pursued; and the French made themselves masters of Carcara, which they reached on the twelfth, and also of Cairo, which the enemy were constrained to abandon.

If formerly it was unusual, that a battle should exceed the limits of one day, it was no less so, that a campaign should be, so to say, only a series of daily and perpetual contests. This new system of tactics appears to belong more peculiarly to General Bonaparte, who seems to have no taste for half-success, but to be indefatigable in following up the defeats he has given. It is an art of abridging war, which will force his enemies to oppose to him, in the same campaign, new armies in place of those he has destroyed.

The battle of Montenotte could not be decisive of the campaign. Beaulieu although beaten, was still able to send assistance from his right wing to the left of the Austro-Sardinian army. The trait of ability was to separate these two wings, and to keep the one in check, while defeating the other. But as that attempt must have been readily penetrated by both, the operation became consequently more difficult, and the glory of succeeding in it the greater, especially if effected by an army very inferior in number. Time was precious, and Bonaparte knew so. Removing, therefore, his head-quarters to Carcara on the twelfth, he directed Laharpe to advance to Sozello in order to menace the eight battalions of the enemy stationed there, and repair to the town of Cairo, on the day following, by a rapid and concealed march. Massena was ordered to gain the heights of Dego, at the same time that Generals Menard and Joubert occupied, the one the heights of Biestro, and the other the interesting position of St. Marguerite. This movement, following the battle of Montenotte, placed his army on the other side of the crest of the Alps, and on the declivities looking towards Italy. It was undoubtedly matter of glory to have scaled, in so short a space, those which looked towards the Mediterranean. The passage of the Alps might now be regarded as nearly cleared; and the rapidity with which it was effected is almost unparalleled.

On the thirteenth at day break, Augereau's division forced the defiles of Millesimo. Generals Menard and Joubert drove the enemy from all the neighbouring posts, and by a prompt and bold manœuvre surrounded a corps of fifteen hundred Austrian grena-

diers, commanded by Lieuteuant-General Provera, a knight of the Order of Maria Theresa. Provera, far from laying down his arms and surrendering prisoner of war, retired to the summit of the mountain of Cossaria, and intrenched himself in the ruins of an old castle extremely strong by its position. Augereau ordered his artillery to advance, and both Generals kept up a cannonade for several hours. Bonaparte, vexed at finding his march arrested by a handful of men, ordered Provera to be summoned to surrender, who requested to speak with the Commander-in-Chief; but a lively cannonade commencing on the right wing of the French prevented this, and he continued to treat with General Augereau for several hours. The conditions he asked being unreasonable, and night approaching, Augereau formed his men into four columns, and advanced against the castle. Joubert, a General estimable for his knowledge and military talents, entered the enemy's intrenchments with seven men, when, being wounded in the head, he was thrown on the ground, and his soldiers thinking him dead, the movement of his column relaxed; his wound, however, was not dangerous. The second column, commanded by General Banel, advanced in great silence, but this brave officer was killed at the foot of the enemy's intrenchments. The third column, under Adjutant-General Quenin, was in like manner disconcerted in its march, Quenin having fallen by a ball. Night approaching, during these transactions, gave reason to fear that the enemy would attempt to make their way sword in hand. Bonaparte, therefore, ordered all the battalions to unite, epaulments of casks to be formed, and howitzer batteries planted within half a musket-shot of the enemy.

At dawn of day on the fourteenth, the hostile armies faced each other. The French left under Augereau kept General Provera blockaded; while several of the enemy's regiments, and among others that of Belgiojoso, attempted to penetrate the centre of the French, but were vigorously repulsed by General Menard, who was then directed to fall back on the right wing. Before one o'clock at noon, Massena had extended his line beyond the enemy's left, which occupied the village of Dego with strong intrenchments and batteries. The light troops pushed forward as far as the road leading from Dego to Spino. General Laharpe advanced with his division in three close columns. The one on his left, commanded by General Causse, crossed the Bormida under the enemy's fire, with the water up to their middle, and attacked the right of the Austrian left wing. General Cervoni, at the head of the second column, also passed the Bormida, under the protection of one of

the batteries, and proceeded immediately against the enemy; while the third column, under Adjutant-General Boyer, turned a ravine, and cut off their retreat. All these movements, seconded by the intrepidity of the troops, and the talents of the Generals, accomplished the object in view. Coolness is the result of courage, and courage is the characteristic of Frenchmen. The enemy, surrounded on all sides, had not time to capitulate. While the French right made the necessary dispositions for attacking the Austrian left, General Provera, with the corps he commanded at Cossaria, surrendered prisoners of war. The troops spread on all sides, in pursuit of the enemy, and Laharpe, putting himself at the head of four squadrons of cavalry, followed them with vivacity. From seven to nine thousand of the hostile army were taken prisoners, and between two thousand and two thousand five hundred killed. Among the prisoners were a Lieutenant-General, twenty or thirty Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels, and several superior officers of engineers in the Emperor's service. Twenty-two pieces of cannon, with their waggons, &c. and fifteen standards, fell into the hands of the French.

This victory was the more important, as the supply of provisions and ammunition the French acquired by it, furnished them with the means of marching to new successes, and facilitated the necessary succours, which they could not, without extreme difficulty, transport across these high mountains. It also promised a speedy junction with the division of Serrurier, who guarded the banks of the Tanaro and the valley of Oneglia. By effecting this, the French General would augment his own force, while he had diminished that of the Austro-Sardinians by ten thousand men, forty pieces of cannon, and all their magazines. The natural difficulties of the country must have rendered this loss still more sensible to the enemy, who had now no other alternative, than to attempt some bold expedition, in order to retard the rapid progress of the French.

The army, fatigued with the battle so lately fought, had entirely given itself up to the security of victory, when, on the fifteenth at day-break, Beaulieu, with seven thousand Austrians, the flower of his army, attacked and carried the village of Dego. General Massena, as soon as he had formed part of his troops, advanced to oppose him, but was repulsed in three different attempts. General Causse was not more fortunate. Having rallied the ninety-ninth demi-brigade, he attacked the enemy, and was on the point of charging with the bayonet, when he fell, mortally wounded. In this condition he perceived Bonaparte, and, collecting his re-

maining strength, asked him if Dego was retaken—"The posts are ours," replied the General—"Then," said Causse, "*Vive la Republique!* I die content." The affair, however, was not yet decided, and it was already two o'clock of the afternoon. Bonaparte ordered the eighty-ninth demi-brigade to form in column under the command of General Victor, whilst Adjutant-General Lanus, rallying the eighth demi-brigade of light infantry, precipitated himself at their head on the enemy's left. His troops for a moment hesitated, but his intrepidity decided them, and these combined movements carried Dego. The cavalry completed the rout of the enemy, who left six hundred dead, and fourteen hundred prisoners.

During these operations, General Rusca made himself master of the post of San-Giovanni, which commands the valley of the Bormida. Augereau, having dislodged the enemy from the redoubts of Montezemo, opened a communication with the valley of the Tanaro, where Serrurier's division had already occupied, on the left of that river, and almost under Ceva, the posts of Batifolo, Bagnasco, and Nocetto. The retaking of Dego secured Bonaparte's right from any farther inquietude on the part of Beaulieu, thus separated from the Austro-Sardinian army, and also allowed him time to concert measures against this army, which occupied a strong intrenched camp under Ceva. He pushed forward to that place a strong reconnoitring party; and the consequence was, the carrying some of the enemy's posts, which rendered more certain the attack on their camp.

The activity, with which these measures were executed, cannot be too much remarked; and the French government seconded it by their just eulogies. Posterity will recognise, in the dispatches of the Directory to the Generals of the republic, the care they took in distributing this incense of glory, which is the most powerful stimulant of French ardour. In their letter to Bonaparte, the Directory expressed the satisfaction they felt in finding the choice they had made of him, to conduct the army of Italy to victory, justified by the laurels he had gained. "To-day, General," said they, "receive the tribute of national gratitude. Merit it more and more, and prove to Europe, that Beaulieu, by changing the field of battle, has not changed his opponent; that beaten in the north, he shall be constantly defeated by the brave army of Italy; and that, with such defenders, liberty shall triumph over the impotent efforts of the enemies of the republic."

To General Laharpe they wrote thus,—"The terror, with which you inspire the enemies of the republic, can alone equal

her gratitude, and the esteem due to your courage and your talents." And to the Chief of Brigade, Rampon,—"Intrepid soldier, votary of liberty, continue to serve her. May the oath, which you dictated to the brave soldiers you commanded in the redoubt of Montenotte, be occasionally repeated by all republicans, who are worthy to observe it; and may it serve to fortify in them the hatred of slavery, and the desire of vanquishing enemies who have renounced the insensate project of giving us chains. French valour will soon compel them to sue for peace; and you will have contributed to this by the trait of heroism, which does honour to your name."

The praise distributed by monarchs has not the zest of this: theirs is merely a compliment, while ours is a public homage and national eulogium. An army thus impelled, whose military constitution has so many advantages over that which kings can give, must acquire and preserve a vast superiority over the troops of the latter. Accordingly, the army of Italy evinced itself to be as indefatigable as its General was expeditious.

Augereau left Montezemo on the sixteenth, and attacked the redoubts which defended the approach to the intrenched camp of Ceva, and which were occupied by eight thousand Piedmontese. The columns commanded by Generals Bayrand and Joubert fought the whole day, and made themselves masters of most of these redoubts, when the enemy, who were on the point of being turned by Castellino, perceiving their danger, evacuated the intrenched camp during night. Serrurier entered the town of Ceva on the seventeenth, and invested the citadel, in which was a garrison of seven or eight hundred men; but the heavy artillery, not being able to keep pace with the rapid march of the troops in the mountains, had not yet arrived. The Piedmontese army took a position at the confluence of the Cursaglia and the Tanaro, with its right supported by Notre Dame de Vico, and its centre by the Bicoque. On the twentieth, Serrurier attacked their right by the village of St. Michael, and passing the bridge under the enemy's fire, compelled them, after three hours' fighting, to evacuate the village; but the Tanaro not being fordable, the division which was to attack their left, could harass them only by its riflemen. The hostile army being reinforced on its right, Serrurier was obliged to retreat; and at night both resumed their former stations. The enemy's position was formidable. Surrounded by two deep and impetuous rivers, they had cut down all the bridges, and garnished the banks with strong batteries.

Both armies spent the whole of the twenty-first in making dispositions, and in reciprocally seeking, by false manœuvres, to con-

ceal their real intentions. At two in the morning, Massena crossed the Tanaro near Ceva, and occupied the village of Lezegno; while Guieux and Fiorella, Generals of Brigade, made themselves masters of the bridge of the Torra. Bonaparte's object was to bear down on Mondovi, and compel the enemy to change the field of battle. But General Colli, fearing the issue of an engagement, which must have been decisive on so extended a line, set out, at two o'clock in the morning, in full retreat, abandoning all his artillery, and taking the road to Mondovi. At day-break, the two armies came in sight of each other, and the engagement began in the village of Vico. Guieux advanced on the left of Mondovi, while Generals Fiorella and Dammartin attacked and carried the redoubt, which covered the enemy's centre; upon this the Sardinian army abandoned the field of battle, and the same evening the French entered Mondovi. The enemy's loss amounted to eighteen hundred men, of whom thirteen hundred were prisoners: one General was killed, and three taken, besides four Colonels, eleven standards, and eight pieces of artillery.

After the battle of Mondovi, the Piedmontese crossed the Stura, and took a position between Coni and Cherasco. This last town is not only strong on account of its position at the confluence of the Stura and the Tanaro, but was also rendered formidable by a chain of bastions strongly palisaded and freized. The twenty-third was spent in passing the Elero, and in throwing new bridges across the Pesio. In the evening, the van-guard arrived at Carru; and on the day following, after some skirmishes of cavalry, the troops entered the town of Bena. General Serrurier marched with his division to La Trinité, and cannonaded the town of Fossano, the head quarters of General Colli, while Massena advanced against Cherasco. Bonaparte sent General Dujard, and his own Aid-de-camp Marmont, to reconnoitre the place, and plant howitzer batteries on purpose to beat down the palisades; but the enemy, after some discharges of their artillery, evacuated the town and repassed the Stura. The French took twenty-eight pieces of cannon, and very considerable magazines. This victory was of the greatest consequence; for, besides supporting their right wing, it furnished ample resources in point of subsistence. Next day the weather became very unfavourable, and it rained in torrents; the troops, however, were busily engaged in throwing bridges of boats across the Stura. Colli retired to Carignan in order to cover Turin, from which the republican army was only nine leagues distant. Fossano surrendered, and was taken possession of by Serrurier. General Augereau marched against Alba, which sur-

rendered. He was then ordered to throw several bridges of boats across the Tanaro at that town, to enable the army to pass the river, which is of considerable breadth and rapidity.

After the twenty-third, the King of Sardinia, reduced to the necessity of shutting himself up in Turin with the wreck of his army, and sustaining, as his last resource, a siege, which the inhabitants of that city might not perhaps have supported as he could have wished, felt that he behoved either to descend from a throne on the point of being overturned, or to throw himself on the clemency of the French republic. General Colli, Commander-in-Chief of his army, addressed a letter to Bonaparte, purporting, that being informed His Majesty had sent plenipotentiaries to Genoa to treat for peace, under the meditation of the Court of Spain, he was of opinion the interests of humanity required, that hostilities should be suspended on both sides, during the dependence of the negociation. He accordingly proposed an armistice, either unlimited or for a certain time, as the French General should think proper, with a view to prevent farther bloodshed.

To this letter Bonaparte replied, that the Executive Directory had reserved to itself the right of treating for peace. It was, therefore, necessary, that his Majesty's plenipotentiaries should repair to Paris, or wait at Genoa the arrival of those, whom the French government might send thither. He farther observed, that the military position of the two armies, rendered impossible every unqualified suspension of arms; and although, for his own part, he was convinced, that government was disposed to grant reasonable conditions of peace to His Majesty, yet he could not, on vague presumptions, arrest his march. There was, however, a way whereby General Colli might attain his purpose consistently with the true interests of his court, a way which would prevent an effusion of blood, useless, and therefore contrary to reason and the laws of war: and that was, to put into his possession two of the three fortresses of Coni, Alexandria, or Tortona. They could then wait, without further hostilities, the issue of negociations which might perhaps be protracted. He concluded with observing, that his proposition was moderate, and that the mutual interests of Piedmont and the French republic, induced him to desire earnestly to see the former preserved from the various misfortunes, which threatened it.

On the twenty-sixth, Bonaparte published an address to his army, from the head quarters at Cherasco. After enumerating their victories and their conquests, he remarked, that hitherto they had fought only for sterile rocks, rendered famous by their courage,

but useless to their country. Their arduous services now rivalled those of the conquering army of Holland and the Rhine. Destitute of every thing, they had supplied every thing; without cannon, they had gained battles; without bridges, they had crossed rivers; without shoes, they had performed forced marches; without brandy, and often without bread, they had spent the night in arms. Republican phalanxes were alone capable of suffering what they had experienced, and their grateful country would owe to them part of her prosperity. If the recovery of Toulon presaged the immortal campaign of 1793, their present victories augured a campaign still more glorious. The two armies, that but lately attacked them with audacity, now fled in terror before them; and the base men, who ridiculed their misery, and inwardly rejoiced at the triumph of the foe, were abashed, and trembled. It was, however, not to be dissembled, that they had effected nothing, while there remained any thing to be performed. Neither Turin nor Milan were as yet in their possession, and the ashes of the conquerors of the Tarquins were still trode on by the assassins of Basseville. At the commencement of the campaign, the army was destitute of every thing;—to-day they were abundantly supplied: the magazines taken from the enemy were numerous, and the heavy and field artillery had arrived. Their native land had a right to expect great things from them, and they would justify its expectation.

The greatest obstacles, continued the General, were now surmounted; but they had still battles to fight, cities to take, and rivers to pass. Was there one among them whose courage failed? Were there any who preferred to re-cross the peaks of the Appenines and the Alps, and patiently submit to the insults of a slavish soldiery? No,—such a one existed not among the conquerors of Montenotte, of Millesimo, of Dego, and of Mondovi. All burned to carry to afar the glory of the French nation; all were eager to humble those arrogant monarchs, who dared to meditate the enfettering France: all sought to dictate a glorious peace, that would indemnify their country for the immense sacrifices it had made; and every one wished, on returning to his native village, to be able to assert with pride, that he *was of the conquering army of Italy.* This conquest he promised, but on a condition it was necessary they should swear to fulfil; and that condition was,—to respect the people they should liberate, and repress the pillage committed by miscreants incited by the enemy. Without the observance of this, the republican army would not be the deliverers of the people, but their scourges; they would not be the honour of the French nation, but be disclaimed by their country. Their

victories, their courage, their success, and the blood of their brethren who had fallen in battle,—all would be lost,—even honour and glory. As to himself, and the Generals enjoying the confidence of the troops, they would blush to command an army without discipline or restraint and which recognized no law but that of force. Invested with the national authority, and rendered strong by justice and the laws, he knew how to compel the few who were destitute of courage and sentiment, to respect the dictates of humanity and honour, should they dare to trample them under foot. He would not suffer brigands to sully the laurels of the army of Italy, but would make every regulation be rigorously executed. Marauders would be shot without pity, and already some had fallen victims to that odious crime. He remarked, with pleasure, the eagerness and good conduct, which the brave soldiers had displayed in the execution of their duty. To the inhabitants of Italy he proclaimed, that the French army came to break their chains; and that the French people were the friends of all nations. He invited them to approach with confidence, declaring that their property, religion, and usages, would be respected; that the troops, in making war, would prove a generous enemy; and that they were the foes of the tyrants only who enslaved Italy.

We have already seen, that notwithstanding the overtures of General Colli, Bonaparte did not intermit his operations one moment, and that his position, on the twenty-seventh, enabled him to attempt more decisive expeditions. The proposition of a peace, the conditions of which his success entitled him to dictate, did not lull his prudence asleep. On the twenty-sixth, he received a second dispatch from General Colli. It bore, that he had communicated to the Court of Sardinia the French General's letter, written in answer to that notifying the appointment of a Plenipotentiary, on the part of the King, for making overtures of peace, and inviting him, while waiting the result, to spare the effusion of human blood by a suspension of arms. He was now authorised by His Majesty to inform the Commander-in-Chief, that the French minister at Genoa, to whom the Plenipotentiary of the King had addressed himself on the subject of a peace, had declared, that no person there was vested with authority to enter on such negociation, but that it was necessary to apply to the Executive Directory at Paris, who alone possessed that prerogative. The Plenipotentiary, therefore, had directed his ulterior proceedings to that city, in order to effect his object. It was hoped, that by these means, which could not be employed without necessarily occasioning some delay,

the wishful conclusion of the salutary work of peace between the two powers might be attained. Always desirous to prevent, on both sides, the various calamities which hostilities occasion, the King had not hesitated to give his consent to the proposed suspension of arms, which the French General expressed himself disposed to accept under certain conditions; and agreed that it should be settled without delay. His Majesty had, accordingly, ordered him to declare, that he would consent to put into General Bonaparte's possession, two of his fortresses, Coni and Tortona, as was demanded, during the dependence of the ensuing negociation, and according to the mode which should be concerted. All hostilities were, therefore, to cease, from that moment, until the issue of the negociation; and if, owing to the difficulties which might arise from the position of the allied army, His Majesty should not be able to put the French in possession of Tortona, he had resolved to offer, in place of that town, the fortress of Desmont. These two places excepted, things were to remain *in statu quo*, as to what regarded the countries occupied by the respective armies, without either being permitted to pass the line fixed by agreement, and as should be more specifically settled between them.

On the twenty-ninth, the French were put in possession of Coni, and an order given for their occupying Tortona; and, on the thirtieth, the citadel of Ceva was in like manner given up to them. These fortresses were the indispensible guarantees of the King's fidelity in observing the conditions of the armistice, and prognosticated the terms of peace, which the French republic was to grant him. But the taking possession of them did not hinder Bonaparte from concerting measures against Beaulieu, who fled towards Alexandria, to seize on which he displayed some eagerness, although his sovereign was the ally of Sardinia. The Piedmontese Commandant, divining his perfidious intentions, parried them with address, and saved the Austrians from the disgrace and odium of committing a treason against their ally. The French columns followed the Imperial General in his retreat; and he thought proper, in order to cover the Milanese, to cross the Po at Valenza, which was occupied by a body of Neapolitan cavalry.

In less than fifteen days Bonaparte had defeated two armies, and detached from the coalition against France, one of those sovereigns who had been the first to join it, and evinced himself to be the most active enemy of the republic. This prince, whose court had been the asylum of the brothers of Louis XVI, and the focus of the intrigues of the emigrants;—this prince, who had lately beheld his troops in Toulon, and in the midst of Provence, which,

with Dauphiny and the Lyonese, he flattered himself he should incorporate with his own dominions;—this prince, to whom Pitt had been prodigal of gold, and to whom the treaties of Pavia and Pilnitz had promised so vast an aggrandisement, paid in his old age for the temerity of his ambition, by the loss of the greater portion of his territories, and could indulge a hope of preserving the remainder, only as a monument of the generosity of his conquerors.

Since the twenty-ninth, the day after signing the armistice, the French army had been in motion, and marched towards the Po. Massena reached Alexandria in time to seize on the magazines, which the Austrians, unable to carry off with the readiness they abandoned their positions, had sold to the town. On the sixth of May, the army of Italy took possession of Tortona, the new fortifications of which had cost the King of Sardinia upwards of fifteen millions of livres. They found in this town more than one hundred pieces of brass cannon, immense stores, and casemates for three thousand men. Ceva and Coni were in a state of defence equally respectable, and liberally provisioned. Thus the war supported itself, and the successes of the French furnished the means of attaining new conquests.

The court of Turin had given orders to the Neapolitan troops to retire to Valenza; and the Piedmontese having afterwards entered it, the Neapolitans crossed the Po, and followed Beaulieu. This river presented great obstacles to the progress of the French, but every thing depended on the excellence of the disposition, which the Imperial army might take to dispute their passing it. The order given the Neapolitans to evacuate Valenza, the reservation stipulated in the fourth article of the armistice, which granted to the French the liberty of crossing the Po at that town, and the publicity of all these measures, could not fail to persuade Beaulieu, that this was the place chosen for effecting a passage. But the more the French General affected to carry that design into execution, the less credit ought the former to have given it. Formerly he had hastened to Genoa, when the French seemed to menace it from Voltri; and he now persuaded himself, that they meant to march to Milan by way of Valenza. He accordingly intrenched himself between the Tesino and the Sessia, the whole length of the Cogna and the Tredoppio, forgetting that the French, being masters of Tortona, could select their passage between the Adda and the Tesino. Bonaparte's object was to deceive him, and conceal his real movements; and the superior skill of the French General was displayed in effecting it. There are decisive moments, in which it is necessary, that genius should divine genius; this qua-

lification characterised Turenne and Montecuculi; but Beaulieu did not penetrate the designs of Bonaparte.

The reader will no doubt wish to learn, what spirit animated and conducted this army with such rapidity to daily victories. It will perhaps be imagined, that, to secure its attachment, and compensate for the long privations it had supported with such magnanimity, the restraint of discipline had been relaxed. No :—discipline was strengthened by the character and conduct of the army, and gave the republican brigades an energy, and a contempt of rapine,—dispositions which, while they rendered the French more formidable, conciliated the inhabitants of the country, who had expected depredations, but were astonished on finding that they had suffered only from their defenders. This observance of strict discipline was enforced by severe sentences. The effect which these produced, appears from an address to his fellow-soldiers by the citizen Latouche, a miner belonging to the fifth battalion, the moment before he was shot for the crime of marauding.—"You see, comrades," said he, "the fate awaiting me!—and you, commander of the detachment, if you had prohibited me from going to maraud, I would not have been condemned to the death I am about to suffer. Adieu, comrades, adieu. Latouche, with tears in his eyes, regrets only, in quitting life, that he has not fallen in defence of his country. His only consolation is in the hope, that his death will serve as an example to its defenders." This was the language of heroism; and an army to which sentiments so noble and energetic were familiar, easily proved itself to be invincible.

After various marches, and several military and diplomatic transactions, calculated to induce the General of the Austrian army to believe, that Bonaparte wished to cross the Po at Valenza, the latter hastened, by a forced march, to Castel San Giovanni, on the sixth, with five thousand grenadiers, and fifteen hundred horse. At night, Andreossi, chief of battalion of artillery, and Adjutant-General Frontin, with a hundred dragoons, reconnoitred the Po as far as Placenza, and seized five boats loaded with rice, on board of which were some officers, five hundred sick, and all the army medicines. On the seventh, Bonaparte reached the Po opposite Placenza. Two squadrons of hussars, posted on the other side of the river, appeared determined to dispute the passage; but the French troops, throwing themselves into boats, landed on the other side, and, after a few musket-shots, the enemy's cavalry retired. The divisions of the army, which had been drawn up *en echelons* at different distances, hastened their march the moment they learned the nature of the movement, and passed the river in the

course of the day. Meanwhile Beaulieu, informed of these occurrences, was convinced, but when too late, of the inutility of his intrenchments on the Tesino, and his redoubts at Pavia; and that the French republicans were not so inept as Francis I. He ordered a body of six thousand infantry, and two thousand horse, to charge the French troops, and oppose their landing, or to attack them before they had formed; but he calculated wrong.

Bonaparte learned on the eighth, that a division of the enemy was near. He accordingly advanced, and found them intrenched in the village of Fombio, with twenty pieces of cannon. The General of Brigade, Dallemagne, with the grenadiers, attacked their right, while Adjutant-General Lanus did the same on the causeway, and the Chief of Brigade, Lasnes, on the left. After a lively cannonade, and a spirited resistance, the Austrians began to retreat. They were pursued as far as the Adda, and lost part of their baggage, 300 horses, and 500 men killed or taken prisoners, among whom were several officers. In the mean time, another body of Imperialists, consisting of 5,000 men, who were at Casal, set out at four o'clock in the afternoon, to succour the corps at Fombio, and having reached Codogna, the head-quarters of General Laharpe, at two in the morning, sent out their light troops, who drove in the French videttes. Laharpe, having mounted his horse on purpose to reconoitre, ordered a demi-brigade to advance, when the enemy were beat back and disappeared; but unfortunately this General was killed by a ball. He was an intrepid soldier, a severe disciplinarian, an excellent officer, and strongly attached to the republic. General Berthier repaired immediately to Codogna, pursued the enemy, and took Casal, with a vast quantity of baggage. The passage of the Po was a most essential operation, as, in several places, that river could not have been passed in two months. The Chief of Brigade, Lasnes, particularly distinguished himself on this occasion. He was the first who leaped on shore. At the head of a single battalion of grenadiers, he attacked a body of between seven and eight thousand Austrians at Fombio, and having driven them from that post, pursued them for ten miles, and with his grenadiers followed their cavalry at full gallop.

Every day was rendered remarkable by engagements or negociations. On the ninth, in the same town of Placenza, which had witnessed the rapid passage of the large river that washes its walls, the Infant Duke of Parma, its sovereign, signed an armistice, the conditions of which were dictated by Bonaparte.* In his dis-

* SUSPENSION OF ARMS

*Concluded between the French Army in Italy, and the Duke of Parma and Placenza, by General Bonaparte, Commander of the French Army, and M. M.*

patches relative to this transaction, he intimated to the Directory his intention of sending, as soon as possible, the finest pictures of Corregio, and among others, a St. Jerome, said to be his masterpiece.—" I confess," observed the General, "this saint has chosen an unlucky moment to arrive at Paris; but I hope you will grant him the honours of the museum." He concluded with requesting the Directory to send some eminent artists, who might charge themselves with selecting the rare articles worthy of being transmitted to Paris, and superintend their conveyance.

The route to Milan was now open to the French, but it was not secure until they had driven the Austrians from the banks of the Adda. Bonaparte had disposed the march of his divisions in such a manner, that in less than three hours he could unite them in any one point, where he might hope to bring the enemy to a general engagement. But Beaulieu had already placed the Adda between himself and the French, and waited them in order of battle at the end of a bridge one hundred toises in length, which he had not time to break down, or where he flattered himself with being able to arrest their progress, by covering it with a numerous artillery. This bridge, now become so celebrated, and to pass which was even a bolder undertaking than crossing the Po, lay at the town of Lodi. In front of it Beaulieu had left a battalion of Nadasti, and two squadrons of cavalry, who, being driven back by the French,

*the Marquis Antonio Pallavicini, and Philioppo della Rosa, Plenipotentiaries of the Duke of Parma, under the mediation of M. the Count of Valdeparaiso, Minister of Spain at Parma.*

ARTICLE I.—There shall be a suspension of arms between the army of the French Republic and the Duke of Parma, till a treaty of peace be concluded between the two States. The Duke of Parma shall send Plenipotentiaries to the Executive Directory at Paris.

II.—The Duke of Parma shall pay a military contribution of two million of livres, French money, either in bills of exchange on Genoa, in specie, or in bullion: Five hundred thousand livres shall be paid in five days, and the rest in the following decade.

III.—He shall furnish twelve hundred draught horses with their harness; four hundred dragoon horses, with their harness; and one hundred saddle horses, for the superior officers of the army.

IV.—He shall give up twenty paintings, to be chosen by the General-in-Chief, from among those now in the Duchy.

V.—He shall, within the space of fifteen days, lodge within the army magazines, at Tortona, ten thousand quintals of wheat, and five thousand of oats, and place two thousand oxen at the disposal of the Commissary-in-Chief, for the use of the army.

VI.—In consideration of the preceding contribution, the dominions of the Duke of Parma shall be considered as neutral states, until the conclusion of the negociation about to be opened at Paris.

threw themselves into Lodi, and, after traversing the town, joined the main body of their army. It was at the head of this bridge, on the side next the city, that Bonaparte was to plant, under a shower of grape-shot, two pieces of cannon, in order to prevent the enemy from breaking it down, whilst, by his orders, a column of heroes formed, which, by an astonishing feat of arms, was to carry this new pass of Thermopylæ.

The French head-quarters arrived at Casal on the tenth, and the advanced guard encountered the enemy, who defended the approaches to Lodi. Bonaparte ordered all the cavalry to mount, and carry along with them four pieces of light artillery, drawn by the carriage-horses of the nobles of Placenza, while General Augereau's division set out from Borghetto, and that of Massena from Casal. During this, the van-guard drove in all the out-posts of the Imperialists, and took one piece of cannon. They entered Lodi in pursuit of the enemy, who had already crossed the Adda by the bridge, the passage of which was defended by thirty pieces of heavy cannon, and the whole of Beaulieu's army ranged in order of battle. Bonaparte having directed a battery to be formed of all his artillery, a cannonade commenced, and was continued for several hours with great vivacity. As the troops arrived, they formed in close column, with the second battalion of carabiniers at their head, followed by all the grenadier battalions at a charge-step, amidst reiterated acclamations of *Vive la Republique.* They presented themselves at the bridge; but the Austrians kept up so powerful a fire, that the head of the column appeared to hesitate. A single moment of hesitation would have ruined all. Sensible of this, Generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, Dallemagne, the Chief-of-Brigade Lasnes, and the Chief-of-Battalion Dupat, hastened to the head of the column, and, precipitating themselves on the enemy, decided the wavering fortune of the day. The whole line of artillery was instantly carried, Beaulieu's order of battle broken, and his army totally defeated. Generals Rusca, Augereau, and Bayrand, crossed as soon as their divisions arrived, and completed the victory. The horse passed the Adda at a ford; but, as it was a very bad one, they experienced much delay, which impeded their operations. To protect the retreat of their infantry, the Austrian cavalry repeatedly charged the French; but the approach of night, and the extreme fatigue of the troops, several of whom had marched upwards of ten leagues in the course of the day, did not allow the latter to extend the pursuit.

In this action the Imperialists lost twenty pieces of cannon, and between two and three thousand killed, wounded, and taken pri-

soners. Beaulieu fled with the wreck of his army, and traversed the territories of Venice in great haste, several of the towns shutting their gates against him. Bonaparte, in his dispatches to the Directory, after giving a narrative of the battle, observes, that although, since the commencement of the campaign, the French had been engaged in very warm contests, and it was perhaps necessary the army of the republic should sometimes suffer for its audacity, none approached the passage of the bridge of Lodi. "If we have lost but a few," says he, "we owe it to the promptitude of execution, and the sudden effect produced on the hostile army, by the formidable mass and tremendous fire of this invincible column."

After the engagement of Fombio, the French pursued the Austrians as far as Pizzighitone; but the Adda which covered that place, retarded its capture, as the troops were destitute of the necessary means to cross the river. Beaulieu, however, who, after the battle of Lodi, fled towards Mantua, could save neither Pizzighitone nor Cremona. The French invested the first of these places on the eleventh, and entering it on the twelfth, after a brisk cannonade, took about four hundred prisoners. Cremona surrendered to the victors, without attempting an useless resistance. The vanguard entered Milan on the fifteenth, having received on their march the submission of Pavia, where they found almost all the magazines of the Imperial army. Lombardy might now be regarded as completely conquered; for although the castle of Milan still held out, the three-coloured flag floated from the extremity of the lake of Como, and the frontiers of the country of the Grisons, as far as the gates of Parma. Such rapid success, and so many engagements and victories, in so short a space of time, rendered some days of repose necessary to an army, fatigued with a month of constant marches and triumphs.

Twenty-one standards, monuments of the courage of the brave army of Italy, and of the defeats of the Austrians and Piedmontese, had been already transmitted to Paris, and presented in its name to the Executive Directory. These trophies were received in a public sitting, amidst the acclamations of *Vive la Republique*; and, the very day on which Bonaparte entered Milan, the ambassadors of the King of Sardinia signed, at Paris, a definitive treaty of peace between that sovereign and France. It has seldom been paralleled; and, as it is solely to be ascribed to the influence of the army of Italy on diplomatic transactions, it may with propriety be inserted in the narrative of the campaign.—By the first article it was stipulated, that there should be peace, amity, and good

neighbourhood, between the French Republic and His Majesty, and that all hostilities should cease between them. The King revoked all adhesion, consent, and accession, open or secret, to the coalition armed against France, and to any treaty of alliance, offensive or defensive, concluded with any power against her. He engaged not to furnish a contingent, in men or in money, to any state at war with the republic; and renounced, in her favour, all right he could pretend to over Savoy, the counties of Nice, Tenda, and Beuil. The limits of his states, and those of the departments of the republic, were fixed by a line drawn through the most advanced points on the side of Piedmont, the summits and the *plateaux** of the mountains, and places particularly mentioned in the treaty, as well as the intermediary summits and *plateaux*.

His majesty engaged not to permit the emigrants, or persons exiled from France, to reside in his states; but he might retain in his service, the emigrants from the departments of Mont Blanc and the Maritime Alps, so long as they gave no occasion of complaint, by enterprizes or manœuvres tending to endanger the internal safety of the republic. He renounced all claim of restitution or plea, to which he might pretend against the republic, for causes anterior to the present treaty. The seventh article bore, that there should be immediately concluded, between the two powers, a treaty of commerce, on an equitable basis, and such as might assure to France, advantages at least equal to those enjoyed by the most favoured nations in the states of the King; and, in the mean time, all commercial communications and relations were to be re-established. He obliged himself to grant a full and complete amnesty to such of his subjects as had been prosecuted for their political opinions. All processes commenced on this head, as well as the judgments pronounced in them, were annulled; and all property, or the value thereof, if sold, was to be restored without delay, the proprietors being also allowed to dispose of it, and to return and reside in the King's dominions, or to withdraw from them at pleasure. The contracting parties engaged to remove the sequestration of effects, revenues, or property, seized, confiscated, or sold, belonging to the citizens or subjects of either power, on account of the war, and to admit them respectively to the legal exercise of the rights appertaining to them. All prisoners taken on both sides were to be given up; and neither of the two powers were to grant a passage through their territories to troops hostile to the other.

Besides the fortresses of Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, and the territory occupied by the troops of the republic, or which they might

* The flattened tops or tables of mountains.

have occasion to possess, they were to occupy the fortresses of Exiles, L'Assietta, Suza, La Brunetta, castle Dauphin, and Alexandria; for which last place Valenza was to be substituted, if the French General preferred it. But it was stipulated, that these places and territories should be restored immediately on the conclusion of the treaty of commerce between the republic and the King, the general peace and the establishment of the frontier line; and that they should again return under the civil government of His Majesty, but continue liable to the levy of military contributions and prestations in provisions and forage, which had been or might be exacted, as necessary for the French army. It was arranged by the fifteenth article, that the fortifications of Exiles, La Brunetta, and Suza, and the intrenchments formed above that town, should be demolished and destroyed at the expence of His Majesty, in presence of commissaries named by the Executive Directory for that purpose; and that he should not erect or repair any fortifications on that part of the frontier. The artillery of the places so occupied, and whose demolition was not stipulated by the treaty, might be employed in the service of the republic; but were to be restored with the places themselves, and, at the same period. Warlike stores and provisions found in them might, however, be applied to the use of the army of the republic, without any demand of repetition. The French troops were to have free passage in the states of the King, both in marching into the interior of Italy, and in returning. He agreed to accept the mediation of France, to determine definitively the differences long subsisting between him and the republic of Genoa, and to decide on their respective pretensions. The Batavian republic was comprehended in the present treaty; and peace and amity were to be re-established between it and His Majesty, as before the commencement of the war. In the last article, the King consented to disavow, by his minister at Paris, the treatment given to the last ambassador of France. It is asserted, that, independent of the stipulations expressed in the fifteenth article, there were some secret conditions, and, among others, the demolition of fortresses not mentioned in the treaty.

If the armies seconded the efforts of government in forcing the coalesced powers to consent to peace, the government did not neglect to foster their patriotic spirit, which lightened the fatigues of so active and obstinate a war. Convinced that, in a republic, festivals form a kind of lever, calculated to move and direct opinions, they decreed the celebration of a *Fete des Victoires* (Festival of Victories) on the twenty-ninth of May, and it was accordingly observed at Paris in the following manner.

At ten in the morning a discharge of artillery announced the festival, which was to commence at noon in the *Champ-de-Mars*. In the centre of the field a statue of Liberty was placed, decorated with various military trophies, having one hand resting on the constitutional act, and in the other holding a baton surmounted with the bonnet of William Tell. A platform, on which the statue was fixed, was elevated twelve feet on a diameter of thirty toises, and was approached by four steps, each sixty feet in length. Its circumference was ornamented with fourteen trees, from which were suspended the trophies and standards of fourteen armies, having their names inscribed on shields placed at regular distances in front of the trees. The intervening spaces were filled with military ensigns, fastened together with garlands in form of festoons. Behind the statue of Liberty rose a large tree, from which were suspended, as trophies, the standards taken from the enemy, all united by garlands of flowers. In front of the statue an altar was erected, and on it were deposited crowns of oak and of laurel, which the Executive Directory, who occupied that station, were to distribute in name of the gratitude of the country. The constituted authorities took their stations on the mount raised in the midst of the *Champ-de-Mars*. An immense crowd covered the extensive slope which runs round the field, and a cordon of the national guards of Paris garnished the whole extent of the circle. Infantry and cavalry were ranged in order of battle in this inclosure, and a double line of troops extended from the Military School *(Ecole Militaire)* to the steps of the mount facing them.

A deputation of the constituted authorities proceeded to the Military School, whither the Directory had repaired. Soon after this the latter appeared, preceded by the ministers, the diplomatic body, the deputation of the constituted authorities, a vast number of military on horseback, and their own guard, the whole train marching in great state to the sound of military music. They were stationed in front of the statue of Liberty, while the ministers and diplomatic corps took their places, as had been previously concerted. The national guards, on duty, divided into fourteen bodies representing the fourteen armies, carried each a distinctive standard.

A certain number of invalid veterans, or wounded soldiers, were added to each of these corps, and care was taken to place them in the body representing the army to which they originally belonged. These wounded soldiers or veterans, conducted by officers, and accompanied with the colours of their respective armies, were to present themselves to the Directory, who placed crowns on their standards. When all had taken their proper stations, the conser-

vatory of music performed a military symphony. A profound silence ensued, during which the Secretary-General read the decree, fixing the celebration of the festival, and pointing out its motive.

After the decree was read, the Citizen Carnot, President of the Executive Directory, delivered an impressive and appropriate speech. "At this moment," said he, "a great people are assembled for the purpose of expressing their gratitude to the virtuous citizens, who have merited it. How agreeable to discharge this task! What pleasure to render you this homage, you to whom your country is indebted for its safety, its glory, and the basis of its prosperity! you, courageous philosophers, to whom France owes her political regeneration, and whose writings have prepared the revolution, filed off the chains of slavery, and dissipated the fury of fanaticism; —you, citizens, whose intrepid arms have effected this happy revolution, founded the republic, and struggled for seven years against crime and ambition, royalism and anarchy;—you, in fine, who labour to render France happy and flourishing, who render her illustrious by your talents, and who enrich her by your discoveries;—receive the solemn testimony of national gratitude; —receive it above all, ye republican armies,—you, whose glory and success fill every soul. It is you, who have defended us against ten coalesced Kings; who have chased them from our territory, and carried into theirs the scourges of war. You have not vanquished men only,—you have surmounted all the obstacles of nature; you have triumphed over fatigue, hunger, and the wintry storms.

"What a spectacle to nations, and what a dreadful lesson to the enemies of liberty! A new-born republic arms her children to protect her independence. Nothing can restrain their impetuosity; —crossing rivers, forcing intrenchments, and clambering over rocks. *Here*, after innumerable victories, they extend our limits as far as the barriers which nature has assigned us, and pursuing, on the ice, the wrecks of three armies, have made an oppressed, and hostile nation, a free, and an allied people. *There*, they have exterminated the hordes of traitors and robbers vomited forth by England, punished the guilty leaders, and restored to the republic brethren who have been too long misled. *Here*, clearing the Pyrenees, they precipitate themselves from their summit, overturn every thing opposing their impetuous ardour, and are only arrested in their career by an honourable peace. *There*, scaling the Alps and the Appenines, they shoot across the Po and the Adda. The ardour of the solier is seconded by the genius and valour of his com-

manders. . They conceive with profound wisdom, and execute with energy; . . . sometimes arranging their forces with coolness, and sometimes precipitating themselves into the midst of dangers, at the head of their brethren in arms.

"Would that I could here unrol the immense and glorious tablet of their victories!—That I could name our intrepid defenders! —What a number of sublime images, and beloved names, crowd upon my remembrance! . . . . . Immortal warriors, posterity will refuse to credit the multitude of your triumphs; but, for us, we feel conscious of their reality. Do we not see, even in this enclosure, part of these brave defenders? Victorious over the external enemies of the state, they are come to repress its internal foes, and maintain, in the interior, the republic which they have made to be respected abroad. Do we not also see these venerable warriors grown old in arms, and those whom honourable wounds force to a premature repose, now seeking an asylum here?—With what pleasure do our eyes rest on this interesting union? With what agreeable emotion do we contemplate their victorious brows!— And why can we only recal you to our recollection, ye heroes, who have perished for liberty?—you shall at least live for ever in our hearts; your children shall be dear to us; the republic will discharge towards them the debts it owes to you, and will now pay its first tribute, by proclaiming your glory and its gratitude.

"Republican armies, represented in this circle by a portion of yourselves; invincible phalanxes, whose trophies I perceive on every side, and from which I anticipate new success, advance and receive the triumphal crowns, which the French people enjoin me to place on your standards.—And you, Frenchmen, whom some endeavour to mislead, be impressed with this interesting scene. Shall our defenders have triumphed in vain? Do you wish that divisions and commotions should destroy the fruits of their exploits?—It becomes you, by my voice, this day to abjure your hatred; it is for all that their blood has flowed; do not, therefore, show yourselves ungrateful on the day of retribution."

No spectacle could be more splendid or interesting than this. At the same moment, two ranks of those vigorous athletics of liberty, the brave grenadiers, who have so often carried disorder and death to the centre of the enemy's battalions, were seen ascending by the two lateral steps of the raised terrace, and in the midst of them the honourable victims of war, whose mutilated limbs attested their courage. Having gained the summit of the elevation or terrace, and advanced to the foot of the statue of Liberty, each of the deputations received a standard from the Pre-

sident of the Directory, and, during this distribution, the music performed a hymn to victory. Continual discharges of artillery accompanied the ceremony, and were repeated at the moment the standards reached the detachments that represented the fourteen armies. After this another spectacle, not less interesting, attracted general attention. The troops garnishing the *Champ-de-Mars*, quitted their station on the side of the river to pass the *Ecole Militaire;* and, having formed in order of battle, performed various evolutions, with a precision which excited the joy and admiration of the spectators. Then advancing in front of the statue of Liberty, they again sent deputations, accompanied with their colours and wounded soldiers, to the Directory. The Members fixed crowns of oak and laurel on the standards, and placed others on the heads of the wounded men. During this, the music executed a second hymn to victory, and a war-song, amidst repeated acclamations of *Vive la Republique.* A general discharge of artillery announced the conclusion of the ceremony, and the departure of the Directory, who returned with the retinue and pomp they had arrived. Immediately, numerous orchestras crowded the *Champ-de-Mars*, the people formed themselves into dancing parties, and the rest of the day was spent in mirth and uninterrupted festivity.

While these songs resounded on the banks of the Seine, Bonaparte, faithful to his plan of activity, made dispositions for attacking the castle of Milan, prepared to pursue the remains of the Austrian army, and meditated an attack on the dominions of Rome and Naples. On the twentieth, he published an energetic address to his army. "Soldiers," said he, "you have precipitated yourselves like a torrent from the summit of the Appenines; you have driven back and dispersed all who opposed your march. —Piedmont, liberated from Austrian tyranny, has yielded to her natural sentiments of peace and amity towards France. Milan is yours, and the republican flag floats throughout Lombardy, while the Dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political existence solely to your generosity.—The army which so haughtily menaced you, finds no barrier to secure it from your courage. The Po, the Tesino, and the Adda, have been unable to arrest your progress for a single day. These boasted ramparts of Italy proved insufficient;—you have surmounted them as rapidly as you cleared the Appenines. So much success has diffused joy through the bosom of your country; and your representatives have decreed, in honour of your victories, the celebration of a festival in all the communes of the republic. There, your fathers, your mothers, your wives, your sisters, and your sweethearts, rejoice in your

successes, and boast, with pride, of being related to you.—Yes, soldiers, you have performed much; . . . but remains there nothing more for you to effect? Shall it be said of us, that we knew how to conquer, but knew not how to profit by victory? Shall posterity reproach us with having found Capua in Lombardy? . . . But I already see you rushing to arms; an unmanly repose fatigues you, and the days lost to glory are lost to your happiness.

"Well! let us set out; we still have forced marches to perform, enemies to conquer, laurels to gather, and injuries to avenge. Let those tremble who have wetted the poignards of civil war in France, and have cowardly assassinated our ministers, and burned our ships at Toulon; . . . the hour of vengeance has arrived. But let the people be tranquil; we are the friends of all nations, and more particularly of the descendents of the Brutuses, the Scipios, and the illustrious persons whom we have chosen as models. To restore the Capitol, to replace with honour the statues of the heroes who rendered it renowned, and to rouse the Roman people, become torpid by so many ages of slavery,—such will be the fruit of your victories. They will form an epoch to posterity, and you will have the immortal glory of renovating the fairest portion of Europe. The French nation, free, and respected by all the world, will give to Europe a glorious peace, that will indemnify them for the numerous sacrifices they have made for these six years past. You will then return to your homes; and your fellow-citizens, when pointing to you will say,—He was of the Army of Italy."

One of his columns, on approaching Modena, had already put to flight the sovereign of that country, whose sole heiress, having espoused the Archduke, Governor of Milan, father of Francis II. and brother of the two last Emperors, must have annexed these countries to the dominions of the House of Austria. This Hercules III, Duke of Modena, as little worthy of his baptismal name as of his family name of Est, which others had ennobled, had retired to Venice, whither he carried along with him a box containing twenty-three millions in sequins, which he regarded as a sufficient indemnity for the loss of his crown. Noted for the most sordid avarice, he had, previous to this occurrence, deposited elsewhere twenty millions. It was, however, the only vice wherewith this Prince could be reproached, and the only injury he did to his country, which he governed otherwise with mildness. But the injury was great: for he must have inevitably ruined his territories, productive as they are, by withdrawing so prodigious a capital from circulation. Foreseeing that the French would exact

contributions, he constituted a regency for governing his states during his absence, but did not leave them thirty millions of livres to face the critical circumstances which threatened them. The manifesto, which he published the day after his departure, announced to his dear and faithful subjects, that in the present crisis he thought it his duty to imitate the conduct of his grandfather of glorious memory, who, when menaced like himself, had retired during the tempest, and returned after its fury was dissipated. From his asylum at Venice, he deputed to General Bonaparte his brother M. Frederic, Commandant of Est, the bastard son of a Frenchwoman, who had been a dancer at the opera. This Minister-plenipotentiary obtained a suspension of arms * in order to allow the Duke time to sue for a definitive peace.

Partial or ill-informed writers have represented the conduct of the French, towards the Dukes of Parma and Modena, as an abuse of force. They certainly knew not the very active part which these princes took in the coalition against the republic, and the succours they furnished in men, provisions, money, and stores. Their distance, and the idea that they might, without danger, aid the enemies of France, and follow the natural impulse of their hatred against the republican system, have cruelly deceived them.

* CONDITIONS *of the Armistice concluded between the General-in-Chief of the Army of Italy and M. Frederic, Commander of Est, Plenipotentiary of M. the Duke of Modena.*

THE General-in-Chief of the Army of Italy grants to the Duke of Modena an Armistice, in order to give him time to send to Paris for the purpose of obtaining from the Executive Directory a Definitive Peace, on the following terms, to which M. Frederic, Commander of Est, and Plenipotentiary of M. the Duke of Modena, submits, and which he promises to fulfil; viz.

I. The Duke of Modena shall pay to the French Republic the Sum of Seven Millions Five-Hundred Thousand Livres, French money, of which Three Millions shall be immediately deposited in the Chest of the Paymaster of the Army; Two Millions within the space of fifteen days in the hands of M. Balbi, Banker of the Republic at Genoa; and Two Millions Five-Hundred Thousand Livres in the hands of the same Banker at Genoa, within the space of a month.

II. The Duke of Modena shall furnish also Two Millions Five-Hundred Thousand Livres in Provisions, Powder, and other military stores, in the choice of the General-in-Chief, who shall likewise fix the periods and places, when and where the provisions shall be furnished.

III. The Duke of Modena shall deliver up twenty Paintings, taken from his gallery or his dominions, to be selected by persons nominated for that purpose.

Excepting the above conditions, the troops of the Republic, in passing through the states of the Duke of Modena, shall not make any requisition; the provisions, of which they may stand in need, shall be furnished and paid for voluntarily, as individuals can agree.

It was not in vain, that Bonaparte requested the Executive Directory to send some artists, to whom he might confide the choice of the monuments, of which he meant to despoil Italy in order to enrich France. He had probably regretted, that this happy idea had not been conceived after the victory of Millesimo; for the master-pieces of the museum of Turin would have been, to the French museum, illustrious trophies of the battles of Montenotte and Mondovi. The enemies of the arts, and of the republic, affect to lament the removal of the monuments of Italy. They love nothing, which can recal to their remembrance its superiority. But they readily pardon the pride, which formed the group of the *Place des Victoires*, and forget that they have never charged the Romans with committing a crime in taking from the vanquished Greeks the statues, with which they had decorated the Capitol, the temples, and the squares of Rome. Yet these were the statues which the French took from the degenerate Roman-catholics, on purpose to adorn the museum of Paris, and to distinguish, by the most noble of trophies, the triumph of liberty over tyranny, and of philosophy over superstition. Real conquests are those made in behalf of the arts, the sciences, and taste; and they are the only ones capable of consoling for the misfortune of being compelled to undertake them from other motives. The Milanese and the Parmesan furnished a multiplicity of articles to the French museums*, and Rome, richer in this respect, will one day probably furnish still more.

* List *of Articles relative to the Arts and Sciences, conveyed to Paris by Orders of the General-in-Chief of the Army of Italy, and of the National Commissioner attached to that Army.*

FROM MILAN.

*Ambrosian Library.*

A Cartoon of the School of Athens, by *Raphael.*
A Virgin, by *Luini.*
A Virgin with Flowers, by *Rubens.*
A Concert, by *Giorgion.*
A Virgin, by *Lucas* of Holland.
A Female Head, by *Leonard de Vinci.*
A Soldier & an Old Man, by *Calabrese.*
A Tuscan Vase, representing several ornamented figures.
A Manuscript, written on the Papyrus of Egypt, about eleven hundred years old, on Josephus's Antiquities, by *Ruffinus.*
A Manuscript Virgil, which belonged to Petrarch, with Notes in his handwriting.
A very Curious Manuscript on the History of the Popes.

*At Le Grazzie.*

A Crown of Thorns, by *Titian.*
A St. Paul, by *Gondenzo Ferrari.*

*At La Vittoria.*

An Assumption, by *Salvator Rosa.*

*At the Academy of Parma.*

The Virgin of St. Jerome, by *Corregio.*

Whatever moderation the General of the French army had displayed, however severe the discipline he obliged his troops to observe, and however glorious his success, those who knew Italy were conscious, that the clergy and the noblesse, who dreaded the opinions of republicans, still more than their bayonets, had never ceased, since the commencement of the French revolution, to calumniate it in their conversation and writings. They laboured to irritate the people against it, on purpose to retain them in a dependence calculated solely to promote their own interest, and from which they were sensible the people would escape, if the film was removed from their eyes. It was easy to foresee, that these two classes, united in their interests, their fears, and their hatred, would endeavour to embarrass the armies, by inciting some internal commotion. This conduct had generally succeeded with the Italians in former invasions of the French; but it was destined to give additional glory to Bonaparte, by proclaiming its inefficacy, and disgusting its partizans with the project of having again recourse to it.

General Despinoy, commandant of Milan, observing on the twenty-fourth, that mobs were assembling in the suburbs of the city, on the side of Pavia, ordered a party of troops to march thither, whom the rebels attempted to disarm; but the.

A Painting, by *Schidoni.*
An Adoration, by *Majolla.*

*At the Capuchins,*
A Dog, by *Guerchino.*
A Virgin, and several Saints, by *Carrachi.*

*St. Paul.*
Jesus Christ, St. Paul, and St. Catherine, by *Raphael.*

*La Stenata*
The Marriage of the Virgin, by *Procaccini.*

*San-Gio.*
A Descent from the Cross, by *Corregio.*

*Capuchins.*
A *Guerchino,* representing the Virgin and St. Francis.

*St. Sepulchre.*
La Madonna della Scodella, *Corregio.*

*St. Roch.*
Several Saints, by *L'Espagnolet.*
St. Roch, &c. by *Paul Veronese.*

*St. Quintino.*
A Baptism, *Fraimingo.*
An Assumption, by *L'Espagnolet.*
St. Benedict, by *Lanfranc.*

*St. Andrew.*
A Painting, by *L'Espagnolet.*

*St. Michael.*
A Virgin, by *a Pupil of Corregio.*

*St. Paul.*
A Virgin, by *Augustin Carrachi.*

*Dome of Placenza.*
Two Paintings, by *Louis Carrachi.*
One by *Procaccini.*

French detachment, having wounded and taken some of them, put the rest to flight. This movement was combined, and took place at the same moment at Vareza, Pavia, and Lodi. The tocsin was sounded in the country; the priests and nobles incited the massacre of the French; the peasants assassinated, on the roads, the commissaries and persons employed in the administration; and the garrison, left at Pavia, having been surprised in its quarters, was disarmed. In fine, without a prompt remedy, the evil might have spread, and become extremely dangerous.

Bonaparte had set out from Milan, on the twenty-fourth, to repair to Lodi, leaving only, at the former, the number of troops necessary for the blockade of the castle. His departure, like his entry, was in the midst of the acclamations and rejoicings of an united and happy people. Little did he think, that this joy was feigned; the plot already formed; and a cowardly treason on the point of bursting forth. But scarcely had he reached Lodi, when General Despinoy apprised him, that, three hours after his departure, the tocsin was sounded in Lombardy. It was industriously circulated, that Nice had been taken by the English, that the army of Conde had arrived, by Switzerland, on the confines of the Milanese, and that Beaulieu, reinforced with sixty thousand men, was on his march to Milan. The priests and monks, with a poignard in one hand, and a crucifix in the other, incited the populace to revolt and assassination. Every where, and by every possible means, the people were called on to arm against the French. The nobles had dismissed their domestics, telling them that equality did not permit the continuance of their services. All the partizans of the House of Austria, the Sbirri, and agents of the customs, appeared in the front ranks. The inhabitants of Pavia, reinforced with five or six thousand peasants, invested the citadel, in which there were only three hundred French.

In Milan, they attempted to destroy the tree of liberty, tearing in peaces the tri-coloured cockade, and trampling it under foot. General Despinoy, the commander, mounted his horse, whilst some patroles put to flight this populace as cowardly as outrageous. The gate leading to Pavia was, however, still in the possession of the rebels, who every instant expected the peasants, whom they meant to introduce into the city. To compel them to submission, it was necessary to make a terrible charge; but, at sight of death, all returned to tranquillity. The moment Bonaparte was informed of these proceedings, he hastened back with three hundred horse, and a battalion of grenadiers. On his arrival he ordered a great number of hostages to be arrested, and those persons to be shot

who had been taken in arms; but at the same time intimating to the archbishop, chapter, monks, and nobles, that they would be held responsible for the public peace. The municipality imposed a fine of three livres for every domestic discharged; and order being thus re-established at Milan, the General proceeded to Pavia. The Chief-of-Brigade Lasnes, who commanded a moving column, attacked Binasco, which seven or eight hundred armed peasants appeared determined to defend. He charged them, and having killed about a hundred, dispersed the rest. Bonaparte ordered the village to be instantly burned; an example, which, although necessary, exhibited a horrible spectacle, and extorted many a sigh from the General. He then summoned the archbishop of Milan, and sent him to Pavia, with a proclamation, offering pardon to the inhabitants, on condition that they laid down their arms; but his offer was rejected.

At break of day, the General, in person, reached that town, and the advanced posts of the rebels were driven back. He found the place crowded with a multitude of people, and in a state of defence, the castle taken, and the French troops prisoners. The artillery was ordered to advance, and, after a few discharges, the rebels were summoned to lay down their arms, and have recourse to French generosity; but they returned for answer, that they would not while Pavia had walls. General Dammartin formed the sixth battalion of grenadiers in close column, with two eight-pounders in their van, and each man had a hatchet in his hand. The gates being burst open, the multitude dispersed, and took refuge in caves, and on house-tops, attempting, but in vain, by throwing down tiles, to dispute the entry of the troops into the streets. Thrice had the order to set fire to the city expired on Bonaparte's lips, when the garrison of the castle arrived, who had burst their fetters, and hastened with cries of joy to embrace their deliverers. Their names were called over, and none were found missing. If the blood of a single Frenchman had been shed, the General had resolved to raise, on the ruins of Pavia, a column, on which these impressive words were to be inscribed, *Here the city of Pavia stood.* He then ordered the municipality to be shot, and two hundred hostages to be arrested and sent immediately into France.

To prevent, effectually, the repetition of commotions which might powerfully second the Austrians, the General issued a proclamation to the Milanese. The capital required particular vigilance on account of its numerous population, and the influence of its inhabitants in the country. General Despinoy, therefore, to whom

Bonaparte had confided the command of that place, seconded these prudential measures by a proclamation, which was so much the more necessary as the citadel had not yet surrendered, and contained an Imperial garrison, who might have powerfully aided the malcontents and adherents of Austria. All these precautions, and the celerity of execution displayed at Binasco, and at Pavia, where the Commander-in-chief had evinced as much compassion as vigour, extinguished a flame on the point of bursting forth, and prevented, at least for that time, the renewal of similar machinations.

Bonaparte was following the Austrians in their retreat, when the revolt of Pavia called him back from Milan; and it was of the utmost importance, that this occurrence should not occupy so much time as might be favourable to the enemy. After the battle of Lodi, the Imperialists found that the course of the Oglio did not furnish them with a barrier sufficiently strong against the French. They had, therefore, fallen back to the other side of the Mincio, where they occupied an excellent position, having their right supported by the Lake of Garda, and their left by Mantua. It was only necessary to defend properly the passage of the Mincio, and to effect this, their whole line had been carefully garnished with batteries.

Although Venice had every thing to dread from Austria, her neighbour and natural enemy, and although, on that account, it was her interest to give proofs of a real attachment to France, she had already deviated from every principle which could support her government. She could not recognise a sister in the French republic, but beheld in the latter only a democracy, to which her own aristocracy was still less accommodating than emperors and kings. Irresolute, as to the side she should take, afraid to engage in war after so long a peace, and seeing her territory occupied by the Imperialists, she thought, that a feigned neutrality towards France would save her from all danger, and perhaps only regarded the success of the French in her territories as the fortunate means of sooner delivering her from them both. The system of duplicity, that suited her weakness and her genius, prevailed in the senate, who had now degenerated from that spirit of wisdom and policy, which acquired so great renown to their predecessors. Frenchmen were premitted to reside at Venice, but their partizans were persecuted; and, in all affairs which concerned them, they experienced vexatious delays or an unfavourable partiality. This conduct, when contrasted with the mission of the noble Quirini to Paris, evinced their deceit, but accorded with the want of consideration and neglect industriously lavished on the agents of the

republic at Venice. In consequence of this system, the senate had permitted the Austrians to occupy the fortress of Peschiera, the situation of which was of the greatest importance to them; and all the secret aid they could procure was, without hesitation or difficulty, either given or permitted to be taken.

Bonaparte, who could not be ignorant of this sly intrigue, yet could neither complain nor punish it, thought proper, before following the enemy into the Venetian territories, to address a proclamation to that government and its subjects. The concluding expressions, however, would have been better understood by the antient senates of Venice than they were by the modern, and would have dictated a very different conduct. This proclamation bore, that, to deliver the most beautiful country of Europe from the iron yoke of the haughty House of Austria, his soldiers had braved obstacles the most difficult to surmount, and victory, in unison with justice, crowned their efforts. The wrecks of the hostile army had retired across the Mincio, and the French troops now entered the Venetian territory in pursuit of them. But they would not forget that a long amity united the two republics. Religion, government, usages, and property would be respected. "Let the people," said the General, "be free from inquietude; the severest discipline will be maintained, and every thing furnished to the army fully paid for in money." He required the officers of the Venetian republic, the magistrates, and the priests, to make known his sentiments to the people, in order that confidence might strengthen the friendship which had so long united the two nations. "The French soldier," continued he, "faithful in the path of honour as in that of victory, is terrible only to the enemies of his liberty and constitution."

Since the evening of the twenty-eighth, Bonaparte had been at Brescia, occupied in making the dispositions which were to decide the fate of Beaulieu's army. General Kilmaine was ordered to repair to Desinzanno with fifteen hundred cavalry, and six battalions of grenadiers; while General Rusca proceeded to Salo with a demi-brigade of light infantry. He wished to induce Beaulieu to believe, that his intention was to turn him by the head of the lake, in order to cut him off from the road leading to the Tyrol by way of Riva. All the divisions of the army, therefore, were kept back, so that the right, by which he really meant to attack, was at the distance of a day and a half's march from the Imperialists, and posted behind the Chiusa, where it seemed to act merely on the defensive. At the same time, Kilmaine approached the gates of Peschiera, and was engaged in daily skirmishes with

the enemy's advanced posts, in one of which the Austrian General, Lieptay, was killed.

On the twenty-ninth, the division of Augereau replaced at Desinzanno that of Kilmaine, who made a retrograde movement towards Lonado, and at night arrived at Castigliona: General Massena was at Monte-Chiaro, and Serrurier at Montza. At two in the morning, all the divisions were in motion, and directed their march towards Borghetto, where Bonaparte intended to cross the Mincio. The Austrian advanced guard, consisting of three or four thousand infantry, and eighteen hundred horse, defended the approach to Borghetto. The French cavalry, flanked by the carabiniers and grenadiers, who followed in order of battle, charged the enemy's horse, threw them into disorder, and took one piece of cannon. During this the Imperialists attempted to pass the bridge, and break down one of its arches; but the light artillery immediately commenced a cannonade. While the troops, with extreme difficulty, under the fire of the enemy's batteries, were repairing the damage the bridge had sustained, fifty grenadiers, impatient of delay, threw themselves into the river, holding their muskets over their heads, and with the water up to their chin. General Gardanne, a grenadier in courage as well as in stature, was at their head. The Austrians, believing they recognised the terrible column they had seen at the bridge of Lodi, the nearest of them fled. After this the French repaired the bridge without molestation; and their grenadiers, immediately passing the Mincio, made themselves masters of Valeggio, the head-quarters of Beaulieu, who had that very instant quitted the place.

Meanwhile the enemy staggering, and part of them in complete confusion, rallied and formed in order of battle, between Valeggio and Villa-Franca. They had already increased the number of their batteries, and advanced them towards the French. Bonaparte had anticipated this occurrence; and it was with difficulty he could restrain the impatience, or rather the fury, of his grenadiers. General Augereau, during these operations, crossed the river with his division. He had orders to follow the course of the Mincio, and proceeding straight towards Peschiera, surround the town, and cut off the enemy from the passes of the Tyrol. By this manœuvre, Beaulieu, and the wreck of his army, would have found themselves deprived of the possibility of retreating. To prevent the Austrians from discovering the movements of Augereau, Bonaparte ordered the village of Valeggio to be cannonaded with vivacity. But the Imperialists, having learned that movement by their patroles of cavalry, fled in confusion, with an intent to gain

the road to Castlenuovo, a reinforcement of dragoons, which had reached them, assisting in covering their retreat. General Augereau, on arriving at Peschiera, found the town evacuated by the enemy. Next day the French army proceeded to Rivoli; but the Imperialists had already crossed the Adige, and broken down almost all the bridges. The enemy's loss on this occasion was calculated at fifteen hundred infantry, and five hundred cavalry, killed and taken prisoners. Among the latter was the Prince Cuto, Lieutenant-General in the army of the King of Naples, and Commander-in-chief of the Neapolitan cavalry.

Thus the Austrians were intirely driven out of Italy, and the French advanced posts reached the mountains of Germany. In these different engagements our grenadiers had learned to sport and laugh at death. They were accustomed to despise the Austrian cavalry, and nothing could equal their intrepidity but the gaiety with which they performed their forced marches, singing alternately songs in praise of their country and of love. Instead of sleeping, they amused themselves, during most of the night, each in telling his tale, or forming his plan of operation for the ensuing day.

On the first of June, the division of General Massena took Verona, which a few days before had been the refuge of Louis-Stanislaus, brother of the last King of the French, and of the little court of emigrants, to whom the Venetians had not only afforded an asylum, but even a ready reception. Their generosity had now given place to terror; and the senate of Venice, in their disgraceful policy, already resolved to transfer to the conqueror Bonaparte, all the respect which they formerly paid to the majesty of the King of Verona. The podestat of Venice received orders to intimate to the fugitive prince, that it was necessary he should quit their dominions. When, however, France had complained of his being received and welcomed there, it was answered, that Louis, being a noble Venetian, had in that quality a right to reside in their territory, without the laws or the senate being able to hinder him from doing so; but the French army had not at that time surmounted the Appenines. On this embassy of the podestat, the pretender, it is said, demanded that the Golden Book, in which the nobles were inscribed, should be brought him, that he might erase the name of his family; and insisted, that the sword, which his ancestor, Henry IV, had presented to the republic, should be restored to him. The podestat, little respecting the misfortunes and former dignity of the pretender, answered, that at to the erasure, the senate would have no difficulty in making it at his re-

quest: but that a sum of twelve millions being still due to the republic on account of Henry, his sword would be restored if Louis would pay the money:—An answer indecent from the government whose organ he was, and at best becoming a pawnbroker.

Bonaparte removed his head-quarters to Verona on the third, where he left a strong garrison, in order to secure the three bridges across the Adige at that place. It was enough for him to have forced the Austrians to shelter, in the mountains of the Tyrol, the wrecks of an army, not in a condition to preserve the country in their front. He resolved to profit by the weakness to which he had reduced, them, and to consolodate his conquests by the capture of the citadel of Milan, and of Mantua, in the hope, that the enemy would not be reinforced in time to interrupt the operations of the siege, which the latter town required. The cabinet of Vienna, who knew, that with Mantua Austria lost decidedly her possessions in Italy, and the Emperor the few prerogatives, and the little authority, which his empty title had still preserved to him in that country, employed every means to render abortive Bonaparte's hopes, and redoubled their efforts in recruiting the army he had destroyed. The activity of their measures, on this occasion, was not unsuccessful. General Beaulieu, who had been so constantly unfortunate, was succeeded by old Marshal Wurmser, who indeed had not been more fortunate, but had, however, effected more, and whom we shall hereafter see terminating his career by a glorious defence.

The French, accordingly, invested Mantua on the fourth, General Dallemagne having advanced with six hundred grenadiers to the fauxbourg of Saint George. Bonaparte ordered a demi-brigade, under General Serrurier, to advance and support Dallemagne, who, on reaching the intrenchments of Saint George, had attacked them, and made himself master of the suburb and head of the bridge. Notwithstanding the fire from the place, the French grenadiers advanced on the causeway. They even attempted to form in column, and carry the town; and, on seeing the batteries on the ramparts, exclaimed, "At Lodi the enemy had more;" but circumstances not being the same, the General ordered them to retire. During this, Augereau set out for Castigliona-Montovano, and crossing the Mincio beyond the lake, proceeded to the suburb Cheriale. He carried the intrenchments, and, having taken the tower, compelled the enemy to retreat into the centre of the place.

This fortress required a formal siege, and the French had but few means wherewith to undertake it. The route by which they

had penetrated into Italy, and the rapidity of their marches and conquests, sufficiently indicate, that they had not been followed by a grand park of artillery, whose resources facilitate this kind of operations, and contribute to abridge them. It was, in fact, with the artillery of the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor, that the strongest towns in Italy were to be taken. The great heats of the approaching season, rendering the neighbourhood of Mantua fatal, perhaps induced Bonaparte to believe, that, while collecting and preparing the means of attack, it was sufficient to blockade the place closely, and that it would surrender as soon as he had driven the Austrians beyond the Tyrol.

Intending to penetrate into the Tyrolese, he wished to be preceded by a manifesto, which might procure him partizans in that difficult country. Such was the manner he adopted in defeating his enemies, and few Generals have weilded the armour of proclamation with such address. In the one he addressed to the warlike people of these lofty mountains, he informed them, that he was to cross their territory, in order to compel the Court of Vienna to a peace, as necessary to its subjects as to the rest of Europe. It was their own cause he was to defend; for they had been too long harassed by a war, not undertaken for the interests of Germany, but to gratify the passions of a single family. The French respected and loved all nations, and more especially the simple and virtuous inhabitants of the mountains. "Your religion and usages," said he, "will be respected. Our troops shall maintain a severe discipline, and nothing will be taken without being paid for in money. You will receive us with hospitality, and we will treat you with fraternity and friendship. But, if there are any so little acquainted with their real interests, as to take up arms and treat us as enemies, to them we will be terrible as the fire of heaven. We will burn their houses, and devastate the villages, which take part in a war that is foreign to them. Do not suffer yourselves to be led astray by the agents of Austria, but ensure your country, already harassed by five years of war, from the misfortunes which must afflict it. Ere long, the Court of Vienna, forced to accede to peace, shall restore to the nations the privileges it has usurped, and to Europe the tranquillity it has interrupted."

New commotions began to arise in the Imperial fiefs, which border on the states of Genoa, Tuscany, and Piedmont, and required the attention of Bonaparte. The communications of his army with the river of Genoa were menaced, his convoys attacked, and his couriers assassinated. Policy and fanaticism united in embarrassing the rear of his army, in order to retard his march to the

Tyrol. It was necessary that he should terminate the differences subsisting between France and Modena, Rome, and Naples. It was necessary that he should destroy the power the English had arrogated at Leghorn and in Tuscany, and, by expelling them from these parts, establish with the Corsicans communications which might bring them back to their duty, and unite them in the desire of chasing the English from that department of the republic. In the midst of so many occupations, it was also necessary not to lose sight of the castle of Milan, nor neglect to carry on the siege of Mantua. The greatest activity was scarcely sufficient for so many operations at once; but when half-means are not employed, and when one knows, like Bonaparte, how to carry his point, time, notwithstanding its rapid and fleeting nature, suffices for every thing. General Lasnes entered the Imperial fiefs with five hundred horse, arrested and shot the chiefs of the revolt, and burned their habitations, particularly the fief of Arquata, which had signalised itself by the greatest excesses. The same promptitude and severity were displayed in the environs of Tortona; and a proclamation, which the General issued, and which was steadily executed, soon re-established public tranquillity.

This proclamation stated, that the inhabitants of the Imperial fiefs, at the instigation of several of their seigneurs, and of the Emperor's agents at Genoa, had violated their oath of obedience to the republic, assassinated several French detachments, and besieged in Arquata the troops stationed in that place. Thinking the republican troops at a distance, they were mad enough to flatter themselves with impunity: but, they knew not that the phalanxes of the Army of Italy were in every spot, where there were enemies of the republic to be punished. The instigators of these commotions did not yet seem to know, that there was no place of refuge which could shelter them from the vengeance of the French nation. But they ought to learn, from the terrible example of Arquata, the fate awaiting them, if they did not alter their conduct, and profit of the door which national clemency still left open to repentance. All the seigneurs, and three deputies from each commune, were directed to repair to Tortona, there to take the oath of obedience to the republic, and to bring with them the arms in their respective communes. All persons, found with arms or ammunition, were to be shot; and the bells, employed in sounding the tocsin, were to be taken down from their steeples, and broke in pieces.

The division of General Augereau, having crossed the Po at Borgoforte, arrived at Bologna on the nineteeth, where they found

four hundred of the Pope's soldiers, who were made prisoners. Bonaparte sent orders, by Adjutant-General Vignole, to the garrison of the city of Urbino to open its gates, lay down their arms, and surrender prisoners of war. In this fort the French took fifty pieces of cannon in excellent condition, five hundred muskets of a very fine model, and provisions for six hundred men for two months. The place was in a good state of defence; being encircled by a wall with covered bastions, and surrounded by ditches full of water, with a covered way newly repaired. It was commanded by a knight of Malta, with three hundred men, who were taken prisoners. At Bologna the cardinal-legate was taken, with all the officers of the etat-major, and four standards. The cardinal-legate of Ferrara was also taken prisoner with the commandant of that fort, who was likewise a knight of Malta. In the castle of Ferrara there were one hundred and fourteen pieces of cannon.

During these military operations, the twenty paintings furnished by Parma were on their way to Paris; and among them the celebrated one of St. Jerome, which was in such high essimation, that a million was offered to redeem it. The paintings from Modena were also on the road; and the citizen Barthelemy was employed in selecting about fifty of the paintings of Bologna, while the naturalists Monge, Bertholet, and Thouin, were engaged at that city and at Pavi, in collecting plants and other objects of natural history.

While Bonaparte was at Milan, the celebrated Oriani paid a visit to him, in consequence of a letter the General had written to him by direction of the French government. On entering, the astronomer was astonished, and unable to return an answer to the General's questions; but recovering at length from his surprise, he said, "Excuse me:—this is the first time I have ever entered these superb apartments; my eyes are not accustomed ———." Doubtless, in these few words, remarks Bonaparte in his dispatches to the Directory, he pronounced a severe criticism on the government of the Archduke. This attention of the General, to fufil the wish of the Directory, conciliated the minds of the learned men of Italy, and, through hope, attached to the revolution, which was on the eve of being accomplished there, a class of men, who might only have anticipated the loss of their stations, with which they believed that revolution menaced them. It confirmed them in the idea, that France, whose glory the arts and letters so much increased, abjured the system of the ignorant beings, who had endeavoured to replunge her into barbarism; and that she meant to render to the sciences, which honour, enlighten, and soften the

human race, the protection she had so wisely, and for so long a period granted them. The Generals of Kings are far from displaying a similar care in their narrow and barbarous policy. Content with the empire of force, they do not, like this republican commander, know how to acquire the powerful empire of opinion. Such a conduct leaves a lasting impression on the memory, gives a less sanguinary character to the conquests of a nation: and compensates, in some degree, for the misfortunes inseparable from war.

If Bonaparte, in addressing the astronomer Oriani, had confined himself in paying a compliment to his talents, we would have dispensed with noticing his letter. But carrying his views much farther, he seems, by writing to him, to communicate his sentiments to all the learned of Italy; and, his epistle, respecting the university of Pavia, completes and does honour to his policy. The sciences, as the General observed in his letter to Oriani, the sciences which ennoble the human mind, and the arts which embellish life, and transmit illustrious actions to posterity, should be peculiarly respected in free governments. All men of genius, and all those who have obtained a distinguished rank in the republic of letters, are Frenchmen, in whatever country they may have been born. In Milan, the learned did not enjoy the consideration to which they are entitled. Retired in the solitude of their closets, they esteemed themselves happy, if kings and priests did them no harm. To-day it is not so; opinion is free in Italy;—the inquisition, intolerance, and despotism are no more. "I invite," continued the General, "the learned to assemble, and propose to me their sentiments, on the means necessary to be taken, or the aid they may require, to give new life and existence to the sciences and fine arts. All those, who may be desirous of going to France, will be received with distinction by the government. The French nation sets a greater value on the acquisition of a learned mathematician, a painter of reputation, or any one who has distinguished himself, whatever may be his profession, than of the richest and most abundant city. Be you then, citizen, the organ of these sentiments to all at Milan, who are distinguished for their learning."—He likewise wrote to the municipalities of Pavia and Milan, desiring that the celebrated university of Pavia might resume the course of its studies; and requested them to inform its learned professors and numerous students, that the French General invited them to repair forthwith to Pavia, and propose to him the measures, which they might think proper to be taken, to give activity, and a more brilliant existence, to that illustrious seminary.

After taking possession of Bologna, a French division proceeded to Ferrara and Faenza, whose submission promised that of the Romagna. All these countries, which crimes had formerly annexed to the Papal territory, were about to see themselves delivered from their yoke. The policy of the ecclesiastical government, so much, and so unworthily boasted of, sunk into nothing before the talents of a young Frenchman: and was exhibited in all its weakness, the moment it was stript of its veil of superstition, which had been for so long a period both its buckler and its lance.

To fix the determination of Rome with greater promptitude, respecting the peace meant to be given her, and to punish her for inciting discord and war, a column of the French army marched from Reggio, across the Appenines, to Pistoia, and threatened to advance to Rome by way of Florence. The intelligence of this march threw the court of the Grand Duke into the greatest alarm. His prime minister, Manfredini, was dispatched to Bologna in great haste, to represent to the French General, that as a passage through Tuscany had been lately denied to the troops of Naples, it would be unjust of France to violate a territory the allies had respected. As the chief cause of the Grand Duke's alarm originated from a dread, that part of the French army, in passing, would remain in his capital, his plenipotentiary could have no difficulty in acceding to the proposition, made by Bonaparte, of avoiding that city, and approaching Rome by way of Pistoia and Sienna. If the sovereign of Tuscany, on this occasion, had imitated the conduct of the Duke of Modena, in quitting his dominions, it is more than probable he never would have returned. Some evil counsellors did not hesitate to recommend this baneful measure; happily, however, the prudence of Manfredini was successful; and by advising his master to confide in French generosity, he gave the wisest counsel, and rendered him the most signal service.

The division of General Vaubois arrived at Pistoia on the twenty-sixth. Next day, General Murat, at the head of the vanguard, passed the Arno, and was followed by Vaubois with part of his division, the rest remaining at Pistoia. Setting out from Fucechio on the twenty-eighth, this corps, instead of proceeding to Sienna, suddenly changed its route, and marched rapidly towards Leghorn. It is probable, that Manfredini, in the conference at Bologna, had not this expedition confided to him; but Bonaparte, on reaching Pistoia, advertised the Grand Duke of the occurrence. In his letter, the General stated, that the flag of the republic was constantly insulted in the port of Leghorn, the property of her

merchants violated, and every day marked by some attempt against Frenchmen, as contrary to the interest of the republic as to the law of nations. The Executive Directory had repeatedly complained to the minister of His Royal Highness at Paris, who had been obliged to avow the impossibility, in which his master found himself, of checking the English, and maintaining neutrality in the port of Leghorn. They felt it, therefore, to be their immediate duty to repel force by force, and make their commerce be respected; and, in consequence of this, they had ordered him to send a division of the army under his command to take possession of Leghorn. He informed His Royal Highness, that a detachment of French troops would enter the city on the twenty-eighth, but conduct themselves agreeably to the principles of the neutrality they were to maintain; the flag, the garrison, and the property of His Royal Highness, and his people, would be scrupulously respected. The General concluded with observing, that he was farther charged to assure the Grand Duke of the desire, entertained by the French government, to see a continuation of the friendship which united the two states; and expressed his conviction, that His Royal Highness, witnessing the daily excesses committed by the English ships, without being able to prevent them, would applaud the just and necessary measures adopted by the Directory.

On the twenty-third, Bonaparte granted an armistice to the Pope, in consideration of his renouncing the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, surrendering the town and citadel of Ancona, paying twenty millions, and giving up one hundred productions of the arts selected from the museums of Rome, and five hundred manuscripts from the library of the Vatican.* He also intimated to

* SUSPENSION OF ARMS

*Concluded at Bologna on the 23d of June, 1796, between Bonaparte, General-in-Chief of the French Army in Italy, and Antonio Gnudi, Deputy of the Pope.*

ARTICLE I. Wishing to give a proof of the deference, which the French Government entertains for His Majesty the King of Spain, the General-in-Chief, and the Commissioners under-subscribing, grant a Suspension of Arms to His Holiness, reckoning from this date to five days after concluding the negociation, commenced at Paris, for a definitive treaty of peace between the two powers.

II. The Pope shall send, as soon as possible, a Plenipotentiary to Paris, to obtain from the Executive Directory a Definitive Peace, by offering the necessary reparations for the outrages and losses suffered by the French in his territory, and particularly the murder of Basseville, and the indemnification due to his family.

III. All individuals, detained in the Pope's dominions on account of their political opinions, shall immediately be set at liberty, and their property restored.

the Directory the armistice granted to Naples, and the departure of Prince Pignatelli Belmonte for Paris, to solicit a peace in the name of His Majesty. Ministers from the Pope made the same journey for a similar purpose, but with intentions less sincere. The very persons chosen for that mission were themselves an infraction of the treaty they were to implore: for the Directory had requested, that ecclesiastics should not be employed as negociators. They indeed assumed the appearance of laymen: the Abbe became the Count Petracci; but all he gained by this artifice was to be sent back without success in a negociation commenced with the violation of a promise, and which would have been conducted, by such a diplomatic agent, and his companion Vangelisti, with deceit only, the usual attendant of their profession.

Bonaparte left Pistoia, and set out to join the column already at the gates of Leghorn. An English frigate, on going out of the

IV. The Ports belonging to the Pope shall be shut against the vessels of the powers at war with the republic, and open to the French ships.

V. The French army shall continue in possession of the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, and evacuate the legation of Faenza.

VI. The citadel of Ancona shall be put in possession of the French within six days, with its artillery and stores.

VII. The town of Ancona shall remain under the civil government of the Pope.

VIII. The Pope shall give up to the French Republic one hundred paintings, busts, vases, or statues, in the choice of Commissaries who shall be sent to Rome; among these articles, the bust in bronze of Junius Brutus, and that in marble of Marcus Brutus, both placed in the capitol, shall be particularly comprised: five hundred manuscripts, as selected by the said commissaries, shall likewise be given up.

IX. The Pope shall pay to the French Republic twenty-one millions of livres, French money, of which fifteen millions five hundred thousand livres in specie or gold and silver ingots, and the remaining five millions five hundred thousand livres in provisions, merchandise, horses, or oxen, as shall be determined by the agents of the French Republic.

The fifteen millions five hundred thousand livres shall be paid at three periods; viz. five millions in fifteen days, other five in the space of a month, and the rest in three months.

The five millions five hundred thousand livres in provisions, &c. shall be, proportionally, and according to the demands that may be made, delivered in the ports of Genoa, Leghorn, and other places occupied by the army, as shall be fixed on.

The sum of twenty-one millions, contained in this article, is independent of the contributions, which are, or shall be levied, in the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Faenza.

X. The Pope shall be bound to grant a passage to the troops of the French Republic every time it may be demanded. The provisions, which shall be furnished them, shall be paid for as parties can agree.

harbour, was fired at, but without effect. Some hours before the French troops arrived, more than forty English vessels, fully laden, left that port. The General ordered the Chevalier Spannochi, Governor of that city for the Grand Duke, to be arrested. This officer had not only favoured the departure of the English, but endeavoured to instigate the people to commotion, by representing to them the small number of the French; and also suffered, a few hours before, two French vessels to be taken by an English frigate, under the guns of the batteries. He was conducted to Florence by his own soldiers, and, on his arrival there, sent to prison by order of the Grand Duke. The French consul was ordered by the General to put seals on the English magazines; and it was calculated, that this capture would amount to seven or eight millions to the republic. He was also directed to take similar measures as to those belonging to the Emperor, the Empress of Russia, and, in general, of all the princes or subjects of states with whom France was at war.

The alarm at Leghorn was but momentary, and the good conduct of the troops completely restored the confidence of the inhabitants. A strong garrison, under the command of General Vaubois, was left in the town. Bonaparte, accompanied by Berthier and a part of the etat-major, passed through Florence in his return, and was well received by the Grand Duke, who gave him a sumptuous entertainment. The minister of the republic, at the Court of Florence, ably seconded the General in these difficult operations. His Royal Highness had been strongly solicited to leave his dominions; he did not, however, listen to the suggestions of the enemies of both Tuscany and France, but continued in his capital, and, although surrounded by French troops, reposed on the fidelity of the republic, and the honour of its General.

While Bonaparte was at dinner with the Grand Duke, a courier arrived with the intelligence, that the castle of Milan had surrendered. If the young sovereign had the satisfaction to save his dominions by his good conduct, it must be confessed, that his vanity and sensibility suffered, by entertaining in his palace a General, whose family had been numbered among his subjects, and who had destroyed all the commercial connections subsisting between his friends, the English, and the only port in his dominions. He had even compelled His Royal Highness to punish the governor of his principal town for having, no doubt, been too obedient to his master; and he had detached from his brother, the Emperor, the Italian dominions belonging to the House of Austria. The reduction of the castle of Milan, announced at the end of the enter-

tainment, must have given additional chagrin to the Grand Duke. Dissimulation, or the art of supporting such contrarieties, is happily a necessary consequence of the education of princes, which is calculated to instruct them in concealing all those exterior marks of uneasy sensations that other men display.

This insensibility appeared also, when the ex-conventionalist and commissioner, Salicetti, passed through Florence, two days after Bonaparte; but, although he received a similar invitation from His Royal Highness, he declined the honour intended him. It may be remarked here, that Salicetti had voted for the death of Louis XVI. that the Grand Duke was the nephew of Louis, and his wife of the family of Bourbon, and that the triumphs of the French republic had already strangely altered opinions and relations, and displayed, in a very extraordinary manner, the empire which its destiny invited it to assume over princes. Another instance of this appears in the demand made to the Pope, of immediately setting at liberty the prisoners detained in the castles of St. Angelo and San-Leo, and in the citadel of Ancona; and even of liberating those who had been condemned to the galleys. This request was equivalent to an order, and the court of Rome was not in a situation to disobey. It is true, the condemned persons were a disgraceful evidence of the injustice of the inquisitorial tribunals; and the atrocious judges, who had seconded the passions of the government, and silenced the laws, merited a punishment which the conqueror had the moderation not to exact.

The trenches were opened against the castle of Milan on the eighteenth. On the twenty-ninth, the governor offered to capitulate, and requested a suspension of hostilities. But this proposal General Despinoy refused, informing him, that he could not accede to it except on certain terms, on which he allowed him an hour to deliberate. These conditions the garrison thought proper to accept; the citadel, with all its artillery and magazines, was surrendered; and the garrison became prisoners of war. In this fort were taken two thousand eight hundred prisoners, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, two hundred thousand pounds of powder, five thousand muskets, and a vast quantity of besieging utensils.

Mantua, the only part of the Emperor's Italian dominions still in his possession, was now invested; and so powerful was the impression which the French army had made on the governments of this country, that they all determined to submit to the yoke, having less hope than desire to see that fortress make a protracted resistance. It was the artillery taken from them which was to pour its thunder on Mantua; for Bonaparte had by this time captured

six hundred and nineteen pieces of heavy cannon, and sixty field-pieces. It was the horses of their studs and of their cavalry, that served as a remount to the French army, who subsisted at their expence, and drew ample supplies from those resources of which they had bereaved their enemies. They ruled from the straits of Sicily to the defiles of the Tyrol, through which they had driven the Austrians, and began to organise in Lombardy Italian troops, destined at a future period to assure the liberty of their country, or, at least, to be the instrument of important changes in its government.

Wurmser had assembled in the Tyrol the wrecks of the Austrian army, and received powerful reinforcements, while Bonaparte was employed in his expedition to Leghorn, and against the states of the Pope. The necessity of securing his new conquests, placing garrisons in that city and Ancona, preserving his posts in Piedmont, and continuing the siege of Mantua, behoved to weaken considerably his effective force. These circumstances revived the hopes of the aristocrats in Italy, who looked with anxiety for the reverses, which the weakness and dispersion of the French seemed to threaten. But that moment was not arrived, and the Austrians were again to be driven from the intrenchments with which they had covered themselves.

After the engagement at Borghetto, the Imperialists retreated to the mountains, with an intent to dispute the passes of the Tyrol. They had drawn lines from the head of the Lake of Garda to the Adige and fortified them with infinite labour. Massena directed General Joubert to turn their right, while another French detachment did the same on their left. The enemy were defeated in both points, and compelled to abandon intrenchments, which the French could not have constructed in six months. Every thing was demolished; and, in one instant, what had consumed so much labour and fatigue, was completely destroyed. Such was the issue of the first battle which took place between the two armies since the new General had assumed the command.

Some days after the attack of the Austrian intrenchments, insurrections broke out in the Romagna; but Bonaparte, although he felt the necessity of repressing them, did not experience much inquietude on the occasion. A monk from Trent circulated, that the Austrians had passed the Adige, and, after raising the blockade of Mantua, were advancing by forced marches into the Romagnese. Seditious writers, and fanatic preachers, every where excited revolt. Having organised, in a few days, what they stiled the Catholic and Papal army, they established their head-quarters at

Lugo, a large town in the legation of Ferrara, but situated in the Romagna. A printed proclamation had made known the pretext on which the insurrection was excited, and the means used to extend it. It stated, that the situation, in which the people of Lugo felt themselves by the invasion of the French in the pontifical states, the requisition of subsistence, and the insults offered to individuals, had compelled them to take up arms for the defence of their protecting saints, their sovereign, and the government. It was incumbent on all, in the common danger, to contribute to the common safety. They hoped, therefore, that all animated by a zeal for religion, attachment to His Holiness their lawful sovereign, and love of their country, would labour with unanimity to advance so noble an object, by ranging themselves under the glorious standards of the church.

General Augereau, being informed of the occurrence, gave three hours to the Lugois to lay down their arms, threatening, in case of refusal, to march against their city with fire and sword. The insurgents despised this menace, and, having learned that a party of sixty dragoons were sent against them, placed themselves in ambuscade to massacre the detachment. This first hostile act succeeded; at a signal agreed on the dragoons were surprised, and although they kept up a lively fire, five of them were killed, and the rest put to flight: two of their heads were afterwards carried to Lugo, and exposed on the town-house. Baron Capelleti, charge d'-affaires of Spain, interposed his good offices to save this seditious town, which seemed, by acts of barbarity, to render its ruin certain. Having repaired to Lugo, he exhorted the inhabitants to submission and confidence in the French army, who were disposed to pardon the excesses they had committed; but his representations were ineffectual. General Augereau, therefore, ordered a body of infantry and cavalry to march against them. The tocsin had been sounding for several hours, and some thousands of the peasantry had assembled. An officer of grenadiers being sent to parley with them, they made signs to him to advance, when, in an instant, he was assailed by a volley of musket shot.

A column of troops attacked this numerous phalanx at two points, the one on the side of Imola, and the other on the side of Argenta. After an engagement of three hours, disorder spread in the rebel bands, when part was cut in pieces, and part saved themselves by flight. A thousand of the insurgents were killed and wounded, and about two hundred French. The town was afterwards surrounded, and delivered up for three hours to be pillaged by the troops. To repress similar commotions, an energetic

proclamation by General Augereau was circulated through the province.—"You have beheld," said he, "a terrible example. —Blood still smokes at Lugo.—Lugo, calm and tranquil, would, like you, have been respected; she would have reposed in peace; —mothers would not have deplored their sons, widows their husbands, or orphans the authors of their being. Let this awful lesson teach you to set a proper value on the friendship of France. When irritated, she is a volcano, overwhelming and devouring all that opposes its eruption; on the contrary, she protects and caresses all who court her aid. But it is necessary to acquire her confidence by some act, that assures her she shall not be betrayed; too long and too often has her good faith been abused."

Some are pleased to reproach Bonaparte with having allowed the English time to occupy, without interruption, Porto-Ferrajo in the isle of Elba, and with not having sent thither, on his arrival at Leghorn, a body of troops, who might have secured from insult that fortress and its port. In this, however, no blame can attach to him. Porto-Ferrajo was of no importance to his operations; but it might have delivered up a detachment of his army to the chances of a siege, and thus deprived him of a considerable force, without its being of the smallest utility. He could not succour the troops shut up in that fort whilst the English were masters of the sea. The latter themselves obtained possession of it only by a kind of political quackery; and their sole motive appears to have been to veil, by the parade of an expedition, the grief felt on finding themselves expelled from Leghorn. Shut up in Porto-Ferrajo, they could could have no influence on the fate of Italy, although, by restoring it to the Grand Duke, they possessed the means of recovering their influence at Leghorn, when the French should think proper to evacuate that city. The whole transaction was, perhaps, a fault which their usual pride led the English to commit; for it is doubtful whether, if their fleet had continued at Corsica, the insurrections incited in that island, by the correspondence which the French at Leghorn found means to maintain, and which the pretended blockade of that port could never restrain, would have acquired the consistence they attained. This consistence very soon obliged the English to evacuate their new kingdom, and receive, on the rock of Porto-Ferrajo, their viceroy expelled from Corsica with all his countrymen, and the recruits of Germans and emigrants, whom they had attracted thither at a great and useless expence.

Bonaparte certainly knew better than those who fancy they discover a fault in this part of his military conduct, that the isle of

Elba produces only iron; that the provisions of its inhabitants are drawn either from Tuscany, Rome, or Naples; and that it would be sufficient for him to guard only the coast of Tuscany, when Corsica should be restored to France, and prohibit Rome from conveying provisions to that island. By these means the English fleet, soon experiencing a scarcity, behoved to abandon so disagreeable and insignificant a station, and be reduced to the necessity of wandering on the Mediterranean, an inactive spectator of his triumphs in Italy, and excluded from all its ports. This war will doubtless cure those, who cherish the idea of attaching too much importance to the pretended power of fleets. France has given an eminent example of neglecting to continue an unequal, expensive, and inconclusive struggle by sea, and of directing her sole attention to become mistress of the continent. The prevalent axiom, that *he who is master of the sea is master of the land*, never merited the reception it has obtained, and can apply only, with any appearance of justice, to the colonies of states, which have, shall I say, the good fortune or the bad, to possess distant settlements. Politicians still doubt the great problem relative to colonization, although approved of, and adopted by nations who wish to be merchants. Notwithstanding the example of the Romans, these people do not believe that they can be happy, great, and powerful, without an extensive maritime commerce; or, that the final result of the mercantile spirit infallibly renders any country an easy prey to poor but warlike nations.

The English squadron, consisting of seventeen sail, with two thousand troops on board, appeared off Porto-Ferrajo on the ninth of July. The debarkation had been effected on the preceding night, out of the reach of the batteries, on the flat shore of Acqua Viva, the boundary line between the part of the island dependent on the Grand Duke, and that belonging to the king of Naples. A large detachment presented themselves on the morning of the tenth, near a small bridge, the only approach on the land side, at the distance of a mile from the town, and took possession of the ruined fort of St. John Baptist, and the summit of a hill. On this height a battery was erected, and some mortars of large calibre planted on it. Two officers then advanced with a drum, and delivered a letter to the governor, from Sir Gilbert Elliot, viceroy of Corsica, and Major Duncan, who commanded the expedition. The governor immediately assembled his officers, the chief persons of the different departments of government, the consuls, and vice-consuls of foreign nations, the magistracy of the commune, and heads of the principal families. When the letters were com-

municated to this assembly, it was represented that the inhabitants, unprovided with forces equal to those they had to oppose, destitute of provisions, and having a supply of water only for a few days, could not make any resistance: the assembly, therefore, unanimously resolved to comply.

Sir Gilbert Elliot, in his letter to the governor, after observing that the French troops had occupied the town and fortress of Leghorn, asserted, that the guns of the fort had fired upon the ships of the King of Great Britain in the road, and that the property of His Majesty's subjects had been violated, notwithstanding the neutrality of His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the reiterated protestations of the French to respect it. He had reason to believe, that the French entertained the same designs on the fortress of Porto-Ferrajo, hoping, by these means, to facilitate the hostilities they meditated against the kingdom of Corsica. These motives, therefore, had determined him to occupy Porto-Ferrajo with a garrison capable of defending it, and thereby anticipate the intentions of His Majesty's enemies, who were equally hostile to His Royal Highness. He concluded with declaring, that his sole design, in so doing, was to prevent the occupation of that place and the isle of Elba by the French; and invited the governor to receive the troops of His Britannic Majesty, on the conditions specified in his letter. By the first of these, Porto-Ferrajo and its dependencies were to remain under the government of the Grand Duke, the Tuscan flag continue to fly there, and no change be made in the administration. The persons, property, and religion of the inhabitants were to be respected; the officers and soldiers, composing the Tuscan garrison, to continue to perform their usual duty if they inclined; and all persons, holding civil or military employments, to remain in the enjoyment of them during their good behaviour. These conditions were to be observed with the most perfect good faith, so long as they should be compatible with the safety of the place; and he solemnly promised, in the name of His Majesty, to withdraw the troops, and restore the town to His Royal Highness, in the same state it then was, on the conclusion of a peace, or whenever no danger could be entertained of attempts on the part of France. He farther intimated to the governor, that if he rejected propositions, as conformable to the interest of His Royal Highness, as just and necessary to the cause of the allies, the officer charged with the expedition had orders, and a competent force, to reduce the place, in which event, the possession of it would be unlimited and unconditional. But he expressed his confidence, that the prudence, and

attachment of the governor to the true interests of His Royal Highness, would lead him to consent to the only expedient for preserving Porto-Ferrajo to the Duke, and securing the isle of Elba from the calamities of war.

During these transactions, the siege of Mantua, and the secret expeditions to Corsica, of much more importance than this parade at Porto-Ferrajo, were continued without intermission. The garrison of Mantua made a spirited resistance. On the sixteenth, at two in the morning, fifteen hundred men sallied out by the gate of Ceresa, while three thousand more did the same by that of Pradella. The French advanced posts fell back, and the enemy having advanced within pistol-shot of the batteries, attempted to carry them, but were opposed by the fifth battalion of grenadiers. Generals Fiorella and Dallemagne ranged their troops in order of battle, and, seizing a favourable opportunity, attacked the Imperialists, threw them into disorder, and, after an action of two hours, pursued them to the very palisades of the town. The enemy's loss in this affair amounted to five or six hundred men. Next day Bonaparte intended to send eight hundred grenadiers in boats, to take possession of one of the gates of the town; but the water having fallen more than three feet in the space of twenty-four hours, it was not possible for him to carry his plan into execution.

On the eighteenth, at eleven at night, Serrurier ordered General Murat and Adjutant-General Vignole, with two thousand men, to attack the right of the enemy's intrenched camp; while General Dallemagne, at the head of a strong column, attacked the left. Andreossi, chief-of-battalion of artillery, with five gun-boats, gave a false alarm to the garrison, and, by attracting the whole fire of the place, enabled Dallemagne and Murat to effect their object. During this, Chasseloup, chief-of-brigade of engineers, within eighty toises of the town, and under a fire of grape-shot from the ramparts, directed the opening of the trenches. At the same instant, the batteries of St. George, Pradella, and La Favorite, began to play against the fortress. In ten minutes after they opened, every part of the town was on fire; the custom-house, the palace of Colloredo, and several convents, were reduced to ashes. At day-break, when the trenches were but imperfectly traced, part of the garrison attempted to make a sally, under cover of a dreadful fire from the ramparts. But the French troops, concealed in ravines, posted behind banks, and occupying every hollow which could afford them protection from the fire of the fortress, waited for them with firmness and in silence. This circumstance alone disconcerted the Imperialists, who returned within their walls;

and the besiegers, in the following night, succeeded in completing their trenches.

Wurmser, instructed by his first defeat, and sensible of the change it would produce on the face of affairs, if he could succeed in raising the blockade of Mantua, and thus render useless the late success of Bonaparte, by carrying the theatre of war into the Milanese, did not neglect to avail himself of the advantage, which the numerous reinforcements he had received afforded him. He had been joined by twenty thousand men from the army on the Rhine, besides several battalions from the interior of Austria. In fine, the general opinion was, that the Austrians would soon be in possession of Milan. This crisis, which the victorious army of Italy had to experience, was foreseen. The enemies of its glory and its commander, in the expectation of reverses they regarded as infallible, circulated by anticipation every rumour likely to be disfavourable. But the French government were on their guard, and easily penetrated this odious species of tactics. Whilst Bonaparte prepared new triumphs for the republic, the Directory were earnest in dissipating the impressions which the calumnies of libellers might have made on his mind. They addressed a letter to him on the thirty-first, the very day on which he retook Salo, purporting, that they remarked, with satisfaction, the indefatigable activity with which he combated the enemies of liberty. Partaking with all good citizens, with all true friends of their country, and with sincere republicans, the admiration inspired by the vast military talents, which he displayed, and which gave him a just title to the national gratitude, they viewed with indignation the daily efforts made by scribblers, under different masks, to deceive the public, and second the enemies of France, by rumours, the object of which could only be to sow dissention among the friends of order and peace. Indignant at the perfidy with which these coalesced libellers presumed to attack the loyalty and steady fidelity of his services, they owed to themselves the duty of formally contradicting the absurd calumnies, advanced by those who felt a necessity of fostering their malice by narratives, tending to give an additional impulse to their hatred, and make their productions be read. One man, an open royalist, unblushingly circulated a falshood; another, styling himself patriot, by way of excellence, but with the same object in view, commented on it, and pointed it in his own way, under pretext of combating his antagonist. Thus, both labour to arrest the progress of returning order; both seconded the enemies of the revolution; both wished to sow discord, and disorganise the the armies. And, in this manner, both sported with the good faith

of their readers, of the very person who afforded them a subsistence; while they impudently advanced as authentic relations, what were merely the fruit of their own imaginations.

"No, citizen," continued they, "never shall the friends of Austria succeed in prejudicing the Directory against you,—for the friends of Austria have no access to the Directory, or influence with them,—and because they know your principles and inviolable attachment to the republic.—No,—never did they surmise your recal: never did the Directory, or any of its members, entertain a thought of giving a successor to the man who has so gloriously conducted our republicans to victory. The libeller who, while affecting an air of defending you, dares to assert, that he has information of an intrigue forming against you, and of which a pecuniary matter was merely the pretext; the libeller, who, under the veil of pretended virtue, presumes to aver, that he has had the delicacy to be silent on events, which would have provoked the laughter of our enemeis,—thus imposing on the people and deceiving them, is unworthy of the public confidence. If this man, so well informed—this man, who, like his associates in calumny, affects an air of importance by pretending to know all the secrets of state; if he is in the knowledge of an intrigue of the nature he states, let him communicate it to the Directory. It is doubtless of the first importance, for it interests the public good and the march of our armies. He, therefore, who can develope it, cannot dispense with denouncing it to those whom it is meant to lead astray. But the silence of this man is his condemnation, and will enlighten the public as to their reliance in future on his insinuations. You enjoy, citizen, the confidence of the Directory, and the services, which you daily render, give you a title to it. The vast debt the republic owes to your victories evinces, that you are occupied solely with the glory and interests of your country. On this subject, all good citizens are unanimous; and you will have no difficulty to abandon the vaunting and calumnies of others, to the contempt, which of themselves they deserve, and still more on account of the spirit that dictates them."

On the day subsequent to that on which this honourable and well-merited testimony of esteem was rendered to Bonaparte, an hundred superb horses, sent by him from Italy to the government, entered Paris. General Hoche, one of his rivals in glory, and worthy of appreciating his value, addressed to the minister of police a memorable letter, which confers no less honour on its writer, than it pays to the person who is its object. "Men," said the young commander of the army of the coasts of the ocean, "men

who skulked, or were unknown in the first years of the foundation of the republic, to-day meditate only on the means of destroying it, and mention it solely for the purpose of calumniating its firmest supporters. These men have circulated, for some time past, rumours most injurious to the armies, and the most absurd calumnies against one of the Generals of the republic. To attain their end, is it not sufficient for them to correspond openly with the horde of conspirators at Hamburgh? To obtain the protection of the masters they desire to give to France, is it necessary they should abuse the Commanders of the armies, and the best friends of government? Think they, that the latter are as as weak as in times past, or will suffer themselves to be injured without daring to answer, accused without the power of vindication, and attacked without defending themselves? Think they, that the government is ignorant of the motives of their clamours, or that it will suffer itself to be imposed on by their lies? Why then is Bonaparte the object of the fury of these *gentlemen?* Is it because he defeated them and their friends in Vendemiaire? Is it because he has dissipated the armies of kings, and that he furnishes the republic with the means of gloriously terminating this honourable war? Brave young man, where is the republican soldier whose soul is not fired with a desire to imitate you? Fear not, Bonaparte; conduct to Naples and to Vienna our victorious armies; answer your personal enemies by humiliating kings, and giving additional lustre to our arms: leave to us the care of your glory, and reckon on our gratitude. Reckon also, that, faithful to the constitution, we will defend it against the attacks of internal enemies. Like you, we too, in Vendemiaire, marched against royalists, and distance alone has prevented your brethren in arms from partaking in your toils.

"I have," continued he, addressing the minister, "beheld with pity and contempt a man, otherwise a person of understanding, announcing inquietudes he himself never experienced, as to the power granted to the French Generals. You know all these Generals: who among them is the man, even admitting he has power enough over his army to prevail on it to march against the government,—who is he, I say, that ever undertook to do so, without being immediately immolated by his companions? Scarcely do the Generals know each other, and scarcely do they maintain any correspondence. Their number, therefore, ought to be a security against the designs gratuitously ascribed to one of them. Who is ignorant of the effect which envy, ambition, hatred, and, I think I may add, the love of country and honour, may have over men? Take courage, then, modern republicans. Some journalists have

pushed their absurdity so far, as to send me to Italy on purpose to arrest the man I esteem, and with whose conduct government has the most reason to be satisfied. Every one may be assured, that, at the period we live in, few General Officers would undertake the charge of fulfilling the functions of a gen-d'arme, although many are ready to contend against faction and the factious, whatever may be their ostensible motive.

"Since my residence in Paris, I have seen men of all opinions, and been able to appreciate the value of many. There are some who fancy that the government cannot go on without them, and who exclaim, that they may obtain places. Others, although no one troubles himself about them, believe that their destruction is resolved on, and are loud, in order to be remarkable, and render themselves an object of interest. I have beheld emigrants, more Frenchmen than royalists, weeping with joy at the recital of our victories; and, I have seen Parisians calling them in question. It seems to me, that an audacious party, but destitute of means, wish to overturn the present government, and substitute anarchy in its place. A second party, more dangerous and more adroit, reckoning friends in every place, have also the same destructive object in view, in order to restore to France the impotent constitution of 1791, and incite a civil war of thirty years. In fine a third party, which, if it knows how to contemn the former, and assume over them the empire of the laws,—if it would publicly unmask the royalist who flatters himself with being able to destroy it, and restrain the turbulent revolutionist, this third party will vanquish the two others. For it is composed of true republicans, men of industry and probity, whose means are virtue and abilities; and reckons in the number of its partizans, all good citizens, and the armies, who doubtless shall not for five years have been victorious in order to suffer their country to be enslaved."

In France, the inquietude, as to the fate of the army of Italy, was great; but the confidence in the talents of its General was still greater, and this confidence was not deceived. Although they experienced temporary miscarriages, victory soon again returned to their standard; and the nation had every reason to confide in their courage, and firm resolution to devote themselves for the glory of their country.

Massena's division was attacked by a strong column on the twenty-ninth, and, after an obstinate contest, compelled to yield to numbers, and abandon the interesting position of La Corona. At the same moment, a detachment of fifteen thousand Imperialists surprised General Soret's division at Salo, and obtained pos-

session of that important post. Soret, instead of retreating to Brescia, agreeably to his instructions, fell back on Peschiera, and thereby exposed the French rear to the attempts of the enemy. General Guieux, with six hundred men of the fifteenth demi-brigade of light infantry, threw himself into a large house in Salo, resolved, although destitute of provisions, to defend himself to the last extremity. The Austrians being now masters of the heights, and the left bank of the Adige, the French could no longer retain possession of Verona, and Porto Legnago, without exposing the troops posted there to be surrounded. Bonaparte, therefore, ordered them to fall back, and assembled all his forces at Roverbella.

The Imperialists, emboldened by their numbers, and flushed with success, advanced with an intent to bring the French to another engagement. While Bonaparte was making preparations to anticipate them, he learned that the column which forced Salo, had advanced to Brescia, and made itself master of the place, taking a great many of the French sick, with four companies of the twenty-fifth demi-brigade. By this time, parties of Hulans had spread on the French rear, and pushed forward on the road to Milan. In this critical situation, he felt the necessity of adopting some bold and decisive measure. The Austrians, in descending from the Tyrol, by way of Brescia and the Adige, had placed the French in their centre. If the republican army was too weak to make head against both divisions of the enemy at the same moment, it might, however, beat them separately; and this measure was facilitated by the position of the French. It was, therefore, possible, by a rapid retrograde movement, to surround the division approaching Brescia, and either take them prisoners, or completely defeat them; then turning with equal celerity towards the Mincio, attack General Wurmser, and oblige him to retreat to the Tyrol. To effect this, it was necessary, in twenty-four hours, to raise the siege of Mantua, which was on the point of being taken, as the garrison did not possess the means of defence for six hours longer. It was also necessary to recross immediately the Mincio, and not allow time to the enemy's division to surround the French.

On the evening of the thirtieth, all the divisions directed their march towards Brescia; the Austrian column, which had taken possession of that place, having, in the mean time, reached Lonado. General Soret was ordered, on the thirty-first, to advance to Salo, and extricate Guieux, while General Dallemagne was to attack and retake Lonado at any price. Soret defeated the Imperialists, and succeeded in liberating Guieux at Salo, who had been

forty-eight hours without bread, continually fighting against the enemy. General Dallemagne had not time to attack the Austrians; for, in fact, he himself was attacked. An engagement of the most obstinate nature ensued, and was for a long time undecided. The enemy, however, were at last routed, with the loss of six hundred killed, and as many taken prisoners.

During these transactions, the main army had fallen back on Roverbella, in order to cover the raising of the siege of Mantua, which was effected in the night-time. By the approach of day, the troops reached the other side of the Mincio, one division being posted at Bozolo, and the rest at Monte-Chiaro. Intelligence was brought, that although General Soret had successfully relieved Guieux, he was a second time compelled to abandon Salo, the enemy having returned in great force.

The whole French army, except the division at Bozolo, which covered the route to Cremona, marched to Brescia on the first of August, and having carried the place, recovered the sick and all the magazines, which the Imperialists, who now fled to the mountains, had not time to remove. General Valette had been left, with eighteen hundred men, to defend the important post of Castigliona; but, being attacked by an Austrian detachment on the evening of the second, he abandoned the village, bringing with him the half only of his troops, and proceeded to Monte-Chiaro, whither he carried the alarm, that the rest of his division was captured by the enemy. These brave men, however, though abandoned by their General, found a resource in their own courage, and effected their retreat to Ponte-San-Marco. Valette was immediately, and in presence of his division, suspended by the Commander-in-chief. Previous to this affair, he had shewn signs of cowardice at the attack of La Corona.

General Wurmser having crossed the Mincio, both armies faced each other on the morning of the third. General Guieux, with the left, was to attack Salo, Massena, with the centre, to attack Lonado, and Augereau, with the right, to assail the enemy by Castigliona. The Imperialists, however, instead of waiting the attack, surrounded the advanced guard of Massena, and took General Pigeon prisoner, who had advanced too precipitately. Bonaparte formed two demi-brigades into a close column by battalions; but, whilst they attempted to penetrate the enemy's line, the latter extended it for the purpose of surrounding them,—a manœuvre from which the General drew an assurance of victory. The first column, on arriving at Lonado, forced the position of the Imperialists, who, being thus thrown into disorder, and spread-

ing in every direction, endeavoured to regain the Mincio. Mean time General Augereau had taken Castigliona, and, during the whole day, maintained several obstinate actions with the enemy, who were double his number. In this memorable battle, the Imperial army was completely beaten, having lost twenty pieces of cannon, between two and three thousand men killed and wounded, and four thousand prisoners, among whom were three Generals. On the part of the French, General Bayrand, and several superior officers, were killed.

On the fourth, General Despinoy was ordered to penetrate into the Tyrol, by way of Chiusa, to effect which, he had previously to drive back five or six thousand of the Imperialists, who were at Gavardo. Adjutant-General Herbin, having defeated two of the enemy's battalions he fell in with on his way, proceeded as far as St. Ozeto. General Dallemegne advanced to Gavardo; not being, however, properly supported by the rest of the division, he was surrounded, but effected his retreat by cutting his way through the enemy. General St. Hilare was detached to Salo to act in concert with General Guieux, attack the hostile division at Gavardo, and free the road leading to the Tyrol. After a brisk fire of musketry, the Imperialists were defeated with the loss of eighteen hundred prisoners.

General Wurmser employed the whole of the fourth in collecting the remains of his main army, bringing up his reserve, and drawing what reinforcement he could from Mantua. He then drew up in order of battle, on the plain between the village of Scanello, which supported his right, and La Chiusa, which covered his left. The fate of Italy was not yet decided; the Austrian General had assembled an army of twenty-five thousand men, with a numerous cavalry, and seemed still in a capacity to render its destiny doubtful. Bonaparte gave orders to concentrate all the columns of the army, and hastened in person to Lonado, to ascertain the number of troops he could detach from it. But great was his surprise, on arriving at that place, to receive a messenger, who had come to summon the commandant at Lonado to surrender, because, said the officer, he was completely surrounded. From the videttes of cavalry, Bonaparte had concluded that several columns were approaching, and that the road from Brescia to Lonado was already interrupted at the bridge of St. Marco. This incident now convinced him, that it could only be the wreck of the vanquished division, which, after wandering about for some time, had collected, and was now endeavouring to effect a passage.

The conjuncture was extremely embarrassing, as he had at Lonado scarcely twelve hundred men. Ordering the messenger to be brought before him, and the bandage taken from his eyes, he told him, that if his General indulged the vanity of thinking to take the commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, he had only to advance; that he ought to know the latter was at Lonado, as every one knew the republican army was at that place; and that all the General and superior Officers belonging to the division should be responsible for this personal insult to the General-in-Chief. He assured the messenger, that if his division did not, in the space of eight minutes, lay down their arms, no mercy should be shown to any of them. The officer appeared confounded at finding Bonaparte present, and returned with his answer. Every preparation was now made for attacking the enemy, when the commander of the corps requested a parley, offering to surrender on capitulation. "No," replied the General, "you shall be prisoners of war." They demanded time to consider; but he ordered Berthier to advance the grenadiers and light artillery, and begin the attack. In an instant the whole column, consisting of four thousand men, with four pieces of cannon and three standards, laid down their arms. They had come from Gavardo, and were endeavouring to find a passage to effect their escape; but having failed in their attempts by way of Salo in the morning, they were now making an effort to retire by Lonado.

Assured that all the hostile corps from Gavardo and Salo were destroyed, Bonaparte, on the morning of the fifth, ordered the whole army to make a retrograde movement with a view of inducing the Imperialists to approach, while Serrurier's division advanced from Marcaria with an intent to turn General Wurmser's left. This movement had in some degree the desired effect, and Wurmser extended his right wing to observe their rear. The moment Bonaparte perceived Serrurier's division, he ordered Adjutant-General Verdiere to attack a redoubt, which the Austrians had constructed in the middle of the plain to support their left; while his Aid-de-camp, Marmont, co-operated with twenty pieces of light artillery. After a warm contest, the Austrian left wing set out in full retreat.

General Augereau attacked the enemy's centre, supported by the tower of Scanello, while Massena attacked their right. All the cavalry under General Beaumont proceeded to the right, in order to support the light artillery and infantry. The French were every where victorious, taking eighteen pieces of cannon, and one hundred and twenty ammunition waggons. About two thousand

Austrians were killed or taken prisoners; the rout was complete; but the republican troops, harassed by fatigue, were not able to continue the pursuit above three leagues. On the side of the French, Adjutant-General Frontin fell in front of the enemy. Thus, in five days, another campaign was terminated, Marshal Wurmser having lost, in that short period, seventy field-pieces, all the waggons belonging to his infantry, and between twelve and fifteen thousand men taken prisoners, six thousand killed and wounded, and almost all the troops who had come from the Rhine. Besides these losses, a very considerable number of his troops were dispersed throughout the country, several of whom were picked up daily by the French in the pursuit,

The Imperialists now occupied the line of the Mincio, having their right supported by the intrenched camp of Peschiera, their left by Mantua, and their centre by Valeggio, while Augereau proceeded to Borghetto, and commenced a brisk cannonade against the enemy. General Massena directed his course to Peschiera, and having attacked and carried their fortified camp before that place, took twelve pieces of cannon, and seven hundred prisoners. In consequence of this, the Austrians were obliged to raise the siege of Peschiera, and abandon the line of the Mincio. On the seventh, Augereau passed the Mincio at Peschiera, while the division of General Serrurier advanced to Verona. The Austrian rear-guard was still at this town, the gates of which were shut, and the draw-bridges raised. The proveditor of the Venetian republic, having been summoned to open them, answered, that he could not comply till after the lapse of two hours. Bonaparte, therefore, ordered the gates to be burst open with cannon-shot; and this order was executed in less than a quarter of an hour. After this, the French resumed their former position, while the Imperialists fled in disorder through the Tyrol. Thus the Austrian army, which, six weeks ago, threatened the reconquest of Italy, vanished like a dream, and Italy, which it thus threatened, returned to its former tranquillity. The inhabitants of Bologna and Ferrara, but particularly of Milan, displayed, during the retreat of the French, the greatest intrepidity and most enthusiastic attachment to liberty. When it was reported at Milan, that the Imperialists were at Cassano, and the French totally routed, the people called aloud for arms, and the streets, the squares, and all the places of public resort, resounded with the martial air, *Allons, enfans de la patrie!*

The blockade of Mantua had been raised since the thirtieth, and the garrison had not only succeeded in destroying the works of

the besiegers, but in carrying into the place one hundred and forty pieces of heavy artillery left in the trenches, and procuring provisions for a considerable period. These means of resistance, however, had cost very dear to the puissant army, who had fruitlessly attempted to deliver the fortress. On the news of the momentary success of the Austrians, their partisans, who no longer doubted but victory had irrevocably abandoned the republican standards, were eager in seconding, by every means in their power, events of which they hoped a complete counter-revolution would be the consequence. In the towns, and in the country, their emissaries appeared, circulating false intelligence and writings, calculated to excite the fanaticism of the people. These writings were dispersed with profusion; and, among them, the letters of a dominican, addressed to a female religious, were the most remarkable, in which the sanguinary doctrine of the *holy inquisition* was maintained. They succeeded in producing an inconsiderable agitation, and forming assemblages, particularly at Cremona, Casal-Maggiore, and two villages in the environs of this last town. At Cremona, after the surprise of Brescia, it was proposed to preserve the tree of liberty, in order to hang on it those who had assisted in the ceremony of planting it. Lists of proscription were circulated, which pointed out the victims, whose blood was to celebrate the arrival of the Austrians. Those who did not quit the tri-coloured cockade were maltreated; and the patriots, who sought to save themselves, were pursued as far as the Po. At Casal-Maggiore, the Commandant, as he was going to embark, was insulted, and at the same time some musket-shots were heard. His embarkation was violently opposed, when, in endeavouring to escape, he rushed into the river, and there met death. It appears, however, that the agitators had collected only a few of those brigands, who are ever ready to assemble on the prospect of disorder and carnage. The people, in general, being friendly to the French, did not shew a disposition to participate in the frenzy of the partisans of Austria. But some days more of uncertainty, as to the fortune of the French army, might perhaps have sufficed to pervert this disposition, and to have extended these seditious movements to a considerable distance.

The Pope, who does not reckon prudence and moderation among his virtues, had distinguished himself, on several occasions, by acts of obstinacy and ill humour, which have not tended to ameliorate the affairs of the Holy See. An instance of this appeared in the precipitate sending of a vice-legate, the moment the intelligence of the raising of the siege of Mantua arrived at Rome,

to retake possession of Ferrara, notwithstanding the representations of the Chevalier Azzara, who disapproved loudly of this step, and declared that it was contrary to the terms of the armistice. On the thirty-first of July, the French garrison in the citadel of that town suddenly left it, after having spiked their cannon, and thrown into the river the ammunition they could not carry off. It was known that the army had sustained some check, which obliged them to concentrate all their forces: but this hasty departure occasioned no disorder. No movement appeared which could induce a suspicion, that the Ferrarese, with the exception of the priests, entertained the least desire to return under their ancient government, which was generally detested. The most perfect tranquillity was maintained there, until the arrival of the vice-legate, which excited as much surprise as the departure of the French troops. He was not opposed at his entry, which was modest enough; but having replaced the papal arms on the gate of the palace, the sight of them excited great fermentation. The municipality and national guards repaired immediately to the place, when the arms were again pulled down, and replaced by those of the republic. On the first news of the victories of the French, the vice-legate wisely thought proper to terminate his mission and return to Rome.

The French, residing at Rome, experienced numberless insults from the populace; and when complaint was made, the papal government wished to excuse the people by observing, that the false intelligence respecting the French army had occasioned them. But, in answer, it was demanded, if the new victories, gained by that army, gave the republic a right not to observe her treaties with the Pope. A courier arrived on the ninth, having been dispatched by General Berthier to the Citizen Miot at Florence, and sent forward by the latter to the Chevalier Azzara at Rome. He brought accounts very favourable to the republican army; but so obstinate was the general prejudice, that he was believed to be a man sent on purpose from the neighbourhood of Rome, to prevent credit being given to the former reports, and hinder the people from disturbing the French. In the afternoon, what had been foreseen occurred; two Frenchmen were again insulted. The minister Cacault wished to dispatch a courier to Paris, and inform the Directory of these indecent proceedings, so contrary to the law of nations and the word of his Holiness. But the Chevalier Azzara besought him to forbear, and promised to use every means to obtain proper satisfaction from the Pope. He wrote a billet to his Holiness, in which he warned him for the last time, that the public

good required the dismissal of the fiscal Barberi; that this was the only means of restraining the people; and that otherwise the Holy Father had to fear the worst of consequences. To this billet the Pope made no reply, by intimated to Cardinal Busca, a Milanese, that he had appointed him secretary of state in place of Cardinal Zelada. It seems his Holiness, by making choice of a Cardinal attached to Spain for minister, wished at least for the present to follow the counsels of the Chevalier.

They did not neglect at Genoa to profit of the raising of the siege of Mantua, and the advantages obtained by the Austrians, in order to explain the new miracles operated by the *holy virgin.* The events they announced were, that the termination of the successes of the republican armies was at last arrived, and that they were on the point of being expelled from Italy. God, who by permitting them to enter it, had only employed them as means to recal the children of the church to penance and other Christian virtues, had now proscribed them. This language, in the opinion of a fanatical people, might legitimate the cruellest excesses against the French, and even make these excesses a duty. We have seen in the preceding narrative, that they had already begun to produce this terrible effect. These movements, however, had not been general; and the friends of Austria, who already calculated the number of days necessary for Wurmser's arriving at Milan, had not even time to finish their calculation, when the joy, arising from that hope, and the conspiracies they had audaciously countenanced, were suddenly converted into consternation and obedience.

The French army was not in the habit of neglecting to prosecute its successes with ardour, and, as might be expected, now vigorously harassed General Wurmser in his retreat. The Imperialists had occupied, in considerable force, La Corona, and Montebaldo, where they seemed resolved to make a stand. Massena marched thither on the eleventh, and made himself master of these two places and Preabelo, taking seven pieces of cannon and four hundred prisoners. Bonaparte ordered Generals Soret and St. Hilaire, to march to La Roque d'Anfonce, which the enemy shewed a disposition to retain. This post was carried; and the French, having engaged the Imperialists at Lodron, took, after a slight action, all their baggage, six pieces of cannon, and eleven hundred prisoners. Augereau also crossed the Adige, and drove back the enemy to Roveredo, after making several hundreds of them prisoners. On the nineteenth, General Wurmser removed his headquarters two leagues on the other side of Trent, aftet burning

part of the flotilla he had established on the lake of Garda, and evacuating Riva. This rapid flight of the Austrians allowed the French General time to restore order in the division of the army, concentrate his forces, and exchange the small number of prisoners whom the ephemeral success of the Imperialists had obtained, amounting to two thousand three hundred men, who immediately reinforced the army. After some partial encounters, the blockade of Mantua was again commenced by the division of General Sahuguet; and, on the twenty-fourth, the bridges of Governolo and Borgoforte were attacked, with an intent to drive the garrison within their walls. Sahuguet, after a lively cannonade, made himself master of the bridge of Governolo, while General Dallemagne seized on Borgoforte. The Austrians lost five hundred men killed, wounded and prisoners; and the Frenceh demi-galleys from Peschiera captured ten barks heavily laden with stores.

The Austrian army, notwithstanding its checks, having in its rear a country full of very strong posts, and for so long a period entirely at its devotion, prepared to revenge its disasters. But its bravery and the good dispositions made by its commander, were constrained to yield to the genius of the republic. Bonaparte, on arriving at Verona, learned that the Imperialists had marched, with two-thirds of their forces, towards Bassano, and with the other third occupied Alla. It was necessary that the republican army should defeat this last corps, and then making themselves masters of Trent, take a position at that town, to enable them to advance with their main body against Bassano, where General Wurmser was in person. Accordingly, Massena's division crossed the Adige by the bridge of Golo, and, following the great road leading to the Tyrol, reached Alla on the third of September, where they encountered the Imperial advanced-guard, and defeated them. The enemy fell back on the strong post of Marco, and shewed an intention of making a vigorous resistance. They occupied a formidable position on both banks of the Adige; those on the right bank being posted precisely at the point where the road terminates, by which the division of General Vaubois was to effect its junction, and cross the Adige. Vaubois had set out from Stova for Torbola, where he was joined by the brigade of Guieux, who had embarked at Salo on the Lake of Garda. His advanced-guard, under General Saint Hilaire, defeated a corps of the enemy, at the bridge of the Sarca, and took fifty prisoners. Vaubois' instructions prescribed, that he should arrive, on the fourth, opposite Serravalle, which was the advanced point of the troops occupying San Marco.

On the evening of the third, General Pigeon, who commanded the light infantry of Massena's division, advertised Bonaparte, that the enemy occupied in force the village of Serravalle. This intelligence determined the Commander-in-chief to endeavour to carry it. General Massena received orders to attack San Marco, at the moment it was calculated, that the head of Vaubois' division must have reached the Adige opposite Marco, and that General Augereau, who left Verona on the second, to occupy the heights between Zugo and Roveredo, separating the Venetian territory from the Tyrol, effected his object. By this position, Augereau had the advantage of being able to succour Massena if necessary, cover the right of the French, and harass the enemy towards Vicenza, About six in the morning the engagement began with Massena's division, and, at the same instant, the head of the column of General Vaubois, advancing from Torbola, attacked the Imperialists in their position on the right bank of the Adige. After two hours obstinate fighting, the enemy forced in their position at Marco, on the left of the Adige, and, at the same time, penetrated on the right of the river, retreated to Roveredo, availing themselves of all the defensive, and almost impregnable posts, which the nature of the ground afforded them at every step.

Bonaparte ordered the General-of-brigade Rampon to pass between Roveredo and the Adige, while General Victor entered the town at charge-step, the Austrians still falling back, and leaving a great number of dead and prisoners. Mean while, General Vaubois forced the intrenched camp at Mori, and pursued the enemy on the other bank of the Adige. The Imperialists were beaten in all points; but, profiting of the difficulties of the country, made head at every defile, and effected their retreat to Trent, with the loss of three pieces of cannon and a thousand prisoners.

While General Massena rallied all the demi-brigades, and gave his troops a moment of repose, two squadrons of cavalry reconnoitred the enemy's motions in their retreat. The Imperialists rallied in front of Calliano to cover Trent, and gave time to their head-quarters to evacuate it. Their left was supported by an inaccessible mountain, and their right, on the Adige, by a strong wall with embrasures, where they had planted several pieces of artillery. The Adige, at this place, almost touches some perpendicular mountains, and forms a defile about forty toises long, blocked up by a village, a lofty castle, and the wall already mentioned, uniting the river with the mountain. The French General perceived, that if the Imperialists were allowed to pass the night in this position, they would employ it in rendering the fort im-

pregnable, a circumstance which would occasion a second battle. Massena's division, in front of Roveredo, was extremely fatigued; but a single word from Bonaparte made them forget, that they had already marched two days and a half, fighting continually. Confident of the dispositions made by their commander, and animated by the example of General Massena, they expressed an eagerness to engage.

Arriving in front of this formidable position, General Dammartin advanced eight pieces of light artillery to commence a cannonade, and having found an excellent station, took the defile obliquely, while General Pigeon proceeded with the light infantry on the right. Three hundred riflemen, posted on the banks of the Adige, maintained a brisk fire, during which, three demi-brigades, forming in close column by battalions, passed the defile. Staggered by the lively fire of the artillery, and hardiness of the riflemen, the Imperialists did not attempt to withstand the mass of the French columns, but abandoned the entrance of the defile and fled. The French cavalry pursued, and the infantry, forgetting their fatigue, followed with celerity. Notwithstanding their efforts, the Imperialists were overtaken and completely defeated. The pursuit was continued within three miles of Trent, when the republican troops were obliged to halt, their strength being totally exhausted. In this battle, the French took six or seven thousand prisoners, twenty-five pieces of cannon, fifty waggons, seven standards, and a vast number of cavalry and artillery horses.

In the night, Vaubois's division crossed the Adige, and effected its junction; and, on the morning of the fifth, Massena entered Trent, after exchanging a few cannon-shot with the enemy's rear-guard. General Wurmser had abandoned the town the evening before, to take refuge on the side of Bassano. Bonaparte, learning that the Imperialists held a formidable position at Lavis, behind the river Lavisio, on the road to Botzen, felt how important the forcing them in this position would be in the execution of his ulterior movements. Accordingly, directing the several divisions to hasten their march, he in person attacked the Austrians with the vanguard, whose progress, however, was arrested by the obstinate defence of the enemy. But the head of Vaubois' division arriving, the passage of the bridge at Lavis was effected, and the enemy's intrenchments in the village forced; night, however, terminated the pursuit. During these transactions, Augereau's division, having experienced insurmountable difficulties on the heights, again descended into the valley of the Adige, and received orders to march towards Levico, on the road leading from Trent to Bassano.

In the different actions which had taken place from the twenty-ninth of July to the capture of Trent, the Austrian army lost in killed and wounded 8,000, prisoners, 13,000, deserted, from 2,000 to 3,000,—total 24,000; one hundred and five pieces of cannon, and two hundred and ten waggons. Such was the fate of this powerful column, consisting of thirty battalions, drawn from the army of the Rhine, and the choice of the Austrian troops, destined to conquer Italy.

If the design of Wurmser, and his instructions, obliged him to prevent the theatre of war from being transferred from Italy to the Danube, it cannot be denied, that he manœuvred with ability at the moment when, after the battle of Roveredo, he resolved to divide his troops, and throw the greater part of them rapidly towards the left. It was indeed more than doubtful, whether, even by assembling all his force, and defending successively the different positions which might offer themselves between Trent and Bolzano, he could have prevented them being carried by that French ardour, which nothing seemed able to oppose; and whether, chased towards Brixen, he could have reached Inspruck, after losing his army in that long valley which the Adige forms and traverses. In the series of reverses he had experienced, it was a bold effort to attempt to draw his enemy into the plain, oblige him to return on his steps, notwithstanding his victories, and augment, by hope, the resistance of the defenders of Mantua, the capture of which could alone fix the destiny of the Milanese, and decide the resolutions of the cabinet of Vienna as to Italy. Faithful to this plan, of which reason does not disapprove, Wurmser, notwithstanding his continual misfortunes, followed it with constancy and courage. He finally crowned it by an obstinate defence, which procured him greater glory than has been obtained by all the German Generals who preceded or succeeded him in Italy.

The division of General Augereau proceeded to Borgo-du-Val-di-Sugana, Martello, and Val-Soiva; and, at the same time, that of Massena marched to these places by Trent and Levico. On the morning of the seventh, the light infantry, composing Augereau's advanced guard, commanded by General Lanus, encountered the enemy, intrenched in the village of Priemolan, with their left supported by the Brenta, and their right by some perpendicular mountains. General Augereau immediately made his dispositions; and, after the fifth demi-brigade of light infantry had attacked the Imperialists, the fourth of the line, in close columns by battalions, pushed forward under the protection of the fire of the light artillery and carried the village. The Austrians rallied in the small

fort of Covelo, that blocked up the road through which it was necessary to pass. But the fifth demi-brigade, gaining the left of the fort, commenced a lively fire of musketry, while two or three hundred men, having crossed the Brenta, and reached the heights on the right, threatened to fall on the rear of the Austrian column. After a spirited resistance, the Imperialists evacuated their post. The fifth regiment of dragoons, supported by a detachment of chasseurs, set out in pursuit of the enemy, and gained the head of the column, which now found itself surrounded. Ten pieces of cannon were taken, fifteen waggons, ten standards, and four thousand prisoners. Darkness, and the fatigues of forced marches, and continual battles in which the troops had been engaged, determined the General to pass the night at Cismona ; and, on the morning of the following day, the army passed through the rest of the defiles of the Brenta.

A rapid and unexpected march, of twenty leagues in two days, completely disconcerted the Imperialists, who had calculated on the French marching directly to Inspruck, and had accordingly sent a column towards Verona, to menace that place, and create an alarm on their rear. On the eighth, at two in the morning, the army put itself in motion, and, on arriving at the mouth of the defiles, near the village of Solagno, fell in with the enemy. General Augereau advanced on the left, sending the fourth demi-brigade to his right; and the division of Massena was directed to pass in the same manner. About seven in the morning the engagement began. Strong from their excellent position, and encouraged by the presence of their Generals, the Imperialists kept firm for some time. But owing to the impetuosity of the republican troops, and the bravery of the fifth light demi-brigade of the line, the enemy were every where put to the rout, and pursued by General Murat with several detachments of cavalry.

The French marched immediately to Bassano, which was still occupied by General Wurmser, and his head-quarters. Augereau entered it on the left, while Massena, entering it on the right, attacked the batteries which defended the bridge of the Brenta. After carrying the artillery and passing the bridge, he penetrated into the town, notwithstanding the reiterated efforts of the battalions of grenadiers, the choice of the Austrian army, charged with covering the retreat of the head-quarters. In this battle the French took five thousand prisoners, thirty-five pieces of cannon with their waggons, two complete bridge equipages for thirty-two bateaux, upwards of two hundred large waggons loaded with part of the baggage of the army, besides five standards, two of which Lasnes,

Chief-of-brigade, took with his own hand. General Wurmser, and the treasure of the army, escaped only by a moment. The troops then proceeded in pursuit of a division of eight thousand men, whom Wurmser had directed to march towards Vicenza, and who were the only remains of that formidable army, which a month before had threatened to recover Italy. In six days, the French fought two battles and four engagements. They took from the enemy twenty-one standards and sixteen thousand prisoners, (among whom were several Generals), while the rest were either killed, wounded or dispersed. Always fighting in impregnable defiles, they advanced in these six days upwards of forty-five leagues, captured seventy pieces of cannon with their waggons and equipments, a great part of the grand park of the army, and considerable magazines spread along the whole line of their progress.

General Wurmser, obliged to abandon Bassano, fled in person with the wreck of two battalions of volunteers to Montebello between Vicenza and Verona, and rejoined the division already mentioned, consisting of four thousand five hundred cavalry and five thousand infantry, whom he had dispatched to Verona the moment he learned that Bonaparte was pushing forward to Trent. On the ninth, Augereau with his division proceeded to Padua, and picked up the wrecks of the baggage of the Austrian army, with four hundred men who escorted it; his object was to cut off Wurmser's retreat to Trieste. The division of Massena marched from Vicenza on the same day, with an intent to advance to the Adige and cross it at Ronco. Wurmser was now between the Adige and the Brenta. It was impossible for him to cross the Brenta, because two divisions of the French army obstructed his passage. He had, therefore, no other alternative than to pass the Adige at Porto-Legnago, and throw himself into Mantua; while some corps of his vanquished army were scattered in the Tyrol, or had escaped to Trieste. Bonaparte, on quitting Trent, had foreseen this movement of the Imperial General, and accordingly left Kilmaine at Verona, with directions to plant artillery on the ramparts of the place. Kilmaine succeeded in keeping the enemy in check for forty-eight hours, and repulsed them by the fire of his ordnance every time they attempted to penetrate. But the number of his forces was inadequate to control a populous town, and withstand a numerous force, who had so many reasons to spare nothing, that might render them masters of so important a post.

The Austrian commander, having intelligence of the arrival of Massena's division at Vicenza, and feeling that he had not a moment to lose, defiled the whole night of the ninth along the Adige, which he crossed at Porto-Legnago. On the tenth, Massena passed the river at Ronco in the evening. At the same time, Augereau's division marched from Padua, where they had captured fifty of the enemy's baggage-waggons, and proceeded to Porto-Legnago with an intent to surround the place by the left bank, and detach a corps to Castel-Baldo, in case the enemy attempted to defile along the river, in order to effect their escape on the side of Verona, by turning Padua. At day-break on the eleventh, Bonaparte directed Massena, who had crossed the Adige during the night, to march to Sanguinetto, in order to obstruct the passage of the Austrians from Porto-Legnago to Mantua, and by placing the enemy between two fires, capture General Wurmser and his army. General Sahuguet, who was posted before Mantua, was directed to detach five thousand men for the purpose of getting possession of Governolo, a point whereby the enemy might escape, by leaving Sanguinetto on their right. This corps was also to occupy Castellaro, and cut down all the bridges on the river Tayone as far as Ponte-Molino.

Massena's division, although overcome with fatigue, proceeded to Sanguinetto. To go from Ronco to Sanguinetto there are two roads; the one leading from Ronco runs to the left following the Adige, and joins the road from Porto-Legnago to Mantua: the second leads directly from Ronco to Sanguinetto. It was the latter which should have been taken, but their guide happened to follow the former. General Murat, at the head of a detachment of light horse arrived at Cerea, and having fallen in with the head of Wurmser's division defeated some squadrons of cavalry. General Pigeon, who commanded Massena's advanced-guard, finding his cavalry engaged, hastened forward with his light infantry to sustain them, and having passed the village took possession of a bridge, across which the enemy were under the necessity of passing. The main body of this division being still at a great distance, Wurmser, after a moment of astonishment and alarm, made his dispositions, and having defeated the French advanced-guard, retook the village and bridge of Cerea. Bonaparte, attracted by the cannonade, hastened to the spot; but the moment was lost. "We must," observed the General, "make a bridge of gold to a flying enemy, or oppose a barrier of steel." There was now no other alternative but to allow the enemy to escape, who, from every cal-

culation and according to every probability, would have been obliged that day to lay down their arms and surrender.

Wurmser defiled all the night of the eleventh towards Mantua with such rapidity, that he reached Nogara early in the morning. Massena marched to Cerea with an intention to follow the enemy and attack their rear, while an attempt was made to arrest them on the Tartaro and Tayone. At the same time, two demi-brigades advanced on the side of Legnago on the right bank of the Adige, whilst the division of Augereau surrounded it on the side of the left bank. The column of Massena marched within two miles of Nogara without being able to overtake the enemy's rear-guard, and from this circumstance it was concluded, that the latter had crossed the Tartaro. Meanwhile the Imperialists, finding the bridge of Castellaro broken down and occupied, defiled by the bridge of Villa-Impenta, which General Sahuguet had neglected to destroy. The moment Sahuguet learned this, he detached some horse to harass and retard their march, but he had too few troops to succeed. General Charton, with three hundred men, was surrounded by a regiment of cuirassiers. His troops, instead of posting themselves in the ditches, determined boldly to face and charge the enemy; but after a vigorous resistance, they were surrounded, General Charton killed, and the whole party taken prisoners. After this, Wurmser continued his march to Mantua. During these transactions, Augereau arrived before Porto-Legnago, and, having invested the place, summoned the governor, who, after a few cannon-shot, agreed to surrender. The garrison, consisting of seventeen hundred men, were made prisoners of war. In this place the French found twenty-three field-pieces, with their carriages and waggons, and recovered three hundred men, who had been taken by Wurmser in the action at Cerea.

Bonaparte having learned that the Austrians had reached Mantua, with their cavalry and about four thousand men, the remains of their army, Augereau advanced to Governolo, a very important post on the Mincio. At the same time, General Massena marched towards Mantua, in the direction of Due-Castelli, on purpose to seize the fauxbourg St. George, and thereby drive the enemy within the walls. The engagement began at noon, but it was too precipitately commenced, for the fifth demi-brigade having lost their way did not arrive in time. The numerous Imperial cavalry threw into confusion the French light infantry, who, however, succeeded in maintaining their ground till night. A multiplicity of severe actions occurred in the course of the day, in which the Generals and soldiers on both sides displayed great gallantry. But the re-

sult of these tended to confirm the enemy's confidence, which the French General laboured to augment by every possible means, as his object was to seduce them to a serious engagement beyond the ramparts.

Early in the morning of the fifteenth, intelligence was received, that the Imperialists had drawn out nearly all the garrison to defend La Favourite and St. George, and thereby preserve the means of procuring forage for their numerous cavalry. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the division of Sahuguet detached one column to mask the citadel of Mantua, and a second to attack La Favourite. Massena also advanced one column on the same point, while the second, consisting of the greatest part of his division, proceeded to St. George by the great road. At the same time, a column of Augereau's division, marching from Governolo, ascended the left bank of the Mincio, and attacked the right flank of the Imperialists posted before St. George. General La Salcette hastened to cut off the communication of La Favourite with the citadel, while General Pigeon, to prevent all communication between La Favourite and St. George, proceeded by Villa Nova, to turn a plain where the Imperial cavalry could manœuvre.

The left column, headed by General Massena in person, attacked the Imperialists with impetuosity. After driving them from post to post, he carried the village of St. George, seized on the tête-du-pont, and thus cut off the retreat of all who had not already saved themselves by the bridge. The columns on the right met with an obstinate resistance, but the cavalry hastening to that wing, and the capture of St. George, together completed the success in every quarter; and the enemy, in universal disorder, re-entered Mantua with what troops they could save. In this battle the French took two thousand prisoners, among whom was a complete regiment of cuirassiers and a division of hulans, with twenty pieces of cannon, and their ammunition waggons. The enemy's loss, in killed and wounded, must have amounted to two thousand five hundred men at least. Several French Generals and officers were wounded, but not dangerously.

Thus, although the garrison of Mantua was reinforced by five thousand infantry, it is calculated that the battle of St. George must have cost the enemy nearly the same number. As to the cavalry, they were an additional embarrassment, by increasing the consumption of provisions. It was, therefore, probable, that Wurmser would make every possible effort to escape with them from Mantua. Every thing which prudence, vigilance, and activity could contribute to surround the Austrian General, and force

him to surrender with the residue of his army, was done by Bonaparte. His indefatigable divisions had not a moment of repose, and the four days, that followed the battle of Bassano, were only a continual series of movements and engagements. If the bridge of Villa Impenta had been destroyed, and if the guides had more accurately directed the route from Ronco to Sanguinetto, there is not a doubt but he would have had the glory of compelling the Imperial General to lay down his arms. Such an event would have concluded the campaign, for Mantua must have capitulated, while the French completely scoured the Tyrol and the Frioul of the few Austrian troops that remained in these countries. Thus the fate of Italy would have been decided; but the good fortune Wurmser had of escaping, and throwing himself into Mantua, rendered it equivocal for some time, and forced Bonaparte to experience new difficulties, which, however, tended ultimately to augment his glory.

The garrison of Mantua, reinforced by the troops General Wurmser had conducted thither, and animated by his presence, obliged the French to remain in force before the place, and endeavour, by preventing its communication with the neighbourhood, to reduce it to the last extremity of famine, which its numerous garrison would necessarily accelerate. This measure seemed more eligible than to seduce the enemy in sorties, in which the governor could be prodigal of men, who were a greater charge than useful to the preservation of the fortress. If such was not the plan at first adopted, it was that to which the besiegers had very soon recourse. It was, however, still necessary to diminish by engagements the force of the garrison, and reduce it to such a state, that, while unnecessarily strong within, it should be too weak to hazard sallies, and enable it to maintain a kind of campaign in front of its walls. It was also necessary, that Mantua alone should not occupy the attention of Bonaparte. He foresaw, that the Austrians would make a last effort to raise the blockade, and that he would have a second time to make, against a new army, all those exertions which he had successfully employed in destroying that of Wurmser. His forces appeared scarcely sufficient to vanquish so obstinate a resistance. In vain he annihilated entire armies; they revived from their ashes, and the gold of England realised the fable of the teeth of the dragon of Cadmus. But in spite of that gold, which purchased the unhappy subjects of Austria, and led them to be massacred on the field of battle, while their pay-masters, indifferent as to the fate and number of the victims immolated to their avarice, robbed their insensate allies of the empire of the sea, and of their commerce, even while affecting to support their

cause;—in spite of that gold, we say, the English were to lose, in the Mediterranean, the island of Corsica, the crown of which King George had acquired.

While Austria was employed in recruiting an army in the Tyrol, and in Carinthia, we will anticipate events, narrate what occurred before Mantua and in the passes of the Adige and the Brenta, and detail the means employed by the French for recovering Corsica. After the battle of St. George, Bonaparte constantly endeavoured to seduce Wurmser to a second engagement, in order to weaken the garrison by repeated actions without the walls of the fortress. With that view, he took care not to occupy Seraglio; but, as it was hoped that this circumstance would induce the Austrian General to extend his line, the republican troops continued to possess the bridge of Governolo, in order to facilitate the passage across the Mincio. On the twenty-third, the Imperialists proceeded to Governolo, along the right bank of the Mincio, but were repulsed after a brisk cannonade, and lost eleven hundred prisoners, with five pieces of cannon. A few days afterwards, five hundred of the garrison made a sortie, and passed the Po, at Borgoforte, for the purpose of foraging. In the meantime, General Kilmaine, who commanded the siege, succeeded in completely blockading the fortress, by obliging the enemy to evacuate their camps before the gates of Pradella and Ceresa. The Austrian detachment, finding itself thus separated from Mantua, endeavoured to retreat to Florence. On its arrival at Reggio, the inhabitants, being informed of what had happened, ran to arms, and obliged it to retire into the castle of Montechiarugolo, in the territory of the Duke of Parma. They next invested the castle, and took the whole corps prisoners by capitulation. Numberless skirmishes occurred under the walls of Mantua, which it is unnecessary to enumerate, but which were a prelude to its reduction.

Bonaparte's intention, in placing a French garrison in Leghorn, was not only to interdict the English commerce at that port, but to open a communication with the patriots in the departments of Liamona and Golo. All those, who, faithful to the republic, had sought an asylum in Italy from the English sway, or Paolian tyranny, immediately assembled at Leghorn, and began, by frequent communications with their fellow citizens of Liamona, to organise in that department the means of delivering it from British domination. The prudent Paoli, who foresaw this storm, had already abandoned the island, and retired some weeks before to Florence, from which city he continued his journey to Hamburgh, with a design to spend at London the remains of a life rendered disho-

nourable by his late conduct. This personage had merited a moment of esteem, and acquired celebrity by defending his country against the Genoese tyranny. After the conquest of Corsica by France in 1769, Paoli became the hireling of England, whose government gave him a pension, which the fortune he had accumulated in Corsica, during his Generalship, might have enabled him to dispense with accepting, if he had possessed more virtue than love of money. He found means, after the lapse of twenty years had drawn the veil of oblivion over his conduct, to abuse the generosity of a decree of the Constituent Assembly, and to betray France in favour of the British Cabinet, who paid him. It is in this that his conduct is inexcusable, and must now bereave him of the fruits of a laborious life, which had not otherwise been without glory.

This decree abolished the proscription of the Corsicans, who in 1769 had been the companions of his flight, and reinstated them in their property, if confiscated. Paoli, on reading it, exclaimed, that his native land was restored to him; that, like France, it had recovered its freedom; and that, having fought only to procure liberty to it, he would return to enjoy what a great nation had assured to his country. Accordingly, he proceeded from London to Paris, and for a moment, excited there an enthusiasm, from which the French know not how to defend themselves, and of which they are always the dupes. This enthusiasm increased, when he requested to take his civic oath in the bosom of the National Assembly, who, from that simple act, believing him a martyr of the abolished monarchy, and cordially become a French citizen, hastened to load him with honours, and send him as commander to Corsica. Biron, who had obtained the government of the island, was tacitly invited not to repair to it, in order that Paoli might enjoy there, in the amplest manner, all the authority which an extreme confidence could confer upon him.

The mere imprudence of this act ought, by its excessive generosity, to have brought back to France a man susceptible of gratitude, and endowed with virtue. If he felt his mind impressed with sentiments little compatible with those which such treatment ought to have incited, he should not have accepted dignities that conferred on him a power he might abuse. The first use which he hastened to make of this power, on his return to the island, should have taught the French nation to suspect him. But the government, occupied with other interests of importance, scarcely ever thought of Corsica. Paoli was thus enabled at his ease to listen only to his former passions, revive his party, and keep at a distance, or

persecute all who had not formerly followed his standard, or who had abandoned him, and submitted to victorious France. To create a party was giving one to England; and foreseeing that, in the revolutionary convulsions which agitated France, he would find an opportunity of breaking with her, all his cares were directed to place himself in a situation to betray her without danger. It may be easily conceived, that he succeeded in his purpose without much difficulty. The English were invited, and all the ports of the island opened to them. Soon afterwards, his agents tendered to the King of Great Britain the title and crown of the kingdom of Corsica, which the sovereigns of France had disdained to add to their titles, even when possessing it, but which the British monarch thought worthy of being united with the nominal title of King of France,

Meanwhile, the Corsicans were flattered with the happiness of possessing the inestimable constitution of England; and, accordingly, a parliament was created, in which were seen many commoners, but no peers, with the exception of a few nobles. This circumstance probably deceived one of the *peer* Paoli's expectations, to whom a viceroy was sent, although probably unexpected by the former, whose ambition reckoned on obtaining that title, and the functions attached to it. If, in this instance, he found the English less confiding and generous than the French, he ought to have reflected, that a nation of merchants know how to calculate, and that the abuse, he had made in their behalf, of the kindness and confidence of France, taught them not to expose themselves to his committing a second time a similar offence. The levity of the French, in the choice they had made of entrusting Corsica to Paoli, was the less pardonable, as they had been advertised of his character, drawn by one of their writers in his History of Corsica. With this work a member of the Constituent Assembly was well acquainted, from having copied out of it a long report respecting that island, to which report the honour of printing had been decreed.

Notwithstanding the assistance Paoli procured to the English, it was not withqut opposition that they effected their establishment. General Lacombe-Saint-Michel, a representative of the people at the time, displayed there a republican energy. His military talents alone, for a long time, arrested the enemy before places, of which his courage and ability were the principal and almost only defence. Calvi did not surrender till it had become a heap of ruins, and Bastia made a long and vigorous resistance. These efforts of the patriots were not yet completely crushed; and after the submission

of the island, the exactions of the English, their avarice, and the insolent haughtiness of their domination, soon contributed to draw over to the French, even many of those Corsicans, who from that inconstancy, of which their fellow-citizens have too often exhibited proofs, had for a moment joined the party of their enemies. To this number of patriots, the glory acquired by General Bonaparte, who was born at Ajaccio, very soon added a multitude of those, who fancied they beheld reflected on themselves, a portion of that eclat, which the valour of the conqueror of Italy expanded to a distance. Every triumph he obtained weakened the English party in Corsica; and it may be said he defeated them in that island, every time he vanquished the allies on the continent.

For several months the English garrisons had been reduced to such a situation, as not to venture out of their quarters. The viceroy, in a tour through the island, had been arrested, and sent back on condition of withdrawing his troops from the interior; and the inhabitants had refused to pay the imposts, or acknowledge the British authority. The patriots, who successively repaired thither from Leghorn, carried with them succours and instructions, and waited only for the moment of a general explosion, which the intimation given by the English of their approaching embarkation could alone retard. In consequence of the viceroy's declaration, the commune of Bastia appointed a committee, who liberated all the republican prisoners, and sent a deputation to General Gentili at Leghorn, accompanied by deputies from Casinca, and other cantons, to renew, in the name of the inhabitants, the oath of fidelity to the republic.

Immediately on receiving intelligence of the dispositions made by the English for evacuating the island, Gentili directed the General-of-brigade Casatta to pass over with a body of troops. He accordingly set sail from Leghorn, and, notwithstanding the great number of English ships cruising off that port, and in the latitude of Corsica, succeeded in effecting a landing. Next day he was joined by a numerous body of patriots, and advanced rapidly with this force towards Bastia. Having obtained possession of the heights, and being powerfully supported by the citizens, he summoned the English, who still held the fort, to surrender within the space of an hour. They were about three thousand strong, and had in the road several ships that threatened to batter the town. The dread, however, of seeing their communication with the sea cut off, precipitated their retreat; and, on General Casatta's advancing with all the forces he had assembled, they threw themselves in disorder into their vessels. He took eight or

nine hundred prisoners, and among these nearly the entire regiment of Dillon, composed of emigrants. The magazines, which they had not time to embark, were also captured.

Casatta, now master of Bastia, marched next day with two pieces of cannon against St. Fiorenzo, which the English still occupied. The defiles of San Germano were guarded by the enemy, who, after a spirited resistance, were driven back. Notwithstanding the fire of two vessels, moored opposite to the public road leading to the town, the French succeeded in making themselves masters of the place, and took part of the garrison prisoners. The squadron, lying in the bay, retired beyond the reach of cannon-shot, and the viceroy took refuge at Porto Ferrajo, with the troops he had carried off from Bastia. At the same time, the garrison of Bonifacio were made prisoners by the republican troops; Ajaccio was taken by the patriots; and General Gentili having arrived with all the Corsican refugees who were on the continent, the submission of the island was effected without farther opposition. Three weeks had not yet elapsed, when the English saw themselves driven from Corsica, and forced to abandon the gulph of San Fiorenzo, a station from whence they had done much injury to France. They were not even able to save some ships of war, which were burned in the port of Ajaccio. A minister of the republic immediately repaired to the island, in order to organize a constitutional government.

At the period of the evacuation of Corsica, Naples, drawn over by the English to a coalition, that could never prove of any utility to her, and has exposed her to dangers from which she will have a difficulty to escape, hastened to sign a treaty of peace with the French republic. The extreme moderation which appears in it, was probably owing to the desire of not creating new embarrassments to the army of Italy, of isolating the court of Rome, and of terminating the siege of Mantua without inquietude. It is remarkable, that the treaties most speedily concluded, and of the most generous tenor, granted by the French republic to the members of that coalition which had conspired her ruin, were those entered into with the princes of the house of Bourbon, whose chief she had precipitated from his throne. Her indulgence towards the sovereigns of this family, proves two essential points; first, that she had in view only her own liberty, and not to take revenge on her former rulers; and, secondly, that the coalesced powers, who had armed to maintain, as they averred, the regal government in France, and the throne of the Bourbons, were obviously actuated by another motive. After the recognition of the republic by all

the Bourbons, they could no longer advance this insidious pretext for their hostilities, but betrayed the motives of invasion and partition which had led them to unite, and evinced, that no real and sincere wish to support the Bourbons had animated them.

The armistice, which Bonaparte had formerly granted to the Duke of Parma, was now converted into a formal treaty between the republic and His Royal Highness, by the mediation of His Catholic Majesty. The Pope, however, was much less fortunate in his negociations, which it was difficult for priests to conduct with the necessary candour. After the return of his agents, Petracci and Vangelisti, he attempted to renew the conferences at Florence. A congregation of cardinals had discovered, that it was necessary to send to that city the prelate Galeppi, and the Dominican monk Soldati, with the Spanish minister, the Chevalier Azzara. The last, as already mentioned, had negociated the armistice with which Rome was so ill content, and which she had so imprudently violated, by directing the prelate La Greca to attempt recovering possession of Ferrara, at the moment the ephemeral success of General Wurmser induced her to believe, that she might display her perfidy with impunity.

These agents of His Holiness accordingly presented themselves to the French commissioners; but the conference was broken off at the first proposition. Galeppi returned to Rome for the purpose of procuring more ample powers, and a respite of seven days was granted him. A blind and headstrong stupidity had seized the sacred college; and the ruling faction prevailed on the Pope to refuse the conditions imposed by the French, break the armistice, recal or stop the sums of money and statues already on their way, and, in fine, have recourse to arms with an inconsiderateness that bordered on frenzy. A new alliance was contracted with Naples, and a new persecution commenced against all, who were suspected of entertaining French principles. Taxes the most vexatious were imposed, and nothing was neglected that could lead this miserable government to its ruin. The exhibition of miracles performed in all the churches, and processions calculated to inflame the minds of the multitude, were succeeded by armaments not less ridiculous, but still more disastrous. The constable Colonna promised a regiment, the prince of Giustiniani cavalry, and the banker Tortonia his treasure and his services. Rome the holy became Rome the warlike, whilst her means were dissipated, her *cedules* sinking more rapidly than assignats had done in France, and free opinions gaining as much as her *cedules* lost. In vain the wisdom of the French minister Cacault sought to moderate these extravagant

sallies of the pontifical government; the hope of the approaching return of an Imperial army, which they flattered themselves would be more fortunate than the former, and the suggestions of Austria and England, triumphed.

In the mean time, symptoms of the spirit of liberty manifested themselves in Italy in a manner intimidating to its sovereigns. Reggio, already illustrious as the birth place of Ariosto, the greatest Italian poet, and one of the first in the world, had increased her glory by being the first to venture to proclaim her exalted sentiments. Since the twenty-eighth of August this town had been in arms, and expelled the troops of the Duke of Modena that formed its garrison; Ferrara and Bologna had sent deputies to felicitate this success, and offer their assistance. The regency, that governed the states of the Duke of Modena since his flight, immediately began to repair the fortifications of his capital. But that proceeding advertised the French of the necessity of preventing it. Having entered the town on the eighth October, they declared the armistice broken, on account of its not having been observed by the sovereign of Modena, and took under their protection the people of that city and of Reggio. The council of regency was suppressed, and replaced by a committee of government composed of the citizens Canuti, Medici, Valdrighi, Cavedoni, Testi, Cavichioli, and Luosi. This committee took an oath of fidelity to the French republic, and was to govern in its name, and receive the oaths of all the secondary authorities. Feudal jurisdiction was abolished, a national guard organized through the whole state, and an assembly convoked at Modena for the purpose of uniting the people of Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio.

The assembly of Deputies declared permanent and indissoluble the union of these four cities. As it was necessary to protect the public safety and common liberty by the most energetic measures of defence, they also decreed the organization of a sedentary guard in all the confederated territory, the formation of a legion composed of five cohorts, and the establishment of a council, or military commission, of five members. They also resolved, that a deputation should be sent to Milan, the capital of the free Transpadane cities, to maintain amity and fraternity.

Bologna was also occupied with the task of her internal regeneration. The commissioners, appointed to frame the plan of a constitution, did not forget that a wise and rational democracy was to be its fundamental basis, and that the benefit of liberty would be increased, in so far as the project of a constitution approximated to that of France. They seem to have attained this two-fold pur-

pose; but a particular article of their plan occasioned a determination, no doubt just, yet not the less generous, on the part of the senate. By the plan of the commissioners, the presidents of the twenty departments, who were to participate in the legislative and executive power, were to be elected by the people from the number of ex-senators. The senate rejected this distinction, which impinged on the laws of equality, as well as on the original right of the people, and declared, that the public functions and esteem were indiscriminately the patrimony of all the citizens. This conduct did honour to the senate, who justified, on so delicate an occasion, the idea which had been long entertained of their wisdom and moderation, and who on that day were ambitious only of a glory dear to real patriots,—the glory of advancing, without violence or confusion, the happiness of their country, by securing its liberty.

In a sitting of the senate it was decided unanimously, that the ancient forms and titles should be abolished, and that the senate, as well as its individual members, should receive and give only the title of citizen. An immense number of Bolognese citizens and soldiers repaired to the grand square, and there planted the tree of liberty, to the sound of warlike instruments, and amidst the joyous acclamations of *Viva la Requblica Francese.* At night, a grand illumination took place. Some persons, however, having indulged in reproaches and menaces towards others, this conduct occasioned a tumult, during which the popular fury committed several excesses. General Bonaparte having arrived, and been informed of these offences, thought it necessary to publish a proclamation to the inhabitants. Satisfied as he was with the enthusiasm which animated them, and their firm resolution to maintain their liberty, he was afflicted, he said, by the spectacle of the violence committed by some bad men, undeserving of being citizens of Bologna. A people abandoning themselves to disorder were unworthy of liberty, for a free people respected both persons and property, while anarchy was productive of civil wars and every public calamity. He declared himself the enemy of tyrants, but above all the sworn foe of villains, plunderers, and anarchists. It was his fixed resolution to command those to be shot, who, by violating social order, were born for the disgrace and misfortune of the world. Did the people of Bologna wish, that the French republic should afford them her protection? Did they wish, that the French army should esteem them, and exert itself cordially for their prosperity? Did they wish, that he himself should be hereafter proud of the friendship they had professed? If so, he called on them to repress a handful of knaves, and take care that

no person should feel oppression, or be arrested, except by virtue of the law, whatever political opinions he might entertain; but, above all, that property be respected.

The senate afterwards published a declaration, inviting the citizens to regard the tree of liberty with enthusiasm, but at the same time with respect. It was, they said, the symbol of that noble and august sentiment which nature gives man, which despotism had so long lulled asleep in their hearts, and which, after the lapse of five complete ages, the French nation had awakened amongst them. The audacious, who should dare to outrage it by word or by deed, were declared guilty of treason, and to be punished with death. At the same time, the citizens were called on, not to attribute to this tree the false idea of licentiousness and libertinism. It represented liberty and civil equality, which placed all equally under the authority and protection of the law; and he, who should dare to disturb the public tranquillity and order, or insult the government and constituted authorities, was immediately to be shot as an example.

Ferrara united in all these measures, adopted for the establishment of a republican administration, and seconded, with zeal, the march of the public mind. The oligarchy of Genoa, on the contrary, used every effort to stifle this spirit, although they must have foreseen, on the occasion of the murder of a Frenchman, that they could not dispense with shutting up their port against the English. But, if the oligarchy were not favourable to the French republic, the Genoese people displayed less repugnance; and this circumstance was the real cause of the alarm of their government.

The fanatics, and the emissaries of Austria, excited, by their insinuating speeches, the inhabitants of the former Imperial fiefs to rise in insurrection against the French, who had entered these fiefs to the number of one thousand men. But the peace with Naples, and the abandoning of the Mediterranean by the English, threw all the enemies of France into consternation. While Count Girola, the Emperor's minister, protested against the refusal of the Genoese government to communicate with him, because he had violated the law of nations by stirring up the fiefs, he was busily engaged in organizing another insurrection. The fief of St. Margaret, lying in the valley of Scrivia, where there is, on a height, a castle capable of being defended, was chosen as the place of rendezvous. Some German prisoners of war, who had deserted by the negligence of the French, were collected by him, and sent to St. Margaret by way of Torriglia. He also established agents on the road, who furnished them with military allowances. A part

of these recruits took the direction of Sestri and Levanti, and passing by Sala, where the Duchess of Parma resided, returned to the Austrian army in the Venetian territory. The emigrants, from the fiefs, also repaired to St. Margaret, where other malecontents were to join them, when every thing was ready for the insurrection. Several noted agents rambled through the country, circulating every where the manifestoes of Wurmser, who was informed of the plan, and had sent Colonel Mercantini, from Mantua, to conduct it.

Mercantini lived several days concealed at Genoa, in the house of Count Girola, where he concerted measures with the assistance of some German officers, prisoners of war, but at large on their parole. The secret practices of these agents, and the conveyance of powder, and other warlike stores, into the fiefs, excited suspicions, and the plot was soon discovered. General Bonaparte ordered the governor of Tortona to send a detachment into the fiefs. In the castle of St. Margaret there were about three hundred persons, who fled at their approach, and the lord of the fief, one Malaspina, also escaped. The particulars of the expedition are unknown; but many persons were arrested in arms, and depôts of arms and stores were discovered, which, it is said, were carried by the muleteers, during night, from a village in the vicinity of Genoa, were the emissaries of Count Girola had secreted them. A person, holding a confidential office under the Genoese government, was reported to have been implicated in this affair.

Milan was the town, in which the republican principles particularly displayed themselves with the greatest eclat. The twenty-second of September, the festival of the foundation of the French republic, was celebrated there with a pomp and solemnity, worthy of the grandeur of the event and of the sentiment it inspired in a people, fond of liberty, and eager to testify their gratitude to their deliverers. But the administration,* not confining itself to animate the people by the spectacle of festivals, published addresses not less encouraging, among which that *To all good citizens and friends of their country* was particularly remarkable. This address began with observing, that the first elementary principle of the social virtue is public instruction, which announces to nations their approaching happiness. Wherever its dawn appears, the sun of liberty rapidly emerges from the horizon in all its splendour. Greece is equally celebrated for her martial spirit and her know-

* This administration was the Representative Assembly, exercising the provisionary government established in Lombardy since its conquest, under the protection of the French republic.

ledge, and the fame of her philosophers disputes the palm of glory with the renown of her captains. The latter have crushed tyrants: but the former proclaimed an energetic sentiment, which has been transmitted from generation to generation;—a sentiment which, notwithstanding obstacles of every kind, has resounded in the ears of nations the sacred name of liberty. France, the rival of the glory of Greece, has shaken off the yoke. She has awakened alarm in the souls of tyrants, and hope in the breasts of the people. But the torch of philosophy preceded the gleam of her invincible sword. With the arms of reason she persuaded the people, that they ought to be free;—and the people wished to be so. She predicted, that a free people would overwhelm the forces of all the despots of the earth;—and the people have beheld the satellites of the oppressors of the world, flying humbled before the republican standards. Italy first gave an asylum to the sciences and arts of Greece. Hitherto she has not, perhaps, displayed those proofs of energy, that might have been expected from a nation placed by nature in a country, which its situation, resources, and population, seem to have destined for liberty. But the primary cause of this must be sought in the eternal obstacles, which the union of tyranny and fanaticism has opposed to public instruction in stifling, by every odious means, the germ of independence, which this happy climate had deposited in the hearts of its inhabitants.

"Our first duty," continued they, "in the favourable circumstances we enjoy, is to open to Italian genius a vast career. By investigating the great national interests, it will render familiar to the people the eternal principles of liberty and equality, make known to them the extent of their rights and the facility of recovering them, and at the same time point out the rocks, on which those who pass rapidly from servitude to freedom, are in danger of being wrecked. Such is the object we have in view by establishing a prize to him, who shall produce the best treatise on the important question we have proposed.* You, who in peace cultivate letters,—let the love of your country and of glory arouse you! If you have been condemned to stifle your sentiments under the ancient tyranny, when to utter truth was a crime, proceed now, under the genial auspices of a victorious army, and a General, not less invincible than friendly to humanity. Fear not to raise your voice, and offer to our common country the homage of your knowledge and talents.—

* This address was the *programma* of a prize, which the Lombardic administration proposed for the best treatise on the following question: *Which is the free government best calculated to promote the happiness of Italy?*

"And ye, who still groan under the yoke of tyrants, banish every fear. In your hands are placed means the most prompt to expel them from their usurped thrones. Write,—expose them to the people in all their nakedness, and they will excite no other sentiment than hatred. Make known to the people their strength; and they will emerge from the abasement in which so many ages of servitude have retained them. Recount the victories of their deliverers, and the happiness of the cities which have already liberated themselves from slavery. Remind them of the ancient glory of Italy, and that now opened to her. Place before their eyes the oppression prepared for them by tyrants, if, after being menaced with an immediate fall, the latter should again return to their tottering thrones. Sound in their ears the lamentations of their children condemned to perpetual servitude, and the maledictions with which future generations will load the present, if they suffer the fortunate moment to escape, which perhaps may never return. Then will the nation assume the majestic attitude that becomes them. They will despise and surmount every obstacle; the most distant despots will grow pale at the name of the people; and you will enjoy the glory of having by your writings produced these important consequences. Neither difficulties nor danger ought to retard you: every thing is easy to him who pants for liberty. Be bold,—write; the hour of freedom has arrived."

The detail of the various events, which produced in Italy a new order of things, has led us from the military operations of Bonaparte. Other Generals would not, like him, oblige the historian to present their transactions to posterity under the varied aspect of warlike, political, legislative, diplomatic, and administrative; and the narrative of their campaigns would certainly not furnish materials for so many digressions. But as a relation of the first efforts, made by a celebrated people for the recovery of their liberty, naturally creates a kind of interest, we have endeavoured to collect materials, which will supply an abler writer with the means of forming hereafter a more interesting history. Let us then return to the new triumphs of the conqueror of Italy.

Austria profited by the resistance of Mantua, and the necessity the French experienced of retaining the greater part of their forces before that place, to form a new army, and reinforce the wreck of that of Wurmser, cantoned on the other side of the Lavisio and the Piava. Venice afforded them in her territories every aid, which might not appear an open and decided protection, but at the same time supply their wants. An Austrian detachment, having crossed the Piava, with an intent to establish themselves at Castel Franco,

were compelled to evacuate that place, and retire beyond the river. At the same time, General Vaubois drove back another body, who attempted to cross the Lavisio. But the Imperial forces being strongly increased, and a new army formed and assembled under the command of General Alvinzi, the inferiority of the French obliged them to concentrate themselves, abandon Trent, Roveredo, Bassano, and Vicenza, and fall back on the line of the Adige.

As an Imperial division had already advanced to the Piava, Bonaparte detached General Massena with a corps of observation to Bassano on the Brenta, with orders to retreat to Vicenza the instant the enemy passed the Piava. He also directed General Vaubois to attack the Austrian posts in the Trentin, and, above all, to drive them from their positions between the Lavisio and the Brenta. The attack took place on the second, when the French encountered a very spirited resistance. General Guieux carried St. Michael, and burnt the enemy's bridge; but the Austrians rendered abortive the attack on Segonzano, and the eighty-fifth demi-brigade was very ill treated. On the third, Bonaparte ordered Segonzano to be again attacked, as it was necessary to get possession of it. Meanwhile, being informed that the Imperialists had passed the Piava, he passed forward in person with Augereau's division, and, having effected a junction with that of Massena at Vicenza, marched on the fifth to meet the enemy, who had also crossed the Brenta. It was necessary to strike like a thunder-bolt. The action was obstinate and bloody; but the advantage inclined to the side of the French, who remained in possession of the field of battle, while the Austrians repassed the Brenta. During these transactions, the enemy attacked General Vaubois in several points, and threatened to turn him. This obliged him to retreat to La Pietra, his right being supported by the mountains, and his left by Mori; and thereafter to fall back in disorder to a position at Rivoli and La Corona.

On receiving intelligence of the occurrences in the Tyrol, the General-in-chief proceeded to Verona, where he learned that the Austrians, after leaving Montebello, had encamped at Villa-Nova. At day-break, on the twelfth, the French army found themselves in presence of the enemy; and the attack immediately commenced, Massena assailing their left, and Augereau their right. The success of both was complete: Augereau made himself master of the village of Caldero, and took two hundred prisoners; while Massena seized on a height that flanked the Imperialists, and took five pieces of cannon. But the rain, which fell in torrents, having changed suddenly into a kind of cold hail, driven by the wind into

the faces of the French troops, was favourable to the enemy. From this circumstance the Austrians, being now reinforced by a *corps de reserve*, which had no share in the action, succeeded in retaking the height; and, at night, both armies resumed their former positions. These inferior engagements, and the necessity the division of Vaubois felt of abandoning, successively, all their posts in the Tyrol, announced a more important and decisive struggle, which could not be long procrastinated; and Arcola witnessed a renewal of prodigies, that rivalled those of Lodi, and perhaps surpassed them.

While the Imperial army, under Field-Marshal Alvinzi, approached Verona for the purpose of forming a junction with the column in the Tyrol, Bonaparte defiled along the Adige, with the divisions of Augereau and Massena, and, in the night of the 14th, threw a bridge of boats across at Ronco, where the French troops crossed the river. He was in hopes of arriving at Villa-Nova in the morning, and, by this manœuvre, capturing the park of artillery, and magazines of the Imperialists, when thus attacked in flank and rear. Vaubois was directed to watch the point of Rivoli, and keep in check the column of the Austrian right under General Davidovich. The castle and fort of Brescia, and the posts of Verona, Peschiera, and Porto Legnago, were in a respectable state of defence. Alvinzi's head quarters were at Caldero; but, having got intelligence of the movements of the French, he had sent a regiment of Croats, and some Hungarian regiments, into the village of Arcola, a post extremely strong by its position in the midst of marshes and canals.

Before day-break Massena and Augereau completed the passage of the Adige, and advanced on the two causeways, that traverse an impracticable morass for several miles. The column on the left, commanded by Massena, first encountered and drove in the Austrian advanced posts; but the column under Augereau, after having, in like manner, compelled the enemy's posts to fall back, was stopped at the village of Arcola, now occupied by the Imperialists, who garnished with troops the sides of a dyke along which it was necessary to pass. A canal, that flanked this dyke, on the side of the village, hindered the French from turning it. To get possession of it they had to pass under the enemy's fire, and cross by a small bridge defended by the Imperialists, who kept up a terrible discharge from the adjacent houses, which they had fortified. The troops made several efforts to carry the bridge; but not having displayed, in the first attempt, the same audacity as at the bridge of Lodi, they were repulsed in reiterated attacks. It was in vain

that their generals, feeling the importance of the moment, precipitated themselves at the head of the columns to induce them to pass the little bridge of Arcola. This excess of courage proved only injurious to themselves; for they were almost all wounded, and Generals Verdier, Bon, Verne, and Lasnes, were carried out of the field. Augereau, laying hold of a standard, advanced to the extremity of the bridge, where he remained for several minutes without producing any effect.

It was, however, absolutely necessary to pass it, or take a circuitous route of several leagues, which would have made the whole operation miscarry. Apprised of the difficulties experienced by Augereau, Bonaparte ordered General Guieux to descend the Adige with a corps of two thousand men, and cross the river, under the protection of the light artillery, at a ferry two miles below Ronco, and opposite Albaredo. He was then to bear down on the village of Arcola and turn it; but this march was long, and the day far advanced; and it was also of the utmost importance to carry Arcola, in order to get on the enemy's rear, before they could procure intelligence of the movement. The General, hastening to the spot, asked the soldiers, If they were still the conquerors of Lodi? His presence produced, among them, an emotion of enthusiasm, which confirmed him in his determination to risk the passage. He leaped off his horse, and seizing a standard, rushed forward, at the head of the grenadiers, towards the bridge, crying, *Follow your General.* The column moved forward a moment, and had reached within thirty paces of the bridge, when the terrible fire of the Austrians made it recoil at the very instant the enemy were on the point of flying. Generals Vignole and Lasnes were wounded, and Muiron, the General's aid-de-camp, was killed. Bonaparte was thrown from his horse into a marsh, from whence he extricated himself with difficulty under the enemy's fire. He mounted again, and the column rallied; but the Imperialists did not venture to advance from their intrenchments.

The French were now obliged to renounce the design of forcing the village in front, and to wait the arrival of General Guieux, who, although he did not reach Arcola till night, succeeded in carrying the village, and took four pieces of cannon and a great number of prisoners. Bonaparte, however, thought it expedient to evacuate the place, on learning that the Imperialists had removed their baggage and magazines to Vicenza, and were advancing with nearly their whole force towards Ronco to give battle, and, with this intent, re-occupy Arcola in greater strength. At day-break on the sixteenth, the French were attacked in every

direction. The column of General Massena on the left defeated the enemy after an obstinate contest, and pursued them to the gates of Caldero, taking fifteen hundred prisoners with six pieces of cannon and four standards. Augereau in like manner repulsed the Austrians, but could not succeed in forcing the village of Arcola, notwithstanding repeated attempts. A judgment may be formed of the firmness displayed on both sides, from the different attacks which happened at this village, where several Generals were wounded. The same evening Bonaparte, at the head of a column carrying fascines, advanced to the canal on the right of the Adige, with a design to effect a passage, but found it impracticable from the rapidity of the current. With this column Adjutant-general Vial afterwards traversed the canal with the water up to his neck, but was obliged to return without effecting a diversion of any consequence. In this expedition, Elliot, one of Bonaparte's aides-de-camp, was killed.

In the night of the 16th, the French General ordered bridges to be thrown over the canals and marshes, and a new attack was planned for the day following. General Massena was to advance by the causeway on the left, while Augereau, for the third time, attacked the celebrated village of Arcola, and another column crossed the canal in order to turn it. Part of the garrison of Porto-Legnago, with fifty dragoons and four pieces of artillery, received orders to make a diversion by turning the enemy's left. Early in the morning the engagement commenced; General Massena on the left, General Robert in the centre, and General Augereau on the right. The Imperialists vigorously attacked the centre, and obliged it to fall back. Bonaparte immediately drew the thirty-second under General Gardanne from the left, and placed it in ambush in the woods. The moment the Austrians, in impelling back the centre, were on the point of turning the right of the French, Gardanne sallied from his ambuscade, and taking them in flank, made a dreadful carnage.

The Imperial left was supported by the marshes and kept in check the French right by their superior numbers. Bonaparte ordered the citizen Hercules, the officer of his guides, to select twenty-five men of his company, and, advancing half a league along the Adige, turn all the marshes which supported the Austrian left, and fall afterwards at full gallop on the enemy's backs, at the same time making several trumpets sound. This manœuvre was completely successful; the Austrian infantry gave way, and General Augereau took advantage of the moment; but the enemy, although retreating, still made resistance. A small column of

eight or nine hundred men, with four pieces of cannon, whom the General-in-chief had directed to defile through Porto-Legnago, and gain the rear of the Imperialists, fell on their backs during the combat, and put them to the rout. General Massena, who had returned to the centre, carried the village of Arcola, and pursued the enemy nearly as far as St. Bonifacio; but night prevented the continuance of the pursuit. In this battle the French took between four and five thousand prisoners, four stand of colours, eighteen pieces of cannon, a great many waggons, chiefly loaded with pontoons, and an immense number of ladders, collected by the Austrian army with a design to scale Verona. Four thousand of the Imperialists were killed, and as many wounded. On the part of the French, besides the Generals already mentioned, Generals Robert and Gardanne were wounded; and Adjutant-general Vaudelin, and Bonaparte's aides-de-camp Elliot and Muiron, killed.

Meanwhile the left wing under General Vaubois was attacked, and his important position at Rivoli forced; this uncovered the blockade of Mantua. The French army left Arcola at day-break, the cavalry being sent to Vicenza in pursuit of the Imperialists, while Bonaparte repaired to Verona, where he had left General Kilmaine with three thousand men. Vaubois' division was reinforced and posted at Castel-Nova, while Augereau occupied Verona, and Massena the vicinity of Villa Nova. Preparations were made for chasing the enemy into the Tyrol, after which the army might wait in tranquillity for the reduction of Mantua.

"Never," said Bonaparte, in a letter to Carnot, "never was field of battle so valorously disputed as that of Arcola; scarcely have I any Generals left; their courage, and devotion to their country, were without example." The General-of-brigade Lasnes appeared in the field, although the wound he had received at Governolo was not yet cured. He was twice wounded on the first day of the engagement, and laid on a bed in great agony, when hearing that Bonaparte, in person, was at the head of the column, he threw himself out of bed, mounted his horse, and hastened to find the General. As he could not walk, he was obliged to remain on horseback; but, at the head of the bridge of Arcola he received a blow, that extended him senseless.

However considerable the loss sustained by Alvinzi may have been, his army was far from being destroyed. Driven back as he was to the mountains, it became difficult to attack him; and the French General could not forget, that Mantua, which Wurmser occupied with a strong garrison, still held out in his rear. The important point to keep Alvinzi in check, and exclude him from

the valley of the Adige, and all the passes by which he could communicate with Mantua. General Vaubois having been obliged to abandon his position of Rivoli, and the Imperialists being already arrived at Castel-Nova, Bonaparte, profiting of their defeat at Arcola, directed Massena's division to repass the Adige, and effect a junction at Villa Franca with that of Vaubois. They were then to march with united forces to Castel-Nova on the twenty-first, whilst the division of Augereau proceeded to the heights of St. Anne, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat by securing the valley of the Adige at Dolce. General Joubert, commanding the advanced guard of the united divisions of Massena and Vaubois, came up with the Imperialists on the heights of Campara. After a slight contest, he succeeded in surrounding part of the enemy's rear-guard, and taking twelve hundred prisoners, among whom was a Colonel of the regiment of Berbach. A corps of three or four hundred Austrians were drowned in the Adige, in attempting to escape. At the same time, Augereau engaged and dispersed an Austrian detachment on the heights of St. Anne, and took three hundred prisoners. During these operations, Wurmser made a sortie from Mantua; but, after a long and heavy cannonade, General Kilmaine obliged him to return, and took two hundred men, a howitzer, and two pieces of cannon. The Marshal commanded in person; it was the third time he had ventured to make a sally, and each time with indifferent success.

After the bloody battle of Arcola, Bonaparte wrote a letter to General Clark, informing him of the death of his nephew Elliot, a young man who had familiarised himself with arms, and often marched at the head of the columns. "He fell," says Bonaparte, "with glory, and in the face of the enemy, without suffering a moment of pain. Where is the man who would not envy such a death? Where is he, who, in the vicissitudes of life, would not compound for leaving, in such a manner, a world so often disgusting? Where is the man among us, who has not regretted an hundred times, that he has not been thus liberated from the powerful influence of calumny, envy, and all the malignant passions, which seem almost exclusively to direct the conduct of men?"

In this letter we discover, that his glory had awakened envy, and that envy had been prodigal of calumny. His enemies had hitherto been able, or at least appeared so, to pardon him his success; but an unparalleled series of triumphs no longer admitted the consolation of finding rivals to him. Since the fourth October, the anti-republican party, on finding him invincible in the field of battle, and unalterable in his political opinions, had ho-

noured him with all their hatred. They busied themselves in inventing defeats he did not experience, but which, they earnestly hoped, he might sustain; or in endeavouring to discover him to be ambitious, in order to render him formidable to a government that had not a firmer friend. To detach him from the cause of liberty, by rendering him suspected, would have been a masterly stroke of finesse; and they knew how much it would weaken government by depriving them of the services of so eminent and loyal a republican. Happily the Directory did not suffer themselves to be deceived by this ill-concerted plot; but the malevolent, nevertheless, continued to gratify their spleen by circulating the grossest calumnies.

To the widow of Muiron the General wrote, that her husband had fallen at his side on the field of Arcola. "You have," said he, "lost a spouse who was dear to you: I have lost a friend, to whom I have been long attached; but our country has suffered more than us both, by losing an Officer so distinguished for his talents and his dauntless courage. If I can aid you or your infant in any thing, I beseech you to reckon on my utmost exertions." That Officer had served, since the first moment of the revolution, in the corps of artillery, and particularly distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon, where he was wounded, while entering the celebrated English redoubt by an embrasure. His father was then in arrest as a farmer-general. The young Muiron, covered with the blood he had shed for his country, presented himself before the National Convention and the Revolutionary Committee of his section, and obtained the liberation of his parent. On the fourth October, he commanded a division of artillery that defended the Convention, He was deaf to the seductions of his acquaintances and friends. "I asked him," says Bonaparte, in a letter to the Directory, "if the government might reckon on him?—"Yes," replied he, "I have taken an oath to support the republic. I am part of the armed force, and will obey my commanders. I am, moreover, from what I have seen, hostile to all revolutionists, and equally so to those who adopt their maxims and conduct with an intent to re-establish a throne, or who wish to restore the cruel administration, under which my father and my relations have suffered so long." He comported himself as a brave man, and was extremely useful on that day which saved liberty. Since the commencement of the campaign in Italy, he had been appointed one of the General's aides-de-camp. In almost every action, he had rendered essential services; and, at last, fell gloriously in the field of Arcola, leaving a young widow in the eighth month of her

pregnancy. It is with pleasure we remark, in the conqueror of Arcola, the interest he takes in appreciating the services of a friend. The young widow and child of Muiron, did not, however, profit of the favour which this interest might have procured them; in a few months, both followed the husband and the father;—for fields of battle have not alone the melancholy privilege of opening the tomb that awaits us.

The conduct of the Venetian government became daily more intolerable, and the French army, that occupied its territory, required to redouble their precautions not to fall a victim to its treasons. It fought for Alvinzi, whilst he himself, occupied with repairing his losses, dared not, or was not in a condition to venture another chance. The French General, therefore, thought it a necessary measure of security to make himself master of the castle of Bergamo, with a view to prevent the partisans of the Emperor from interrupting his line of communication between the Adda and the Adige. This part of the Venetian state was ill disposed towards the French; and in the town of Bergamo there was a committee appointed, for the purpose of circulating the most ridiculous intelligence respecting the army. It was in this province, that the greatest number of assassinations was committed on the French soldiers; and it was principally by its inhabitants, that the desertion of Austrian prisoners was favoured.

The standards taken at Arcola arrived at Paris, and were received by the Executive Directory in a public sitting. But these simple ceremonies, however august and truly national, did not attract that concourse of spectators which they deserved. It is true, a suitable theatre was wanting: for it was in a temple of victories, or on a spot where a whole people could assemble, that this triumphal pomp ought to have been exhibited, and not in the narrow circle of a hall of audience in the Directorial palace.

In the narrative of this wonderful campaign, we must not omit to give an account of the public mind at Paris; for the effects, which it might have produced, would have ultimately turned their fatal influence on military operations. Under Louis XIV. France was intoxicated with her conquests, and the interest the French took in his success, probably rendered him more arrogant and less pacific than he would have been, if the nation had shewn themselves less sensible of the glory of his arms. Marshal Saxe produced the same intoxication under Louis XV, and although, perhaps, nothing then effected can be compared, in any respect, with what the French republicans have performed in Italy, it is both remarkable and deplorable, that, on every renewal of their tri-

umphs, the public mind seemed to take a retrograde step. Who then gave it this lamentable and disgraceful direction? A writer, in a periodical work, has explained it allegorically in the following manner..... And the genius of counter-revolution said, "Although, notwithstanding two years of anarchy, we have been unable to prevent the establishment of the republican government, we will neglect nothing to overturn it. While continually protesting that there are no royalists, we will preach the most daring royalism; and feel indignant, that, on the still smoaking ruins of royalty, they dare to take an oath of hatred to it. We will assert, that the man, who wished to save royalty before and after the tenth of August, deserved well of his country. We will compare that day with the second of September. We will aver, that the assembly who founded the republic, was composed only of robbers, and that those who judged the unfortunate monarch, merited a thousand deaths. And we will maliciously add, that the French are about to destroy the republic; and of her five Chief Magistrates we will say, *their lips are still red with the blood they have drank.* We will labour to render the name of the republic ridiculous, and the title of patriot odious. We will stile infamous, the laws that oppose our designs. When the majority of the legislature shall not vote agreeably to our plans, we will stile them mountaineers; and we will daily and incessantly repeat, that tyrants ought to be crushed. The infamous stock-jobbing, which shall destroy their paper currency, we will stile public opinion; and we will affirm, that it is not stock-jobbing which impoverishes their annuitants. Such of their ministers, as we cannot influence, we will load with abuse; we will assert, that for foreign affairs, they have a simpleton; in the marine, an Orleanist; and, in the office of justice, an assassin. We will introduce into the police, a police which shall be our own; we will drawinto our intrigues its subaltern agents, and we will lull asleep, by our fables, its chief officers continually deceived. We will affect to revive every hateful recollection; we will incite revenge; we will especially endeavour to rekindle the wars of religion; we will provoke the zeal of priests, of Romish, fanatical, and incendiary priests; and, in our secret correspondence, we will not fear to advance, that we can reckon on Benezech,* who we will venture to assert is completely at our devotion. Above all, we will never cease to load with horror and contempt, the acts of the legislative body in particular, and almost all its members individually.

* Then Minister of the Interior.

"But their armies have been hitherto the invincible ramparts of their republic; there it is necessary to strive to carry inquietude, disorder, and disorganization. To discourage the soldiers, we will extract, from foreign papers, accounts which speak only of the success of Austria, and of the reverses of the republicans. If their government proclaims victories, we will protest, that they are only gross impostures, or slight advantages purposely exaggerated. . . . . And we will arouse the fanaticism of nobility; we will speak and we will write incessantly in favour of the first counter-revolutionary nobles, whom we will stile *the exiles*. We will publish, that there are not above five thousand emigrants, and those we shall judge deserving, we will order to return; they will find certificates of residence, and we will make their names be erased. Those, whose names being too notorious, cannot be so soon erased, shall strut with freedom in the public squares, because we will throw so dense a film over the eyes of the police, that even in the army of Conde it shall not recognise an emigrant.

"And the audacity of those who, in the interior, shall labour to *employ* the revolution *(à user la revolution,)* and at the approaching elections insinuate themselves into the constituted authorities,—their audacity and success shall astonish even the bravest in the armies of the republic. And the soldiers shall call to one another. Is it to fall again under the odious yoke of the nobles, that we have for four years contended against them? And when, on the point of obtaining the recompence promised to our toils, is it to the emigrant restored to his property, although vanquished by our arms, that we shall go to demand it? And near these soldiers there shall be some able agent employed, some *honest* enemy of the *infamous* law of the twenty-fourth October, who shall hasten to answer, It is true, *honest people* are not sufficiently protected;—but see what is to be gained by serving a republic. . . . . And we will have in the republic several other *honourable persons* who shall publish, that the *exiles* are unjustly despoiled, and that the purchasers of national domains are robbers. These *honest persons* shall appear protected; the purchasers of domains shall conceive alarms, and new purchasers hesitate to present themselves. Public propety shall fall into discredit, and the penury of the treasury increase; the government shall no longer be able to support its expences with exactness; usurers shall present themselves, and projectors appear in crowds. If, in these difficult circumstances, the different furnishings for the army are not made with promptitude, or, if the service experiences the least stay, there shall also be found some *honest persons* to proclaim to the soldiers, that there

are no resources, and that the scarcity is absolute, and will have no termination. And they shall add, In your homes, you have cloathing and bread; here, you are in want of every thing;—see what is gained by serving a republic!

"And we will infuse into weak minds a dread of a revengeful and cruel Deity, whom the imaginations of Romish priests have cloathed in terrors. A poor and trembling old woman, while returning from mass, shall call out, by the direction of her confessor, to four grenadiers, her sons, Return,—return quickly; I can no longer exist without you. Would you that the *evil spirit* seize on the inheritance of our fathers, and that our fields become barren? Do you wish that your mother should die of despair? Quit your ranks, you have already too long served their republic. . . . . And we will keep back the requisitionists, the greater part of whom shall not rejoin their armies; and we will write to those who have joined, Act like us, and abandon the standard; we can on longer serve a republic. . . . . And if, in such a conjuncture, some generous patriots raise a cry of alarm, we will tell them, Wretches, is it you who disturb all with your complaints? And we will imitate the assassin who, while redoubling his blows on his prostrate and moaning victim, exclaimed, Traitor, I will finish you because you complain.

"And when we shall have, in this manner, prepared the ways, we will publish, that the revolution is finished; we will assert, that this horrible war has no longer an object; and we will announce the great ambassador who wishes to bring *peace*.—And we will delude a legislator, actuated by good intentions, but from whose simplicity we will obtain, that he shall appear in the midst of the legislative body, and make unconstitutional motions for *peace*.—And the ambassador shall come without powers, and desire to treat for all Europe, without authority to do so. He shall counsel them to give up every thing, and consent to his retaining every thing; in fine, he shall declare, that it is indispensibly necessary the indivisible republic be divided, and that, at this price, the vanquished will readily receive *peace* from the conquerors.—And, during these transactions, we will say to the soldiers, What do you still in camps? Return; the war is terminated; the ambassador earnestly desires to *dictate* the conditions of *peace*; it is therefore impossible that you shall not obtain it.—And we will proclaim to the government, No chicanery with so loyal an ambassador: What, after all, is this Belgium? what is this convention? what is the last constitution? of what value is the blood of a million of soldiers?—restore,—share,—divide. *No constitutional scruples*; let nothing

stop you. It is our wish that all conditions appear good to you, and that the most perfidious, as well as most dangerous of truces, be consented to by you, and stiled a *peace*.—And we will exclaim daily, exclaim altogether, and exclaim without intermission, England wishes peace, Austria wishes peace, Europe wishes peace, the French nation wish peace, and the armies wish peace; why then should not the Directory sign peace? And if it dares to reject a treaty of slavery and opprobrium we will exclaim, that it has betrayed the nation and the armies, who are weary of the war. We will call to the soldiers, For whom hereafter do you shed your blood? You fight only to gratify the caprice of some men, whose ambition it suits that the war be eternal.—And, by so many means combined, we will doubtless infuse into these formidable armies inquietude, discouragement, discontent, want of discipline, and desertions."

Thus spoke the hideous phantom of counter-revolution; but it was to the voice of the immortal genuis of the republic that the defenders of their country listened; and this genuis continues to repeat,—"Soldiers, regard with contempt the vain manœuvres of emigrants, priests, libellers, and their protectors. Oftener than once they have appeared in the interior; but their apparent success has endured only for a moment; too many interests oppose the return of their detestable domination. Some weak persons they may deceive, and some traitors may serve them. It is possible, that with more or less address they may, for some time, dissemble their pretensions to the ancient tyranny. But the moment they shall dare to revive it, the French nation, great and every where victorious, shall become still more invincible. Thanks to their insolence, and thanks also to your exploits, this great internal struggle is terminated for ever; it is for ever that the Orders have disappeared. A hundred thousand nobles, and two hundred thousand priests, demand in vain the renewal of three estates in France. Twenty-five millions of citizens will not consent to become again the *bourgeois*, *vassals*, and *feudal villains* of a handful of robbers; in presence of the universe, and for the interest of the human race, the cause is determined.—

"And you, brave soldiers, direct all your attention on external foes. Turn it on the stranger, to whose phalanxes your oppressors blush not to unite their impious arms. A deceitful and baneful peace was offered you; by signing it, the government would have betrayed your glory, and sported with the blood you have shed. It is also from respect to you, that it can neither dismember nor dishonour the republic, for which you shall not have conquered in

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vain. Peace!—you will doubtless attain it; but only by new triumphs, and on this primary condition, that your country shall dictate its terms. You no doubt suffer, and no doubt feel that your recurring wants are not always so readily supplied with the liberality we wish. But it is not to the glory acquired only in the field of battle, that you are called; you are destined to surmount obstacles of every kind. It is in the midst of wants, and sometimes in a state of absolute privation, that the protectors of the people have earned the conquest of liberty on the carcases of the rich satellites of kings. Recollect the Batavian whom they stiled a *beggar*, * the American whom they impoverished, the black become free, and the * * *

ever around your shattered standards, swear patience, long-suffering, and even joy in the most painful trials. Swear victory, and precipitate yourselves on the enemy; we, in the contests of the interior,—we will fortify ourselves by your example, and labour to imitate your virtues."

The long repose, which General Alvinzi had taken after his defeats, allowed him time to reinforce his army, part of which had come post from Vienna. France had set the first example of this practice in the war of La Vendée: but the expedient can be employed only in extreme danger. The Austrian General had always the same series of operations to attempt; he had to force Bonaparte's line of defence, and penetrating by some point or other, throw himself on Mantua, and raise its blockade; while, by succouring Wurmser and changing the theatre of war, he would render nugatory all the preceding successes of the French. A battle does not always decide the fate of a campaign, but the moment approached that was to decide one, which had already cost four armies to the Emperor. From a combination of circumstances, rarely occurring, Bonaparte had still to perform what he had so often effected; and he ceased only to empty the tub of the Danaides, when Austria grew weary of filling it. The moment which was to terminate this obstinate and bloody struggle, was indeed approaching; but it would not have been anticipated by a General less active than Bonaparte, who seems to have chained victory to the tri-coloured standard.

After the defeat of the Austrian army commanded by Marshal Wurmser, and his flight into Mantua with a part of the wrecks of his army, the Emperor made every possible sacrifice, and diplayed an activity that surpassed all his former exertions. He drew troops from the Rhine and all his hereditary states; and towards the fourth of November the Imperial General found himself at the head of an army much more numerous than that of the republic. Alvinzi had given directions to attack the Tyrol, while he advanced his left to the Brenta, with an intention to approach the Adige. But being anticipated by the activity of the French General, and deceived by his superior talents, he was repeatedly defeated in the various actions occurring between the fourth and twelfth of that month, and finally, on the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, in the memorable battle of Arcola. The Emperor, instead of being discouraged, made the utmost efforts to assemble another army. He dismantled his frontiers of troops; all the young men of Vienna were formed into a corps of volunteers; in short, every thing was employed which obstinacy and inveterate hatred towards

the French could suggest. Accordingly, a new army of forty or forty-five thousand effective men, with a formidable artillery, left no doubt, in the minds of the enemy, of the complete defeat of the French and the deliverance of Mantua. In the mean time Bonaparte, informed of the rapidity with which the forces of the Emperor arrived, pressed the government to hasten the march of the promised reinforcements.

The court of Rome, although little danger could arise from its exertions, had armed, and advanced towards the Romagna, the few troops it was able to keep on foot. Its intention was to disturb the states of Reggio, Bologna, Ferrara, and Modena, which, by their own energy, had declared themselves free. From the intercepted correspondence, it appeared to be the wish of the Emperor, that Wurmser, in case of not being relieved in time, should endeavour to escape with his garrison by throwing himself either into the Ferrarese or the territories of the Pope. Bonaparte, whose genius was every where, made his dispositions. He drew from all the divisions of his army, but without weakening them, a body of troops, who were to assemble at Bologna, and form a moveable column. As the detachments arrived in different directions, this circumstance gave them the appearance of a corps amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand men. Tuscany and Rome became uneasy, the latter confidently believing that they were intended to act against her; and this belief had the same effect, as if such had actually been the destination of the troops. But the eye of Bonaparte was on the Po, the Adige, the movements of the enemy's left, and the exertions which General Wurmser might make either to effect a junction or escape; and the most precise orders were given to all the divisions of the army in immediate service to be ready for action.

On the ninth January, the Commander-in-chief arrived at Bologna with two thousand men, in order to make an impression on the court of Rome by the proximity of his situation, and induce it to adopt a pacific system, from which it had deviated more and more for some time past. He had also opened a negociation with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, relative to the garrison of Leghorn; and his presence at Bologna would infallibly bring the affair to a conclusion. The tenth wes spent in reviewing the troops, and making the necessary preparations. At night, the General learned that the enemy were in motion on all their line, and that the Austrian division, which was at Padua, had on the eighth attacked the advanced guard of General Augereau at Bevilaqua in front of Porto-Legnago. Adjutant-general Dufaux, who commanded that ad-

vanced-guard, after fighting the whole day, retired to San-Zeno, and on the morrow to Porto-Legnago; but his spirited resistance gave him time to advertise the whole French line of the enemy's march.

Bonaparte, having left the necessary forces in the four Cispadane provinces, ordered two thousand men, the pick of the moveable column he had assembled, to advance, by a forced march, in order to reinforce General Augereau's division, and oppose the enemy's enterprises on the lower Adige. He himself set out for the blockade of Mantua, and, after giving all the necessary orders, proceeded from thence to Verona, where he arrived on the morning of the twelfth, at the moment the Imperialists attacked in force the advanced guard of Massena's division, posted at St. Michael. The contest was obstinate; but, although the enemy gained some advantages at first, they were completely repulsed, in the space of two hours, with the loss of three cannon, and six hundred prisoners. On the same day, and at the same hour, the Imperialists attacked the head of the French line by Montebaldo, defended by General Joubert's light infantry, where they made themselves masters of a redoubt. But Joubert, pushing forward at the head of his carabiniers, retook the redoubt, drove the enemy before him, and having thrown them into disorder, made three hundred prisoners. On the night of the twelfth, an Austrian column, whether it had mistaken its way, or intended to surprise the posts at the gate of St.George, near the citadel of Verona, fought the whole night with the French grand-guards, but was repulsed. All the reports brought in on the morning of the thirteenth, announced a general movement of the enemy, of which the attack on the preceding day formed a part. The Austrians, who, to do them justice, had completely succeeded in concealing their movements, kept the French in an uncertainty, whether the main body of their forces was at Rivoli or on the lower Adige. Bonaparte, therefore, thought proper to continue at Verona, ready to march wherever circumstances might render his presence necessary.

On the thirteenth, the Austrians threw a bridge across the river at Anguiari, a league distant from Porto-Legnago, by which bridge their advanced guard passed. In the evening, Bonaparte learned, that the posts of La Corona had been attacked by forces so superior in number, that Joubert was forced to evacuate it, in order to assume a position in front of Rivoli. This movement he had executed, in face of the Imperialists, with a steadiness which evinced the desire the troops felt to engage them in a place more favourable to the inferiority of their number. Intelligence was at the same

time brought, that they had commenced a lively cannonade on the Adige, between Ronco and Porto-Legnago. The forces, ranged in front of General Joubert, no longer left any uncertainty as to their intentions. It was plain, that Alvinzi wished to penetrate by Rivoli with his principal forces, which exceeded more than double the number of those under the command of Joubert, and in this direction to reach Mantua. Bonaparte instantly formed his resolution; and having given instructions on the lower Adige, and at Verona, put into motion a part of the division of Massena. He ordered the troops under the command of General Rey, at Desenzano, to advance, in different columns, to Rivoli, and, at eight o'clock in the evening, set out in person, with all his etat-major, for that place, which he reached at midnight. The dispositions of Joubert, although well adapted for his isolated division, were no longer necessary after the arrival of these reinforcements, and of General Bonaparte in person. He was, therefore, directed to resume the important position in front of the *plateau* of Rivoli, and particulary the posts of San Marco, which had been evacuated. This post was the key of the position of the *plateau*, the only point by which the enemy could advance their cavalry and artillery between the Adige and the lake of Garda.

The Commander-in-chief, accompanied by the Generals commanding the divisions, and his etat-major, spent the night in reconnoitring the ground, and the position of the Imperialists, who, being nearly twenty thousand strong, occupied a formidable line, having their right at Caprino, and their left behind San Marco. Alvinzi had several days before formed his plan of attack for the thirteenth, when he hoped to surround Joubert's division. This plan he now endeavoured to exécute, without ever entertaining a suspicion of the arrival of the French General in person, or of the reinforcements Joubert had received at the moment the engagement began. The order given to retake the small posts in front of the *plateau* of Rivoli, occasioned, during the whole night, a fire of musketry between the advanced posts. But the recapture of the position of San Marco by the French, at five in the morning, produced a general battle, an event which began to give great uneasiness to Alvinzi, as it necessarily retarded, for some hours, his plan of attack.

At dawn of day, General Joubert, at the head of a part of his column, attacked the Imperialists along the whole line of the heights of San Marco. The rest of his division occupied the centre of the line, the left of which was to be successively reinforced from the divisions of Massena and General Rey, who were

now in the rear, on account of the attack, from a concurrence of events, having commenced sooner than it would otherwise have done. The eighteenth demi-brigade, which had been directed to leave Bussolingo, and proceed to Garda, received new orders to advance by the left of the line of attack, and to extend their flanks, but without spreading the troops. Joubert having made considerable progress along the heights on the right bank of the Adige towards La Corona, the rest of the line likewise advanced and obtained some successes, the centre occupying the elevations that command the village of St. Martin.

Bonaparte had posted the fourteenth demi-brigade, under Berthier, in the centre, with directions to act according to circumstances. He now ordered this reserve to advance, previous to which a battalion was detached to attack St. Martin, the moment he observed the left of the French line losing ground. This movement was the more dangerous, as the troops, that followed the Austrians on the heights to the left, had fallen back. The battalion, after driving the Imperialists from St. Martin, was repulsed in its turn, but always keeping the eneny in check by its spirited fire from the hedges surrounding the village. The height occupied by Berthier covered the only opening, by which the right under General Joubert could retire; and the Imperialists had collected all their forces to bear down on the centre. Bonaparte, feeling the importance of this post, and observing the critical situation in which the troops were placed, being completely turned on their left by a part of the enemy's right, hastened to the place, at the same time ordering the thirty-second demi-brigade, that had arrived from Verona, to advance immediately under the command of General Massena. The valour of this demi-brigade, and the presence of the Commander-in-chief, instantly forced the Imperialists to retrograde in disorder, and the posts formerly held by the twenty-ninth and eighty-fifth were recovered. But the right, on remarking the momentary disorder of the left, had already fallen back in good order to the height in the centre, and defiled by the passage covered by the elevations which the fourteenth demi-brigade occupied. General Berthier had dispatched the second battalion to favour the retreat of the troops occupying the hedges of St. Martin. He himself, with the third, occupied the height in the centre, where his troops, although surrounded by the enemy's centre, and a part of their right, received the shock with great firmness. The French left had not only recovered all its posts, but even gained ground, when the local nature of the place obliged their right to take a position in the rear at Rivoli. This was ef-

fected with some disorder, owing to the bold efforts of a body of Austrians, who had gained the heights that command the *plateau*. The enemy endeavoured to profit of the circumstance, but did not observe, that, being abandoned by their left, they exposed themselves to be cut off by the success obtained by the French left, if their own suffered the smallest check.

The battle had now lasted three hours; and the Imperialists had not yet brought forward all their forces. One of their columns, which had filed along the Adige under cover of a numerous artillery, proceeded to the *plateau* of Rivoli with an intent to carry it, and in this direction threatened to turn the right and centre. General Leclerc was ordered to charge them, if they succeeded in carrying the *plateau*, while a detachment of fifty dragoons took in flank the Austrian infantry, who attacked the French centre. At the same instant, Joubert sent down some battalions from the heights of San-Marco, who preciptated themselves on the *plateau*. The Imperialists, who had already penetrated to it, being thus warmly attacked on every side, were driven into the valley of the Adige, leaving a great number of dead and part of their artillery. Nearly at the same moment, the Austrian column, which had been some time on its march, to turn the French and cut off their retreat, gained their rear, and formed in order of battle behind Rivoli, the French covering all the heights between the Adige and the Lake of Garda. Thus the French line was completely turned, and all communication cut off with Verona and Peschiera; but this situation alarmed neither the General nor the soldiers. Two battalions were left to keep the column in awe, while General Rey took post in its rear. The Imperialists were so confident of success, that they exclaimed, *We have them*. Their troops, proceeding by the valley of the Adige, advanced with fury to carry the intrenchments of Rivoli, but were repulsed in three attacks. Meanwhile, Bonaparte formed a battery of four pieces of light artillery, and commanded the right of the Austrian line. A detachment under Generals Brune and Monnier received orders to advance in three columns, and attack the right wing of the enemy's line, that occupied an advantageous height in the rear of the French; when in an instant the whole Austrian column, consisting of four thousand men, were taken prisoners.

As there had been a strong cannonade on the banks of the Adige, and the General had received no intelligence of Augereau, he conjectured that his communication with Verona might be intercepted. La Corona was still in the possession of the Imperialists; but, although they could no longer be dangerous, it was necessary

to march with all expedition against General Provera's division, that had crossed the Adige at Anguiari. He ordered Joubert to attack the enemy on the fifteenth, if they should be so imprudent as to keep La Corona; and directed the troops, who were of no utility to Joubert, to proceed towards Verona and Castle-Nova. There he learned, that the Austrian column already mentioned, consisting of about ten thousand men, under the command of General Provera, had, in the night of the thirteenth, crossed the Adige at Anguiari, under the fire of a numerous artillery, and that General Guieux, who guarded the river in that quarter, had been obliged to retire to Ronco. No intelligence, however, of Augereau could be received, as all communication was cut off; but as General Serrurier informed him, that the Imperialists were at Castellara, and marching towards St. George at Mantua, he conjectured that Augereau, if not defeated, must be following Provera. He therefore proceeded in person to Roverbella, where he arrived on the evening of the fourteenth with his reinforcements, and learned, that Augereau had, on the same day, collected all his troops with an intent to fall on Provera's column, between Anguiari and Roverquiera. Provera, who had no other object, after crossing the river, than to march rapidly to Mantua, could be attacked only on the rear division of his column. General Point commanded the left of the attack, and General Lasnes the right, while Generals Guieux and Bon marched from Ronco to take the enemy in the rear. The attack was made with the boldness and intelligence so often displayed by Augereau's division. In this action the Imperialists lost two thousand taken prisoners, among whom were forty officers. Fourteen pieces of ordnance were captured, and the bridge across the Adige was burned.

The rest of Provera's column filed off during the engagement, with an intent to reach Mantua. On the fifteenth at noon, he arrived with six thousand men at the suburb of St. George, and attacked it, but without success. The Chief-of-brigade, Miolis, who defended this post, far from being intimidated by the menaces of the enemy, maintained his station during the night; and Provera, unable to make any impression on it, resolved to force La Favorite, pierce the lines of blockade in that point, and, seconded by a sortie to be made by Wurmser, throw himself into Mantua.

The attack made by General Joubert on La Corona had all the success that could be desired. After the affair of the fourteenth, the Imperialists had maintained a post at San-Marco: Joubert, therefore, detached General Vial to attack it. The division of the centre, commanded by General Baraguay d'Hilliers, proceeded to

St. Martin, from whence they drove the Imperialists with the loss of their artillery. Vial's column on the right disputed the heights with the enemy almost the whole day, while General Vaux turned them and gained La Carona, by approaching in the rear of Montebaldo. The Austrians, finding their retreat cut off, were thrown into confusion; and six thousand of them being surrounded, laid down their arms; those who occupied the valley of the Adige retiring in disorder towards the Tyrol.

General Provera, finding himself unable to carry St. George by main force, and having received no intelligence of the main body of Alvinzi's army, could now only indulge a hope of engaging the French with advantage, when acting in combination with a powerful sally of the garrison of Mantua. Measures, however, were adopted to prevent that junction, and surround his column. General Dumas was posted with a corps of observation at St Anthony, in front of the citadel. Serrurier, with fifteen hundred men, began his march an hour before day-break, and proceeded to La Favorite, whilst Victor, with two demi-brigades, turned General Provera's line. The Imperialists had profited of the night-time to dispatch a corps by the citadel, to make themselves masters of La Favorite; but, while executing this manœuvre, they were vigorously attacked by the van of Serrurier's column. The garrison at the same time made a sally in considerable force; however, not being able to gain La Favorite, they took possession of St. Anthony, but found it impossible to effect a junction with Provera. Bonaparte detached a reinforcement of two battalions to that quarter, who prevented the garrison from making any farther progress. Victor now attacked and turned General Provera's troops; and Miolis, who occupied St George, made a sally so opportunely, that Provera, part of whose infantry and cavalry had already laid down their arms, found himself and the rest of his column completely surrounded, and at last obliged to surrender at discretion. The General himself, six thousand infantry, and seven hundred cavalry, were made prisoners of war, with twenty-two pieces of cannon, and all their waggons and baggage: among the prisoners were the entire corps of volunteers of Vienna. Four hundred of the garrison of Mantua were also taken, the rest of the troops, who had sallied out of the fortress, having effected their retreat. After this, the French again occupied their posts for carrying on the blockade.

The result of the various actions, that had occurred between the eighth and the sixteenth, was the total defeat of General Alvinzi's army. In the space of four days, the army of the republic fought two pitched battles, and six inferior actions. They

took nearly twenty-five thousand prisoners, among whom were a Lieutenant-general, two Generals, and twelve or fifteen Colonels, with twenty standards, sixty pieces of cannon with their waggons, and all the baggage of General Provera's column, besides killing or wounding about six thousand men. All the demi-brigades performed wonders: Massena's division particularly distinguished themselves, having in the space of three days fought at St. Michael, Rivoli, and Roverbella. "The Roman legions," said Bonaparte in his dispatches, "are reported to have marched twenty-four miles a day; but our brigades, though fighting at intervals, march thirty."

The admirers of monarchy assert, that the resources it employs in stimulating its warriors, or rather in compensating them for their success, are not burdensome to the finances. This remark is certainly not applicable to countries, where extensive domains, and thousands of peasants, are liberally bestowed on them. If it applies more appositely to those governments where crosses and ribbons only are distributed, which, however, are usually accompanied with a pension, it must be acknowledged that the French republic possesses a mode still less expensive. To encourage the zeal of her defenders, it is sufficient to decree that an army has deserved well, or continues to deserve well of its country. From this record of merit, we think proper to extract the following decree of the legislative body in favour of the conquerors of Arcola and La Favorite..... "Considering that it is for the interest of the nation, and suiting its justice, to recompense acts of heroism, and excite an useful emulation of the virtues; the tri-coloured standards, carried at the battle of Arcola against the enemy's battalions by the Generals Bonaparte and Augereau, are given them as a reward from the nation."

The fate of Italy became daily less doubtful, while the court of Rome, so celebrated for its profound policy, seemed obstinately blind, and could not resolve on a peace, which every circumstance imperiously demanded. His Holiness had endeavoured to form a league with Naples in the south, but never surmised that Naples would sacrifice him, without difficulty, to the necessity of keeping the French at a distance from her own territory: that she would singly conclude a treaty on the first favourable opportunity, as her greatest danger lay in bringing her armies to contend with those of the republic, and her subjects in contact with the French; and that every consideration would yield to such well grounded fears. On the faith of this league, Rome had violated the conditions of the armistice; but, being disappointed by the treaty between France and Naples, she had now no other resource than

in the alliance she sought with the Emperor. Her expences and military preparations were increased, to unite with an ally continually defeated, whose states were conquered, and whom miracles alone could enable to form a junction with the Papal forces. Rome, happily for herself, had a better prop in her own weakness, which, offering no laurels to the conqueror, did not render her ruin desirable; and she could, with more certainty, found the hope of her preservation on the indifference or generosity of the French, than on the vain succours she invoked.

Meanwhile the spirit of liberty spread in Italy, and provisional conventions were organized, that presaged the most important consequences. Bologna formed a republican constitution, which the people accepted. A congress, composed of the deputies of the Cispadane confederacy, were to assemble, and the Milanese seemed disposed to join in the measure. Reggio, which had been the first to give the signal of freedom, was, with justice, fixed on as the place of the sittings of this congress, and acquired, by its spirited resolutions, a glory more durable than what it procured by being the birth-place of Ariosto; for it will ever be a greater boast to have given birth to the rights of men in Italy, than to have produced a poet, however celebrated.

Accordingly, on the tenth December 1796, *the Cispadane republic* was proclaimed. "The nations," observed the congress in their letter, intimating the occurrences to General Bonaparte, "invited to liberty by your victories, and still more by your beneficence, will receive this day the happy intelligence, that their representatives, sent to Reggio to consolidate and render perfect the ties of the confederation decreed at Modena, have declared them free, independent, and sovereign, and constituted them into a republic, one and indivisible. Receive the first born of your valour and magnanimity;—you are its father, and its protector; under your auspices it will become firm and immoveable; and in vain shall tyrants attempt to destroy it."——In answer, the General, who was then at Milan, expressed the lively satisfaction he felt on learning, that the Cispadane republics, convinced that their strength consisted in unity and indivisibility, had formed themselves into one. Unfortunate Italy had, for a long period, been effaced from the list of European powers; but if her present inhabitants were worthy of recovering their rights, and possessing a free government, they would one day see their country attain a glorious station amongst the nations of the world. They ought not, however, to forget, that laws were of no avail without strength to enforce them; and their first attention ought to be fixed on their

military organization. Nature had given them every thing; and after displaying concord and wisdom in their deliberations, it was only necessary, in order to attain the object in view, to have disciplined battalions animated with the sacred enthusiasm of freedom and the love of their country. They enjoyed a more fortunate situation than the French had done, as they could acquire liberty without revolution; and the evils which afflicted France before the establishment of her constitution were unknown to them. The unity, binding the different portions of the Cispadane republic, would be constantly the symbol of that union, which ought to reign between all the classes of its citizens; and the fruit of this correspondence in principle and sentiment, supported by their courage, would be a republic, liberty, and happiness.

The interval, which the French enjoyed in their military operations, was only a moment of necessary repose, and to afford time to prepare for new exertions. The Austrians again appearad in force on the Brenta and in the Tyrol: and the period of action, could not, therefore, be far distant. Accordingly, General Augereau proceeded to Padua; and, having passed the Brenta, advanced to Citadella, where he fell in with the enemy, who fled at his approach. Meanwhile, General Massena left Vicenza, and directed his march to Bassano, which the Austrians, at first, shewed a disposition to defend, but evacuated it during the night. He then proceeded along the banks of the Brenta to Carpenedolo and Crespo, where a sharp contest took place. After a desperate resistance, the enemy were forced to retreat, leaving two hundred dead, and nine hundred prisoners; but, the continual rains, which fell during the expedition, saved the rest of their army from being taken. The division of Joubert advanced into the defiles of the Tyrol, which the bad weather rendered extremely difficult. At Avio, a slight action ensued with the Austrian rear-guard, in which they took three hundred prisoners.

After these engagements the Imperialists retired to Mori and Torbola, having their right covered by the lake, and their left by the Adige. General Vial at the head of the light infantry, after a long march through the snow and alongst some very rugged mountains, turned their position, and obliged a body of four hundred and fifty men, and twelve officers, to surrender. Nature, however, seemed to act in concert with the enemy; the weather was dreadful, but nothing could stop the light infantry of the army of Italy, who had hitherto encountered no difficulty they did not surmount. Joubert entered Roveredo; but the Austrians, having fortified with the greatest care the pass of Calliano, appeared

disposed to contest his entrance into Trent. General Beliard endeavoured to turn their right, while General Vial, continuing his march along the right bank of the Adige, attacked and routed them, with the loss of three hundred prisoners. On arriving at Trent, Vial found, in the Imperial hospitals, two thousand sick and wounded, whom they had left behind in their flight, and recommended to the humanity of the French. During these transactions, Massena ordered two demi-brigades to advance and attack an Austrian division, which occupied the castle of La Scala between Feltri and Primolazo; but it fled on their approach, and retired behind the Prado.

After making himself master of Trent, Joubert proceeded to take the position of Lavis and Segonzano. General Vial attacked the village of Lavis, where the Imperialists were in force, while three demi-brigades of light infantry, supported by the fourteenth of the line, seized on the heights commanding it on the right. Vial carried the village, and pursued the enemy as far as St. Michael, taking eight hundred prisoners. The twenty-ninth demi-brigade alone entirely defeated three thousand Hungarians. After the junction of the divisions under Massena and Joubert, and after the latter had occupied the line of the Lavisio, which covers Trent, the fate of Mantua was rendered certain, as that city could not possibly hold out much longer.

The Pope, calculating always on the success of the Austrian arms and of his own crafty policy, and ignorant, perhaps, that the perfidious correspondence of his minister with Vienna had fallen into the hands of Bonaparte, had marched his troops into the Romagna. If posterity required further evidence to convince them of the duplicity which has always formed the basis of the negociations of priests, they will find it in the letter of Cardinal Busca, the Papal secretary of state, to the prelate Albani, the Nuncio at Vienna.* Even in Rome herself, all men, whatever

* *Rome, 7th January*, 1797.

The intelligence you send me is more and more consolatory.—I learn by the two last couriers, that Baron Thugut has altered his style, and, notwithstanding his air of mystery, we can no longer doubt of the Emperor's aid, the more so as the Empress and he have promised it. It seems also that Baron Thugut reckons on us, if we may judge from the prompt departure of General Colli, the order he has received to visit our troops with all expedition, and the manner we are called on to recover our country. Every thing tends to confirm us in the belief, that we are already regarded as allies. They no longer talk to us of sacrifices; have they abandoned the idea? Doubtless I am too sanguine; but I will not consider myself certain, until the treaty is signed on the conditions I mentioned in my last dispatch. Now that you are furnished with full powers, M. de Thugut can no longer indulge in tergiversation, but must positively declare himself.

sentiments they entertained, disapproved of the slowness displayed in the conclusion of peace, and blamed the obstinate bad faith with which the negociations had been conducted. The pamphleteers put these words in the mouth of Pasquin:

Pius Sextus cunctando perdidit rem.

Others revived the ancient distich made on Alexander VI. applying it to Pius VI.

Sextus Tarquinius, Sextus Nero, Sextus et iste:
Semper sub Sextis perdita Roma fuit.

These satires, however, made no impression on the counsellors of the Holy Father; and as to the hostile movement of his troops,

As to myself, while I can hope for succour from the Emperor, I shall temporise respecting the propositions of peace, which the French have made us. You can form no idea of what has been done to induce me to answer Cacault. Some endeavour to persuade me, by the hope of better conditions; others again, by terrors and menaces; but, ever constant in my opinion, and jealous of *my honour*, which I regard as injured by treating with the French, when a negociation is opened with the court of Vienna, I have not suffered myself to be either seduced or intimidated; and I will not alter my resolution, until I find myself obliged to do so. Do not entertain a doubt of the sincerity of these sentiments. It is, however, true, that the French have displayed great eagerness to conclude a peace with us. I have a recent proof of this, in the subjoined letter of M. the Nuncio at Florence; and, by the answer, of which I send you a copy, you will see the manner inwhich I have conducted myself. I send you the two copies, in order that you may be able to refer to the constancy and *good faith* with which I treat.

No doubt, before the receipt of my letter, M. Colli will have departed; I hope he will very soon reach Ancona. I have written to the General-commandant of that port about his reception, as he proposes to proceed to the Romagna to review our troops, before coming to this capital, in order that we may be able to concert measures at our first meeting. I assure you I am sorry, that General Colli should have had an interview with Alvinzi before coming here. I readily preceive, that it is necessary for their operations; but, I know not why, I entertain rather an unfavourable opinion of Alvinzi. Although I am not enabled to judge of his operations in Italy, I think he might have effected more than he has done. But the interview may be necessary, and I compose myself by supposing, that it interests his own honour and the glory of fulfiling the intentions of his master. As to the appointments of General Colli, even although the Emperor should not give him an allowance for the time he may be employed in the service of the Pope, we will furnish every thing; this I do not regret. I approve highly of the General bringing with him two officers, and particularly the engineer, of whom we are completely in want. He should also bring several subalterns to train our troops. The eulogium, which Marshal Lascy made on Colli, consoles me.

As you are persuaded, that Baron Thugut would be jealous, if you should speak to any other than himself in behalf of our cause, abandon the other

indulgence itself behoved to have a period. Bonaparte gave orders to the Citizen Cacault, agent of the French republic, immediately to quit Rome. In a declaration, published by the General, he stated, that the Pope had formally refused to execute the eighth and ninth articles of the armistice, concluded on the twentieth June 1796 at Bologna, under the mediation of Spain, and solemnly ratified at Rome the 27th of that month. The court of Rome had never ceased to arm, and excite the people by manifestoes to a crusade; and its troops had approached within ten miles of Bologna, menacing that city with an attack. His Holiness had commenced hostile negociations against France with the court of Vienna, as was established by the letters of cardinal Busca, and the mission of the prelate Albini to that city. He had confided

means I proposed to you at the time the Baron was not so well disposed as at present. Continue, however, to pay court to all, who can be useful to you in case of events. I do not doubt but you have taken measures to learn the result of the ensuing conferences with General Clarke at Inspruck; the details you shall transmit me, will serve as a guide.

You must have learned by my former dispatch, that I had thought of sending some Austrian troops into the Romagna to join ours, and I also thought, that from Trieste they could be landed at Ancona. Promote this plan, which would be of great utility to the Emperor and us; and if it be realised, we shall be disposed to enter into the same contract as the King of Sardinia.

It will be proper for you to comply with the requisition made to you by the constable, through the channel of your brother, relative to the armies. M. Stay has not yet finished the briefs you request; I cannot, therefore, send them to you. His Holiness does not think he should give the other briefs you propose; because, as they must be addressed to all the catholic sovereigns of Europe, it would be declaring a religious war before the time, it being impossible to conceal this conduct of the Pope from the knowledge of the French. Thus, for the reasons I have stated, we might be exposed to their indignation, without being certain of the alliance of his Imperial Majesty. From the documents you give me on the subject of a war of religion, the Holy Father will form his resolution as to the issuing briefs and taken other steps.

If the treaty of alliance be concluded, it will be necessary to make the Nuncio sign it, providing M. de Thugut, with whom he is not on good terms, does not oppose it. I send to M. the Nuncio (that this prelate may not be disappointed,) the pontifical briefs for the Emperor of Russia, with an instruction, that if any thing be expedited to Petersburgh from that court, or by the charge-d'affairs of Russia, he may avail himself of the opportunity to transmit them. In case no such opportunity should offer, I directed him to send them to Warsovia to M. the Nuncio, to be conveyed to his Imperial Majesty.

When you are presented to their Majesties, return them thanks for the earnestness with which they interest themselves respecting the health of his Holiness, and assure them of the fervour, with which he prays for their preservation, and for the glory of those who with so much constancy and sincerity have supported, and still support, the *just cause.*

the command of his troops to Austrian Generals and Officers sent by the court of Vienna, and refused to answer the official applications made to him by the citizen Cacault, the minister of the republic, respecting the opening of a negociation for peace. The General, therefore, declared, that the treaty of armistice was at an end, having been thus violated and infringed by the Papal court.

Victor's division immediately advanced towards Imola, the nearset town in the Papal state, and slept there on the first of February. The Pope's army had broken down the bridges, intrenched themselves with the utmost care on the Senio, and lined the banks of the river with cannon. As soon as General Lasnes, who commanded the vanguard, came in sight of the enemy, they began to cannonade him. He immediately ordered the advanced patroles of the legion of Lombardy to attack their light troops. This legion, for the first time in action, took possession of fourteen pieces of cannon, under the fire of three or four thousand men in their intrenchments. During the engagement several priests, with crucifixes in their hands, preached encouragement to the Papal troops. His Holiness had about a thousand men taken prisoners, and four or five hundred killed.

The French marched next against Faenza, the gates of which were shut, while the tocsin sounded the alarm, and a distracted multitude attempted to defend the entrance of the place, the principal inhabitants, and particularly the bishop, having made their escape. Two or three discharges of cannon burst open the gates, and the troops entered at charge-step. The laws of war authorised the General to give up the place to be plundered; but how reconcile himself with punishing so severely a whole town for the crimes of a few priests? He sent home fifty officers, whom he had taken prisoners, to enlighten their countrymen, and make them sensible of the dangers to which such extravagant conduct would expose them. Next day, he caused the monks and priests to appear before him, reminded them of the principles of the gospel, and employed all the influence, which reason and necessity could furnish, to engage them to behave in a proper manner. He sent General Des Camaldules to Ravenna to open the minds of the inhabitants there, and prevail on them to shun the disasters, which a longer blindness might produce. He also sent Father Dom Ignacio, prior of the Benedictines, to Cesena, the native country of his Holiness, on a similar mission. General Victor continued his march on the second, and, having made himself master of Forli, proceeded next day to Cesena. It is lamentable to reflect, that the folly and blindness of those who directed the court of Rome,

should have cost the blood of so many poor and unfortunate beings, the innocent instruments, and, at all times, the victims of divines. Several priests, and amongst others a capuchin, who preached to the Catholic army, were killed on the field of battle.

Whilst the Pope's troops were thus driven from the Romagna, a more important and glorious event completed the triumphs of the French, and gave additional lustre to their Commander: *Mantua capitulated.*—On the second of February, General Serrurier and General Wurmser had a conference, the object of which was, to fix the day of executing the capitulation, and to settle the differences between the terms granted and those which had been proposed. Bonaparte took care to exercise French generosity towards Wurmser, a soldier seventy years of age, who, though extremely unfortunate in this campaign, had displayed a constancy and courage worthy of being recorded. Hemmed in on all sides after the battle of Bassano, and having lost, at a single blow, the greater part of the Tyrol and his army, he was daring enough to entertain hopes of being able to take refuge in Mantua, from which he was distant four or five days' march. With this idea he passed the Adige, and having defeated one of the French advanced posts at Cerea, crossed the Mollinella and reached Mantua. Shut up in this city, he made two or three sallies, but they all proved unfortunate, although he himself headed them in person. Besides the powerful obstacles opposed to him by the French lines of circumvallation, bristling with artillery, he could act only with soldiers disheartened by so many defeats, and weakened by the pestilential sickness at Mantua. That numerous tribe, who delight in calumniating misfortune, will, however, not fail to seek an occasion to persecute Wurmser.

The joy excited in France by this event, was proportioned to its importance. When the Executive Directory informed the legislative body of the occurrence, Villetard, mounting the tribune of the Council of Five Hundred, exclaimed, "The proud Mantua has at last fallen into the power of the republic! Thanks to that army of heroes, whose successes have astonished Italy herself, formerly the theatre of the most glorious feats of arms. Thus, all the sinister projects of the enemies of the liberty of the people are crushed. Vile partizans of tyranny, pain yourselves in fabricating obscure conspiracies; contrive against the people imposture and perfidy; and devote to assassination their most intrepid defenders. These means are worthy of you and of your cause. Republicans triumph in the fields of honour. It is there, I predict that your projects will be confounded, and your outrages expiated. How

long shall these cowardly Sybarites pretend to give fetters to the valiant? Pigmies, who fashion in darkness the yoke of tyranny, with *aides*, *gabelles*, *corvees*, feudal rights, tenths, and other oppressions, do you flatter yourselves with replunging into slavery, misery, and debasement, the generous children of victory? No: I call eternal reason to witness, which wishes not that victorious France be hereafter so degraded. Perfidious men! they have lured our credulity by the words of humanity and justice; but this illusion of the most infamous hypocrisy is dissipated; the veil has dropt, and their plan of oppression been manifested to every eye. Every thing the most abominable, which the ingenious cruelty of butchers has invented,—such was the first gift which these men, so just and humane, prepared for the French nation on the advent of their regal domination.

"You feel indignant, magnanimous heroes, whom devotion to liberty has assembled in our camps, and whose toils the universe contemplates with admiration. Yes, such was the price which royalism reserved for you constancy, for the numerous evils you have suffered, for the blood you have shed for your fathers, for your wives, and for your children,—slavery, ignominy, and punishments. But repose in your representatives; they view, with stoical firmness, the poignards directed by royalism against their breasts. Calm in the midst of dangers and the clamours of royalism, they will render impotent its efforts. They remain unshaken in the determination of confirming the present government, the lasting monument of your liberty, reared by the National Convention, and consecrated by the French people;—by that convention, whose inflexible justice was directed against the last of your tyrants, and whose firmness has dissipated the leagues of kings, disconcerted all the plots formed in the interior against the people, and overcome obstacles regarded as insurmountable;—that convention, whose members have so often conducted you to victory, and who are still honoured with the hatred of bad citizens, which they have drawn on themselves by their efforts and their successes against tyranny. Yes, brave soldiers, the representatives of the French people, whom you immortalised by your victories, are united with you in heart, in object, and in will, for maintaining that government which has freed you from slavery, and restores you to your proper dignity. It is not to be again subjugated and oppressed by the cowardly slaves of a tyrant, that you have proved yourselves invincible; glory, liberty, and equality, the honourable purpose of your toils, shall be their reward. And you, brave Lombard legion, whose first steps in the career of liberty are signalized by

victories, . . . . you also have acquired claims to the gratitude of the republic and of the friends of liberty. Receive, as the guarantee of this, the new civic crown, with which the legislative body, the organ of the national gratitude, hastens to encircle your victorious brows."

The language of the members of the Council of Ancients was no less remarkable for that energy and eloquence of diction, which enraptures the human heart. In particular, the representative Lacombe-St.-Michel delivered an impressive speech: "The clouds," said he, "which obscured the morning of the fair days that liberty seemed some months ago to promise Italy, are at length dissipated, and Mantua is taken. Yes, successors of Camillus and the Catos, you shall be free. Engrave for ever, in the calender of your *fasti*, the eternal gratitude you owe to the brave army of Italy,—to that army, and to the bold and intrepid genius of its chief, every step of whose progress beyond the Alps was itself a wonder. Those, who for eight years have fought for the establishment and confirmation of their own liberty, are doubtless well entitled to experience a lively transport, on beholding the triumph that secures the liberty of a sister republic. Far be from us the idea, that the war we maintain in Italy against the House of Austria, whose insulting pride, humiliated by so many victories, still presumes to question the existence of a French republic; far be from us, I say the idea, that this war has for its object only a diplomatic project, to obtain from the Emperor the countries conquered by the French armies, or to subjugate a people whom the love of liberty has already united to us! No, descendants of the Romans, think not that the French government, after having engaged you to march under the tri-coloured standard, entertains a design of enchaining you again, by restoring you to your former masters. No;—you would be unjust, should you be suspicious of our honour; you have fought by the side of our phalanxes for the cause of liberty; let liberty be your reward. It is one of the invariable principles of the French nation, to respect the government of every country, whatever may be its form: but it is also dear to the hearts of the friends of liberty, to regard with complaisance the efforts of nations who wish to be free. To anticipate the future happiness of your destiny, and applaud that dignified sentiment, which recals the picture of the fair days the French enjoyed with unanimity in 1789, is a moment of pleasure, which the austere wisdom of the Council of Ancients will not disapprove. Let us pity the Frenchmen, who are base enough to proclaim the disasters of their country, while they diminish the importance of

events favourable to liberty. May you, Cispadane republic, never know such unnatural children! May the conquest of the happy land, where Virgil was born, be the certain omen of your brilliant destiny! May you never experience the dreadful and numerous shocks, of which the French republic was so long the theatre! Profit by our faults,—guard against our divisions; and if ever discord attempts to brandish her torch between the two republics, let gratitude remind you what we have effected for your good; and let prudence advertise you, that the common enemy will be ever on the watch to profit of our errors.—And you, brave army of Italy, it is no longer our province to appoint festivals in honour of your victories; this care was reserved for the government. But it is permitted each of us to manifest, in this tribune, his impatience to approve the resolution, which, without doubt, will be adopted, that the army of Italy ceases not to deserve well of its country."

The intelligence of the capitulation of Mantua was published at Paris by sound of trumpet, and with a solemnity suiting an event, the consequences of which were so important to the operations of the campaign. Numerous detachments of troops of the line accompanied the public officer, who proclaimed the glory of the French arms in the midst of an immense multitude, that seemed to share in it in the most sensible manner, and proceeded through the streets with the same enthusiasm which produced the wonders they celebrated. From the gaiety of their countenances it might be said, on learning they were French soldiers, that they were marching to battle. The sedentary national guard, wishing also to render homage to the conquerors of Mantua, hastened to send deputations to assist at the proclamation, and bore, with pride, the arms which they knew how to employ with the same readiness in succouring the victors. Although this intelligence was known two days before, the official confirmation of it did not produce a sensation less lively or agreeable. It is in such a moment that true patriots love to shew themselves; they have associated their fate with that of the republic, and with her they have triumphed.

Army of heroes, become invincible by five years of triumphs, enjoy the spectacle of your labours; behold all France rearing monuments to your fame, and chanting your success; detachments from the armies, the rivals of your glory, and ambitious of the honour of sharing your laurels, pressing forward to the theatre of your victories; Germany flying at your approach, and opening, through the Tyrol, a road to her capital. Behold Italy covered

with free states, that owe their existence to you, and which no longer suffer you to retrograde without crime. You have triumphed over her ancient glory. Has not every illustrious action, of which Italy boasts, disappeared before the admiration you inspire? Where is the Frenchman, who, in the tranquillity of the glorious peace prepared by you, will not be ambitious of saying, I WAS OF THE ARMY OF ITALY?

The enthusiasm, excited by the triumphs of this army, was real and sincere with the greater part of Frenchmen; but a numerous party already regarded them as the ruin of their hopes. An appropriate idea may be formed of the spirit, which began to display itself even in the councils, when it is learned, that the following motion could not find a proper support among men, who enjoyed there the greatest credit. Not but that many would have desired its success; the fear, however, of not obtaining it, and the disagreement it might have occasioned respecting a General whom they venerated, hindered them from hazarding the motion. The purport of it was, that unlooked for success called for extraordinary rewards: Hannibal performed not, in Italy, what Bonaparte has effected there; Scipio, in Africa, did not surpass him; and grateful Rome honoured her General with the name of Africanus. Spain ennobles her chiefs with the like glorious sirnames; thus, she has bestowed that of *Prince of Peace* on the minister, who signed the treaty granted her by France. Russia neglects not this mode of recompense, and the conqueror of the Crimea acquired the sirname of *Tauricus*. This species of reward is truly republican, for Rome employed it in her best days, and it will make all the scarfs and batons of monarchy be forgotten. The Frenchman, who, in a campaign of eight months, has forced the king of the Alps to put their keys for ever in our possession, the sovereign of the two Sicilies to a necessary peace, and the Dukes of Parma and Modena, the one to pay us a tribute, and the other to fly from his states; the Frenchman, who has shut up from the English all the ports of Italy, paralised their fleet in the Mediterranean, and re-conquered Corsica, without even allowing them to fight; the Frenchman, who, by the most memorable victories, has torn from the hands of the arrogant Austria, all the countries of Italy submissive to her yoke, and made five Imperial armies and the proud Mantua, fall before the tri-coloured ensign; the Frenchman, who has recovered at papal Rome, the trophies which adorned the Roman republic, and given to France, now alone worthy of possessing them, those master-pieces of art, the happy fruits of the genius of Greece when free; this Frenchman, who will destroy

(let us at least hope so) in sacerdotal Rome, the focus from whence all our civil discords emanated, and whose uninterrupted triumphs promise us peace at home and abroad, assuredly merits the sirname of ITALICUS, and the legislative body owes this honourable decree to his worth.

The garrison of Mantua did not surrender until reduced to the last extremity; for, in the course of the siege, they ate five thousand horses. By the capitulation, the troops became prisoners of war; but from this clause were exempted Marshal Wurmser, and his suite, comprehending the General Officers, the Etat-major, and every other person he might require, with a military escort of seven hundred men, cavalry and infantry, and six pieces of cannon. The town was to be maintained in its privileges; property, and religion, to be held inviolate, and no inquiry made, respecting such of the inhabitants as had acted on the ramparts, or in the service of the Emperor. In this fortress the French found upwards of six hundred pieces of artillery of different kinds, seventeen thousand muskets, and nearly four hundred thousand cannon balls, grape-shot, and bomb-shells, two millions of artillery, infantry, and cavalry cartridges, besides immense piles of iron, lead in bars, powder, and other military stores.

Few poets, worthy of attention, have sung our triumphs. Bonaparte would doubtless have been more fortunate in Italy, which has been more prolific in this respect; but the Achilles of France has not yet found his Homer. At a former period, Fontenoy and Marshal Saxe found a Voltaire, who would have sung with greater pleasure, Millesimo, Lodi, Arcola, and La Favorite, and above all the liberty of France and of Italy. Every step, taken by the French army, in the country, seemed the more to assure its freedom, and create a taste for it. The Italians, who were considered unprepared for the reception of liberty, and whom a rooted despotism had for so long a period oppressed, are, however, much nearer it than we, who adopt or reject every thing as a fashion, and whose fickle character is less susceptible than theirs, of a durable and profound impression. Many Romans hoped to see their ancient republic revived, and declared, that they expected the French General, in order to rear to his honour a statue in the capitol, on which their gratitude engraved the following inscription;

ALEXANDRO BONÆPARTI,
DUCI GALLORUM INVICTISSIMO,
QUOD
SENATUM POPULUMQUE ROMANUM,

A PONTIFICIBUS MAXIMIS
VI ET METU CONCULCATUM,
IN PRISTINUM SPLENDOREM
ET AUCTORITATEM
RESTITURIT
ANNO M.DCC.XCVII.
ROM. REIP. RESTITUTÆ I.

It does not appear, that the intention of the French government was to overturn the Pontificate, but only to force his Holiness to a peace by reducing his temporal power in Italy. Posterity will no doubt, at some future period, wish to know the motives of such a system of policy, and history will have some difficulty in justifying it. Be that as it may, Bonaparte was constrained to follow his instructions: and, in consequence of these, he had conquered, in a few days, the Romagna, the duchy of Urbino, and the march of Ancona. At this last town, he took twelve hundred of the Pope's army prisoners, who were ably posted on the heights in front of the place; General Victor surrounded and captured them without firing a shot. His Imperial majesty had presented three thousand muskets, of a fine construction, to his Holiness; these were taken by the French in the fortress of Ancona, with nearly one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon of large calibre, and twenty-three thousand bullets. No government was ever so despised by its own subjects, as that of Rome; and the first sentiment of terror, occasioned by the entry of a hostile army, was succeeded by repeated demonstrations of joy, on being emancipated from the most contemptible of governments.

In the night of the ninth, a corps of cavalry, commanded by the Chief-of-brigade Marmont, aid-de-camp of the General-in-chief, proceeded to Loretto, from whence M. Colli, Commander of the Papal army, had escaped on the approach of the French, and carried with him all the treasure he could, having begun to transport it two days before. Nevertheless, there fell into the hands of the French, gold and silver articles to the value of a million of livres; but previous to this occurrence, the church contained about three millions of livres Tournois. The army then took the road to Foligno, and on the twelfth reached Macerata, forty leagues distant from Rome. The only glory, which the republican troops sought in this expedition, was to give an eminent example of their respect for the freedom of religion, persons, and property. After this, they made themselves masters of Umbria, the country of Perugia, and likewise of the small province of Camerido.

From Macerata, the General wrote a letter to Cardinal Mattei, which, being supported by his success and progress, determined the Pope to throw himself on the generosity of the French. After adverting to the conduct of the court of Rome, he observed, that one hope of saving his dominions still remained to his Holiness; and that was, by placing more confidence in the generosity of the French republic, and with promptitude and sincerity devoting himself to pacific negociations. The Pope, he was confident, had been deceived. Yet he was still ready to demonstrate to all Europe the moderation of the Executive Directory, by granting his Holiness five days, for the purpose of sending to Foligno a confidential person furnished with full powers. He concluded, with expressing his desire to give, as far as he was able, a striking proof of the consideration he entertained for the Holy See.

The members of the commission of arts, on their arrival at Loretto, ordered the celebrated Madona to be packed up; and with this whim the General complied. She was accordingly transmitted to the Directory, who, as they had left Rome its Pope, might have left Loretto its Madona; for it was certainly of inferior importance to remove an object of superstition from this petty corner of the world, than the agent of all the superstitions in France. The Pope's General, M. Colli, in carrying off the treasury, had left a multiplicity of articles employed in abusing the credulity of the people. Some of these were sent to Paris, along with the wooden and miraculous figure of the Madona; and, among others, a rag of old camelot, of variegated wool, which had served as the robe of Mary, and three broken earthen porringers, said to be part of her household furniture, but which are certainly not of sufficient antiquity for that purpose. They were removed by the citizen Willetard, in presence of Monge, member of the National Institute, and of the citizen Moscati, physician in Milan, a member of the Council of Forty. That no doubt might be entertained of the authenticity of these precious relics, the minute of this transaction was drawn up and signed by these three citizens, the General-in-chief, and the archdeacon of Loretto, each of the relics having also affixed to it the General's seal. Along with these articles, a packet was transmitted, containing a printed history of the Sancta Casa, as usually sold at Loretto; and the Sancta Casa itself was shut up till farther orders.

Bonaparte had dispatched Augereau to Paris, to present to the Executive Directory the trophies of Mantua, consisting of sixty standards. The celebrity of this General entitled him to a more splendid reception than any who had preceded him on a similar

mission. Accordingly, great preparations were made to give pomp and solemnity to his presentation. The hall of audience not being sufficiently extensive, the ceremony took place in the court of the palace, in presence of an immense multitude of spectators, who rent the air with repeated acclamations of *vive la republique.* At the moment, said the Minister of War, on presenting to the Directory General Augereau, accompanied by sixty veterans, each bearing an Austrian standard;—at the moment when so many kings combined against France, and when the inexperience of her troops, and the puissance of her foes, were exaggerated, it was far from being foreseen, that the genius of the republic, sweeping the Imperial eagle before her, would spread her wings from Holland to the banks of the Tiber. But it belonged to a people, who had recovered their own liberty, to revive it in those places which were formerly its cradle. Our first campaigns were rendered remarkable by that sudden explosion, which, precipitating on the frontiers a million of soldiers, opposed enthusiasm and courage to experience. The present campaign exhibited a spectacle of a different aspect; the genius of a hero struggling against the knowledge of old and experienced warriors; French valour bounding over mountains, rivers, and every difficulty which nature and art could oppose; and, in the midst of so many battles, and in the intoxication of so many victories, still retaining its character of mildness and generosity. Our warriors, in their triumphal march, shew themselves the deliverers of the people, and not the destroyers of the governments; the protectors of religion, and the friends of the arts, whose native country they have conquered.

The public were impatient to hear the General; while, on beholding him, the spectator traced in imagination all the battles, in which this soldier had obtained renown. By his side stood his father, a veteran, whose martial appearance seemed still, notwithstanding his hoary locks, to breathe the ardour of battle; and his brother who, in quality of aid-de-camp, had been the companion of his toils. Near him, they also remarked, with a lively interest, a brother of General Bonaparte, twelve years of age; and every one was earnest to recognise, in the figure of this youth, traits of the conqueror of Italy. A profound silence prevailed, when the General addressed the Directory in the following terms: "Citizens, The army of Italy, in whose name I deposit these hostile ensigns by the side of those, which have been presented to you since the commencement of its glorious campaign, has charged me with being the organ of its sentiments, and the pledge of its inviolable attachment to the present constitution; and also to express to you,

the desire it feels to procure a permanent and glorious peace to the republic. Faithful to its oath, and strong in its courage and the esteem of the friends of the republican government, the army will justify in the ensuing campaign the reputation it has acquired, within the space of eleven months, in sixty-four engagements, and twenty-seven pitched battles. It was not enough for its glory to destroy five numerous armies of the enemy. The obstinate ambition of the House of Austria, prodigal of human blood, founded its hope of preserving the sceptre of Italy in the garrison that defended Mantua. The number of the combatants, the reputation of the General shut up in that fortress, and its ample supply of provisions, all concurred in fostering this chimerical desire, and affording ridiculous pretensions to the agent of the cabinet of Vienna, dispatched to Vicenza for the purpose of concerting preliminaries of peace. It was therefore reserved for the glory of this army, and as the reward of its fatigues and its courage, to take possession of Mantua in the name of the republic, and by that acquisition to secure the conquest of Italy. What efforts can the enemy hereafter oppose to republican soldiers, who have so often triumphed over their numerous phalanxes, and over obstacles which nature has created in the infinity of ages;—soldiers who are familiarised with hunger, thirst, and forced marches, and to whom privations cost but little? So many virtues, citizens, would not sufficiently contribute to the glory of our brethren in arms, if they did not derive their principles from the sacred love of liberty, and had in view the honour and happiness of their country. Yet, such is the effect of human passions, so many virtues could not fail to provoke calumny. But let these malignant libellers enter into our ranks, and learn from the mouths, even of strangers, the eulogies bestowed on the French troops,—and we will be sufficiently avenged. What! do these enemies of their country, these cowardly courtiers, dare to flatter themselves with giving us a master? Think they, that the republican soldiers have fought for six years to obtain any other sovereign than the law? No, citizens; all factions ought to fall before your wisdom, and the energy of the armies. It is only for the maintenance of the constitution they have accepted, and for the prosperity of the republic, that they are disposed to shed their blood. While you consecrate your moments to preserve the constitutional deposit, and crush the malevolent, the army of Italy will not cease to concur in seconding, by its usual discipline and valour, every plan tending to give the republic that peace, which is the desirable object of all her friends. May your wisdom and courage unite the olive

and the laurel, and compel the force of the republican government to cherish, like us, sentiments of peace,"

The President of the Directory expressed the satisfaction they felt, and the pleasure entertained by all Frenchmen, on beholding, within that circle, the numerous and honourable trophies presented by one of the heroes of Arcola. What pleasure, said he, ought this spectacle to afford to Paris, the cradle of the revolution,—Paris, that can boast of having given birth to one of those warriors, who have most dignified the republican arms in the Pyrenees and the Alps! Let them vaunt of the eminent exploits of the greatest captains, who have served kings. They will never equal the wonders effected by the ardent love of liberty, and the genius of that sacred equality, which, surmounting every obstacle, places man in the situation that nature and virtue intended. "Brave General," continued the President, "inform your brethren in arms, that their exploits, now crowned by the capture of Mantua, have excited an universal enthusiasm, which has reduced to silence even the implacable enemies of their country. Tell them, that the hatred they proclaim against all factions, their ardent thirst of glory, attachment to the present constitution, and sincere wishes for a solid peace, worthy of their generous sacrifices, are common to them with the warriors of all the armies. Carry to them the tribute of our gratitude, in the name of the triumphant republic, that delights to reckon them among her firmest supports."

It was with difficulty the President restrained the emotions of his heart, when he advanced towards the General, and gave him the fraternal embrace, which the latter received with an equal expression of affection and gratitude. He then gave the warrior a tricoloured ensign, the symbol of that he had planted on the bridge of Arcola under the bombs and grape-shot of the Austrian artillery, and which the legislative body had voted him. He also presented him with a suit of armour, in name of the republic. The spectators yielded to the resistless impulse of their patriotism and joy. Music intermingled with the accents of victory, while the mild warmth and serenity of the atmosphere concurred in rendering the ceremony more interesting.

There now only remained to the Pope the Sabina, the patrimony of St. Peter, and the Campagna di Roma. In vain, in his ridiculous manifestoes of war, that seemed written for the twelfth century, did he promise the formal assistance of the Apostles Peter and Paul. In vain did he declare, that "his forces, which in the eyes of unbelieving judges were a subject of contempt and ridicule, would have the requisite vigour, puissance, and success,

to fulfil the public wishes." All this pious quackery tended only to give the lie to his numerous prophecies, and to demonstrate their vanity and weakness. Procession followed procession, and terror prevailed in Rome, while the family of the Pope and the Roman princes profited of the shade of night to save their fortune, by sending it to Naples. The country traversed by the French army, reckoning on its ulterior march to Rome, and the abolition of the government of priests, created municipalities, and organised themselves for liberty.

Reduced to a situation, that allowed him no other alternative than quitting Rome, his Holiness at last wrote a letter to Bonaparte, in which, after the usual exordium of Health and Apostolic Benediction, he expressed the desire he had to terminate amicably his differences with the republic; he informed the General, that he had deputed to him, as plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, the Cardinal Mattei and Monseigneur Galeppi, and two seculars, his nephew the Duke Don Louis Braschi, and the Marquis Camille Massimo. They were invested with full powers to concert, and subscribe such conditions as he hoped would be just and reasonable; and he obliged himself, under his faith and word, to approve and ratify them in special form, as valid and inviolable. He added, that assured of the sentiments of good-will which the General manifested, he had forborne to remove any thing from Rome; a circumstance which would satisfy him of the entire confidence his Holiness reposed in him.—Bonaparte had established his head-quarters at Tolentino, about twelve stages distant from Rome. At this place he received the deputies of the Pope, and on the nineteenth signed a treaty, which was afterwards ratified by the legislative body.

While traversing the dutchy of Urbino, the French General did not neglect to remove the uneasiness of the isolated republic of St. Marino. He accordingly deputed to that place the citizen Monge, who was introduced on his arrival to the two captains-regent of the republic, and informed them of the object of his mission in a speech of the following purport. Liberty, which in the fair days of Athens and of Thebes transformed the Greeks into a people of heroes,—which in the time of the republic made the Romans perform wonders,—which, during the short interval it diffused its influence over some of the cities of Italy, revived the sciences and the arts, and gave a lustre to Florence; liberty, while nearly banished from Europe, existed in St. Marino. By the wisdom of the government, and especially by their virtues, the people have preserved this precious deposit, notwithstanding so many revolu-

tions, and defended its asylum during so long a series of years. After a century of knowledge, the French people, blushing at their own slavery, have made an effort, and are free. All Europe, blinded as to their proper interests, and particularly the interests of mankind, coalesced and armed against France. Her neighbours concerted the partition of her territory; every point of her frontiers was invaded; her fortresses and ports were in the power of her enemies; and, what afflicted her most, a portion of herself kindled civil war, and compelled her to have recourse to measures, of which she must long feel the unfortunate consequences. Alone, in the midst of this tempest, without experience, arms, or chiefs, she hastened to the frontiers, and making head in every direction, was soon every where triumphant. Of her numerous enemies the wisest withdrew from the coalition; and others, yielding to her victorious arms, obtained successively the peace they implored. In fine, three only now remained; but they were impassioned, and listened to no counsel, except that of pride, jealousy, and hatred. One of the French armies, on entering Italy, had destroyed, in succession, four Austrian armies, bringing in its train liberty to these delightful countries, and, almost under the eyes of the men he addressed, covering itself with immortal glory.

"The French republic," continued he, "afflicted on account of the blood she sheds only with regret, and content with having given an eminent example to the universe, offers peace when she might dictate laws. Would you believe it, citizens, every where her propositions have been rejected with haughtiness, or eluded with cunning. The army of Italy, thus constrained to conquer peace, is obliged, in pursuit of one of its enemies, to pass in the vicinity of your territory. I come on the part of General Bonaparte, and in the name of the French republic, to assure the ancient republic of St. Marino of peace and inviolable friendship. Citizens Regents, the political constitution of the surrounding nations may experience changes. If any portion of your frontiers was disputed, or if any part of the neighbouring states, although not contested, be absolutely necessary to you, I am charged by the General-in-chief to request you to make it known to him: France is eager to give you proofs of the sincerity of her friendship."

The answer of the republic bore, that they would insert, in the number of the epochs, the most glorious in the calender of their liberty, the day of his mission to their republic. France knew not only how to vanquish her enemies by force of arms, but also to astonish her friends by her generosity. Happy in being able to

reckon themselves among the models which excited the noble emulation of Frenchmen, and more happy still in being found worthy of their friendship, they could not view, without the most lively interest, the French arms restoring in Italy the fair days of the Greek and Roman republics. Love of their own freedom made them feel the value of the magnanimous efforts of a great nation, that wished to recover its liberty. France had surpassed common expectations. Alone, against the rest of Europe, she had displayed to the world one of those wonderful examples of what energy, produced by the sentiment of liberty, can effect. Her army, marching on the steps of Hannibal, surpassed by its feats the most marvellous deeds recorded of antiquity. Conducted by a hero, who united talents and expanded genius with every virtue, it had turned its attention on a corner of the world, where the residue of ancient liberty had taken refuge, and where was found rather the simplicity of the Spartan manners, than the elegance of Athens. The envoy knew, that this simplicity of manners, and the innate sentiment of their liberty, were the sole inheritance transmitted them by their fathers. This inheritance they had preserved inviolate in the midst of the political shock occasioned by the revolution of many ages, and neither ambition nor hatred had been able to destroy it.

"Return, therefore," continued they, "to the hero who sent you. Bear to him the free homage, not of that admiration which we participate in common with the universe, but of our gratitude. Tell him, that the republic of St. Marino, content with her mediocrity, is afraid to accept the generous offer he has made of aggrandizing her territory, the consequence of which might compromise her liberty. But tell him also, that she will consider herself indebted to the generosity of the republic, and its invincible General, if she is able, for the public good, to draw close her commercial relations with France, and conclude a treaty which may insure her existence. To this all her wishes are limited, and we request you to be the interpreter of it to the General-in-chief of the army of Italy. As to yourself, illustrious envoy, we esteem ourselves so much the more happy, at this moment, in having you amongst us, as you unite the talents of the scholar with the civic virtues. The object of your mission, the manner you fulfil it, and the name of him who has sent you, will prove a lasting monument of the magnanimity of the conquerors of Italy, and ever revive in our breasts those sentiments of gratitude we at present experience."

The wisdom and moderation of this ancient republic is remarkable. On his return from Tolentino, Bonaparte presented her with four pieces of cannon in the name of the French republic, exempted the possessions of her citizens, in the Romagna, from all contributions, and directed a supply of corn, of which the inhabitants wished to make a purchase, to be delivered to them gratuitously.

The village of Pietola, situated in the Seraglio near Mantua, is the ancient spot of Andes, where Virgil was born;* and the surrounding fields were formerly part of the liberalities of Augustus, celebrated by this eminent poet, and still bearing the name of the Virgilian Fields. They had probably suffered as much during the blockade and siege of Mantua, as in the wars of the triumvirate. But, happily for their inhabitants, the conqueror of Italy was no less a man of taste than Augustus: Virgil was in his recollection, and, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, was a second time to protect his country. Bonaparte gave orders, that the ancient patrimony of the prince of Latin poets should be particularly distinguished, and that its inhabitants should be indemnified for all the losses they had sustained by the war. If the Cisalpine republic neglects to erect a statue to Ariosto, in the middle of the square of Reggio, it may be presumed from these sentiments displayed by the French General, that he will remind her of fulfilling this duty, which ought to recal another to the citizens of Mantua.†

* The hamlet Andes, now called Pietola, in the ci-devant duchy of Mantua, lies two miles west from that city.

† A Just idea may be formed of the taste of different nations for the fine arts, and we may distinguish those who cultivate this taste the most, by observing the monuments which have been erected in France to the revolution, and those which Italy, scarcely yet free, has already erected to her deliverers. The Bastile has disappeared; but what do we discern on the soil it covered, —a soil which was the cradle of our Liberty? a wood-yard for fuel! What do these pedestals bear, which expected monuments more superb than those destroyed? Nothing; or, what is worse, a miserable wooden obelisk, or a stucco caricature of the statue of Liberty.

Faenza has already erected a superb triumphal arch to eternise the remembrance of the recovery of her liberty, and the gratitude of the Italians to the French nation. On the foundation stone of this arch the following inscription is engraven:

POSTRIDIE KALENDAS FEBRUARIAS,
ANNO ÆRÆ CHRISTIANÆ MDCCXCVII.
REIPUBLICÆ GALLICÆ QUINTO,
CISPADANÆ PRIMO,
GALLIS DOCTUS * NAPOLEONIS BONAPARTI
ADVENTANTIBUS,

* There appears to be some error in the original here. If there be no omission, instead of *Doctus*, the word *Ductu* ought to be substituted.

Bonaparte's combats with the Austrians resembled those of Hercules with the hydra of Lerna; their armies were reproduced as soon as destroyed. The young Arch-duke Charles had been successful in Germany, but had not acquired so much glory in forcing the French to evacuate it, as General Moreau had merited by one of the most skilful and difficult retreats, of which history has preserved the remembrance. Full of confidence in this Prince, the Court of Vienna thought, that, by calling him to the command of their forces in Italy, he would restore to them the superiority, which they had so long and so vainly disputed there. The greatest efforts we made to furnish him with a puissant army, and hostilities had commenced before Bonaparte granted peace to the Pope.

Some skirmishes between the hostile armies were a prelude to more serious contests. General Guieux retook the post of Treviso on the twenty-second of February; and the advanced-guard under General Walther, having encountered the Imperialists

MILITES PONTIFICIS ROMANI PII SEXTI
IN FUGAM HIC VERSI SUNT.
POPULUS FAVENTINUS,
NE PENES POSTEROS MEMORIA INTERCIDERET,
QUO IN LOCO LIBERTAS PROVINCIÆ ÆMILIÆ
ORTA EST,
ÆTERNA IN BASI ÆRE SUO
MONUMENTUM POSUERENT.
NONIS MAII,
ANNO REIPUBLICÆ CISPADANÆ PRIMO.

Mantua also consecrated in the citadel of St. George, rendered famous by the exploits of the French, a monument to perpetuate the remembrance of them. An obelisk has been erected in the village of Pietola, the native land of Virgil, in the middle of a wood of oaks, myrtles, and laurels, and dedicated to his honour. On the front of its pedestal are these lines:

Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
Aonia rediens deducam vertice Musas:
Primus Idumæas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas.

On another side,

Nec spes libertatis erat.

On a third,

O Melibœe, Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.

And on a fourth,

Natal. Pub. Virgilii Maronis sacrum.

The glory of Mantua would have been greater, if this monument was not owing to the instances of the French General. On one of the fields of battle, which confirmed the liberty of Italy, there are erected as many triumphal pyramids as the French army had divisions; on these their names are engraven by the hand of gratitude, and presented to the admiration of posterity. What have we done in France comparable with these first fruits of freedon in Italy?

in front of Lovadina, drove them back, and pursued them to their intrenchments on the Piava. Since the battle of Rivoli, the French occupied the banks of the Piava and the Lavisio, while Prince Charles held the opposite bank of the Piava, having his centre posted behind the Cordevole, and his right supported by the Adige on the side of Salurn. On the tenth, the division of General Massena proceeded to Feltri, and the Austrians, evacuating the line of Cordevole, marched to Bellurn. General Serrurier's division advanced to Asolo during very stormy weather; but wind and rain, on the eve of a battle, have always proved an omen of success to the army of Italy. This division crossed the Piava opposite the village of Vidor, on the twelfth, and, having worsted an Austrian corps that attempted to oppose their passage, advanced rapidly to St. Salvador. But the enemy, having received intelligence of this, and afraid of being surrounded, abandoned their camp of La Campana. General Guieux passed the Piava at Ospedaletto, and arriving with his division at Sacile on the thirteenth, defeated their rear-guard. Meanwhile, Massena's division having reached Bellurn, pursued the Imperialists who had retreated towards Cadore, and surrounding their rear-guard, took seven hundred prisoners, and, among them, General Lusignan, who commanded the centre of the army. This General having disgraced himself by his conduct towards the French sick at Brescia, Bonaparte gave orders to conduct him to France, without the liberty of being exchanged.

Early on the sixteenth, Guieux's division set out from Pordenone, that of Bernadotte left Sacile, and that of Serrurier proceeded from Pasiano, all directing their march to Valvasone. Guieux's division passed beyond it, and arrived on the banks of the Tagliamento at eleven o'clock of the day. The Austrian army was intrenched on the opposite side of the river, the passage of which it seemed determined to dispute. Bernadotte's division having arrived at noon, Bonaparte immediately ordered Guieux to proceed to the left, in order to cross the river, on the right of the enemy's intrenchments, under the protection of twelve pieces of artillery, General Bernadotte being directed to pass it at the same time on the right. Both divisions, having formed their battalions of grenadiers, ranged themselves in order of battle, each with a demi-brigade of light infantry in their front, supported by two battalions of grenadiers, and flanked by the cavalry; the light infantry manœuvring as riflemen. After a brisk cannonade, Bonaparte gave orders for every demi-brigade to file off in close column, on the wings of their second, first, and third battalions,

General Duphat, at the head of the twenty seventh light infantry, threw himself into the river, and presently gained the opposite bank, being supported by General Bon, with the grenadiers of Guieux's division. General Murat made the same movement on the right, and was, in like manner, supported by the grenadiers of Bernadotte's division; the whole French line putting itself in motion, each demi-brigade *en echelons*, with squadrons of cavalry placed at intervals in the rear. The Imperial cavalry attempted several times to charge the French infantry, but without success; the river was crossed, and the enemy routed in every direction. As they attempted to out-line the right of the French with their cavalry, and the left with their infantry, General Dugua, and Adjutant-general Kellerman, were detached at the head of the cavalry of reserve, supported by a body of infantry under Adjutant-general Mireur; and having worsted the Austrian cavalry, took prisoner the General who commanded them. Guieux ordered the village of Gradisca to be attacked, and, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, made himself master of it, after having completely defeated the enemy: Prince Charles had just time to escape. Serrurier's division, as it arrived, passed the river, and ranged in order of battle to serve as a corps of reserve. In this affair, the French took six pieces of cannon, one General, several superior officers, and four or five hundred prisoners. The quickness with which they formed and manœuvred, and the superiority of their artillery, so intimidated the hostile army, that the latter could not be brought to make a stand, and profited of the night to save themselves by flight.

The foresight of the Directory had seconded every measure calculated to render certain the success of Bonaparte, and procure a glorious peace to the republic. Entire divisions had been drawn from the armies on the Rhine, and sent to Italy. Proceeding from the banks of that river, they traversed part of the republic, and surmounted, in the most rigorous season, the barrier of the Alps, till then deemed impervious. But General Kellerman, by dint of labour and vigilance, and struggling against climate, the elements, and the seasons, had succeeded in maintaining the free passage of the mountains. This march, the longest and the most difficult ever effected, on the continent, by an armed corps, during the winter season, enabled them, without experiencing any delay, and without being suspected, or perhaps believed, by the enemy, to contend in Carinthia with the men they had so often defeated on the other side of the Rhine. When these reinforcements formed a junction with the army of Italy, Bonaparte, who was supposed to be still

before Rome, crossed the Trajamento, and shewed his troops, from the summit of the Noric Alps, (a barrier which no modern nation had hitherto passed,) the basons of the Adriatic and of the Danube, in the midst of which last, Vienna seemed to point out to them the termination or the object of their exploits. Thus Hannibal had formerly, from the crest of the Alps, shewn to his Carthaginians the plains of that Italy, which he knew how to vanquish, but not to conquer. Scarcely had the campaign commenced, and scarcely, in climes more favourable, would they have thought of opening it, when Bonaparte already menaced the heart of the states of Austria. Nature was still dormant in these bleak regions, now become the theatre of war, when the mountains of the Tyrol and of Carinthia were scaled. Prince Charles was compelled to a continued and precipitate retreat, very different from that which had immortalized General Moreau, who led back his army, pursued indeed, but always victorious, from the banks of the Danube to the borders of the Rhine.

On the eighteenth, the division of General Bernadotte defiled by Palma-nova, and took a position on the Torre. General Serrurier took post on the right, and Guieux on the left, the citizen Lasalle being dispatched with the twenty-fourth regiment of chasseurs to Udina. The Imperialists, on the approach of the French, evacuated Palma-nova, where the latter captured thirty thousand rations of bread, and a thousand quintals of flour. It was only ten days since Prince Charles had seized on this place, which belonged to the Venetians. His intention was occupy it as a military post; but he had not time to establish himself in it. General Massena, proceeding by St. Daniel, Osopo, and Gemona, pushed his advanced-guard into the defiles. On the nineteenth, Bernadotte blockaded the fort of Gradisca, while Serrurier advanced opposite San-Pietro for the purpose of passing the Lisonzo, on the other side of which the Imperialists had several pieces of cannon and some battalions for defending the passage. Bonaparte ordered various manœuvres to be made with an intent to alarm the enemy; after which the passage was effected without opposition.

General Serrurier next proceeded to Gradisca, filing along the highest peaks that command the fort. To make a diversion, and prevent the Austrians from discovering this manœuvre, General Bernadotte made the riflemen attack their intrenchments. But the French soldiers, impelled by their natural ardour, advanced with fixed bayonets to the walls of the town, where they were received by a very heavy discharge of musketry and grape-shot. In the meantime, Serrurier, having gained the heights, rendered

every means of retreat impossible to the garrison, who were equally convinced of the impracticability of defence. The governor accordingly agreed to a capitulation, his troops becoming prisoners, the flower of the army of Prince Charles, ten pieces of cannon, and eight standards, were the fruits of this operation.

General Massena's division, having carried the fort of La Chiusa, encountered a body of Imperialists, who attempted to dispute the passage of the bridge of Casasola. His grenadiers, in close column, forced the bridge, and, having beaten the enemy, notwithstanding their intrenchments and chevaux-de-frise, pursued them as far as Ponteba. Six hundred men of the regiments lately brought from the Rhine were taken prisoners; and all the magazines, which the Austrians had on this side of the river, fell into the hands of the French.

The capture of the fortress of Gradisca procured advantages, of which the French General hastened to profit. He addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of the province of Goritia, with an intent to prepare their minds for the expedition he meditated across their territory. The French entered the town of Goritia on the twenty-first, the Austrian army having retreated with so much precipitation, that they abandoned four hospitals containing fifteen hundred sick, and all their magazines of provisions and military stores. In these were six hundred and eighty casks of flour, each weighing three quintals, making in all two thousand and forty quintals, besides what was furnished to the division of Bernadotte. General Guieux proceeded with his division from Cividale to Caporetto, where he fell in with the Imperialists, who had thrown up intrenchments at Pufero. These he attacked and carried, and afterwards pursued the enemy into the defiles of Caporetto, as far as Austrian La Chinse. Meantime, Massena approached Tarvis with his division. Bonaparte had therefore reason to hope, that the two thousand men, whom Guieux pushed before him, would fall into the hands of that General. Dugua entered Trieste on the night of the twenty-third; and, on taking possession of the celebrated mines of Ydria, the French found in them substance prepared for two millions, which they carried off in waggons.

Massena, on his arrival at Tarvis, was attacked by an Austrian division from Clagenfurth, which had come to the assistance of the corps hemmed in by him on the one side, and driven by Guieux into the defiles. But after a conflict extremely obstinate, he routed them, with the loss of a great number of prisoners, among whom were three Generals. The Emperor's cuirassiers, who had arrived

from the Rhine, suffered most severely. Meanwhile, Guieux, after a very warm engagement, carried Austrian La Chinse, a post extremely well intrenched. General Kables in person defended it with five hundred grenadiers. By the laws of war these men ought to have been put to the sword; but this barbarous right has always been disclaimed, and never exercised, by the French army. The hostile column, on finding La Chinse taken, hastened its march, and fell into the middle of the division of Massena, who made the whole of them prisoners. Thirty pieces of cannon, four hundred waggons, five thousand men, and four Generals, were taken by the French.

The chain of the Alps, which separates France and Switzerland from Italy, also separates the Italian part of the Tyrol from the German part, the Venetian states from the dominions of the Emperor, and Carinthia from the counties of Goritz and Gradisca. Massena's division had crossed the Italian Alps, and now occupied the defiles of the Noric Alps, where the Imperialists had been so imprudent as to entangle all their baggage and part of their army, which were of course taken. The battle at Tarvis was fought above the clouds, on a height commanding an extensive view of Germany and Dalmatia. In several places to which the French line extended, the snow lay three feet deep, and the cavalry charged on the ice. A continuity of such brilliant success abashed still less than it exasperated the internal enemies of the republic. One of the first cares of the Directory, when they beheld the public spirit sinking, as it were, in proportion to their victories, was to support it at least in the armies, that so ably defended France against the efforts of external foes, who were perhaps less dangerous. To this motive, independently of the justice of the measure, may be ascribed their letters to different officers of the army of Italy; and, in particular, to Generals Berthier, Bernadotte, Massena, Guieux, Mireur, and Kellerman; Andreossi, Chief-of-brigade of artillery; Miquet, Chief of the eighty-eighth demi-brigade; and the Commandant of the tenth regiment of chasseurs, in name of his corps. These eulogies the army answered, by meriting still more in their subsequent operations.

A French column, dispatched by Bonaparte to compel the submission of the Tyrol, and afterwards join him on the Drave, fulfilled their mission, and traversed, as conquerors, a country which Austria had always regarded as one of the strongest bulwarks of her empire. The divisions of Generals Joubert, Baraguay d'Hilliers, and Delmas, put themselves in motion on the twentieth, and

surrounded an Austrian corps stationed on the Lavis. After a severe engagement, the French took four thousand prisoners, and killed nearly two thousand, the greater part of whom were Tyrolean chasseurs.

Meanwhile, the enemy fell back along the right bank of the Adige, and manifested a disposition to maintain themselves in this situation. On the twenty-second, General Joubert, with three divisions under his command, proceeded to Salurn. General Vial made himself master of the bridge of Neumark, and passed the river to prevent the Imperialists from retreating to Botzen. The firing commenced with great warmth, and the issue seemed doubtful, when the General-of-division Dumas, who commanded the cavalry, pushed into the village of Tramin, and took six hundred prisoners. In consequence of this, the wrecks of the Austrian column, under General Laudon, were prevented from reaching Botzen, and obliged to wander in the mountains. Joubert entered the town, and, having detached a sufficient force to follow Laudon, marched directly to Clausen. The Imperialists, availing themselves of the means of defence which the country afforded, had made the best dispositions; but their centre was penetrated, they were obliged to give way, and the rout became general; in this action the French took fifteen hundred prisoners. At Brixen, Botzen, and different other places, the French found magazines of every kind, and, among other articles, thirty thousand quintals of flour. Through the whole of the Tyrol, Carinthia, and Carniola, the Imperialists left behind them their hospitals.

On penetrating into Carinthia, Bonaparte published a proclamation to the inhabitants of the province, purporting that his army had not entered their country for the purpose of conquering it, or to effect any change in their religion, manners, or customs. They were the friends of all nations, and particularly of the brave people of Germany. The Executive Directory, he said, spared no pains to bring to a termination the calamities, which desolated the continent. Anxious to promote the accomplishment of this plan, they had sent General Clark as plenipotentiary to Vienna, to commence negociations for peace. The Imperial court however refused to hear him, and even declared at Vicenza through the medium of M. de St. Vincent, that it did not acknowledge the French republic. General Clarke demanded a passport to go and speak to the Emperor himself; but his ministers dreaded with reason, that the moderation of the propositions, which the General was charged to make, would influence his Majesty to conclude a peace. If the

war had been protracted for six years by the ministers of the Imperial court, purchased by the gold of England, it was contrary to the wishes of the brave Hungarians, of the enlightened citizens of Vienna, and of the simple but honest natives of Carinthia. He proffered them the friendship of the French republic, which, although entitled to claim the right of conquest, was willing to renounce it. He invited them not to join in a contest repugnant to their sentiments, and to furnish what provisions the army might require; declaring that, on his part, he would protect their religion, customs, and property, and not exact any contribution. War itself was sufficiently disastrous, and they had already suffered too much, as the innocent victims of the folly of others.

On the twenty-eighth, three divisions of the army had cleared the passages leading from the Venetain territory into Germany, and encamped at Villach on the banks of the Drave. Next day General Massena fell in with the Imperial army at the distance of a league from Clagenfurth, when an engagement ensued, in which the Austrians lost two pieces of cannon and two hundred prisoners. The same evening the French entered the town, while Prince Charles, and the wrecks of his army extremely disheartened, were flying before them. On the first of April, the French advanced-guard was at a place between St. Veit and Freisach, and the division of General Bernadotte reached Laubach, the capital of Carniola. Bonaparte detached the Polish General Zajouzeck, at the head of a body of cavalry, with directions to follow the valley of the Drave, and, after gaining Lientz, effect his junction with General Joubert at Brixen.

Since the commencement of this campaign, Prince Charles had lost nearly twenty thousand men taken prisoners. The Imperialists were now entirely driven from the Venetian territories; and the Higher and Lower Carniola, Carinthia, the district of Trieste, and the whole of the Tyrolese, subjected to the arms of the republic. Near Villach the French found a magazine of cast iron, cartridges, and powder, and mines of lead, steel, iron, and copper; and near Clagenfurth they found magazines of arms and cloth. General Joubert, on the twenty-eighth of March, attacked the defile of Inspruck, which was defended by the Austrian battalions newly arrived from the Rhine. After a short cannonade he decided the affair by advancing at the head of the eighty-fifth demi-brigade in close column by battalion. The Imperialists were driven back, leaving one hundred killed, six hundred prisoners, two pieces of cannon, and all their baggage.

The French army continuing to advance, Massena's division, forming the van-guard, encountered the enemy in the defiles between Freisach and Neumark. Their rear-guard was driven from all the positions it endeavoured to dispute, and pursued with so much rapidity, that the Archduke was obliged to bring back from his principal line of battle eight battalions of grenadiers, the same who had taken Kehl, and who now formed the hope of the Austrian army. The second light infantry, who had particularly distinguished themselves since their arrival, without relaxing their movement a single instant, threw themselves on the flanks both of right and left, at the same moment. General Massena, in order to penetrate the defile, formed in column the grenadiers of the eighteenth and thirty-second. The combat raged with fury; it was the flower of the Imperial army, who had come to contend with the veteran troops of the army of Italy. The enemy occupied a grand position, bristling with cannon; but it only protracted, for a short time, the defeat of their rear-guard. Their grenadiers were completely routed, leaving the field of battle covered with their dead, and from five to six hundred prisoners. At day-break the French entered Neumark, their head-quarters being advanced the same day to Freisach, at both which places they found considerable magazines.

On the third, the head-quarters were removed to Scheifling, while the advanced-guard encountered the rear of the Imperialists in the vicinity of H' dsmark, where the latter wished to dispute its quarters for the night. The second light infantry still formed the van of the French. After an hour's fighting, the Austrian rear-guard, composed of four regiments from the Rhine, was again put to the rout, leaving six hundred prisoners, and at least three hundred men dead on the field of battle. That evening, our soldiers eat the bread, and drank the brandy, prepared for the Austrian army. The loss of the French in these two engagements was very trifling; the only officer killed was the Chief-of-brigade, Carrere, a soldier of steady valour, and indefatigable activity. After these operations, the troops occupied Kintenfield, Murau, and Judenburg, the Imperialists appearing decided on a precipitate retreat, and resolved not to hazard any more partial actions. Bonaparte ordered the division of Guieux to pursue the Austrian General Spork, who endeavoured to effect a junction by the valley of the Muhr, and whose advanced-guard had already arrived at Murau; but the prompt arrival of the French at Scheifling ren-

dered this junction impossible. The Austrians could now make no stand, except in the mountains in the neighbourhood of Vienna.

In the midst of this unexampled series of triumphs, it seems, that, incapable of being dazzled by them, the more successful the French General was, the more moderate he became. Having before him only an army of runaways, and on the point of arriving under the walls of Vienna, where a very probable success might have overturned, for ever, the throne of the House of Austria so fatal to France; he knew how to arrest his progress, and think only of fulfilling the pacific intentions of the Directory. From his head-quarters, at Clagenfurth, Bonaparte wrote a letter to Prince Charles on the thirty-first of March. After remarking that the brave make war but desire peace, he reminded his Royal Highness that the struggle had already lasted six years; and asked, if they had not hitherto slaughtered men, and committed evils enough against suffering humanity. Europe, that had taken up arms against the French republic, had now laid them down; the Austrian nation alone remained; . . . and still blood was about to flow more than ever. The sixth campaign was now announced under the most portentous auspices; and, whatever might be the result, many thousands of gallant soldiers must still be sacrificed in the prosecution of hostilities. At some period, both must come to an understanding,—for time brings all things to a conclusion, and extinguishes the most inveterate resentments. The Executive Directory of the French republic, had expressed, to his Imperial Majesty, their design to terminate a contest, which desolated the two countries; but their pacific overtures were defeated by the intervention of the British cabinet. Was there then no hope of accommodation? Must they continue to murder each other in order to promote the interests, or gratify the passions, of a nation far removed from the theatre of war? Was his Royal Highness, so nearly allied by birth to the throne, and raised above all the despicable passions which too often influence ministers and governments,—was he ambitious to merit the appellation of the benefactor of the human race, and the saviour of Germany? He begged the prince not to imagine he meant to insinuate, that his Royal Highness could not possibly save his country by force of arms. But even on the supposition, that the chances of war were to become favourable, Germany would not, on that account, suffer the less devastation. With respect to himself, if the overture, he had the honour to make to his Royal Highness, could be the means of sparing the life of a single individual, he would be prouder of the

civic crown to which his interference might entitle him, than of the melancholy glory resulting from the most brilliant military exploits.

The Archduke observed in answer, that in making war, and following the call of honour and duty, he himself, as well as the French General, desired peace for the good of the two countries, and from a regard to humanity. But as it did not belong to him, in the post intrusted to his care, to scrutinise or determine the quarrel of the belligerent nations, and as he was not invested, on the part of his Majesty the Emperor, with any powers for treating, General Bonaparte would perceive, that he could not enter into any negociation, and that he must wait for superior orders on an object of such high importance, and not within the sphere of his present functions.

Two hours after receipt of this answer, and while the French troops were on their march to Freisach, the Archduke, by one of his aides-de-camp, requested a suspension of arms for four hours; a proposition entirely inadmissible. It was obvious that he wished, by gaining four hours, to gain the whole day, and thereby have time to effect a junction with General Spork. But this was the very reason which had made General Bonaparte hasten his march both night and day.

This correspondence, infinitely more frank on the part of the French General than on that of the Archduke, and in which the former preserves, in every respect, a superiority of character worthy of being remarked, and, above all, the extreme peril of the Imperial court, did not permit a doubt of its soon yielding to views of conciliation. In Vienna the consternation was extreme, and the most violent orders succeeded each other with a rapidity tending to increase the alarm. Many hastened to withdraw themselves from the horrors of a siege, by leaving the city; and although a numerous class appeared ready to rally round the monarch, and unite for the defence of the country, he could not be much encouraged by an attachment, which had cost so dearly to all those noble volunteers of Vienna, who had faced the army of Italy, only to meet with death, or to surrender prisoners. In vain had Prince Charles appeared at the head of the Imperial armies; he had been, perhaps, still more unfortunate than the Generals his predecessors; and every effect expected from the influence of his talents, or the illusion of his dignity, had deceived their ultimate hopes.

During these transactions, Bonaparte transferred his head quarters to Judenburg, and prepared for decisive measures, unless the

activity of the negociation should supersede the necessity of carrying them into effect. On the seventh April, Lieutenant-general the Count de Bellegarde, and Major-general Meerveldt, wrote a letter to the French Commander, in which they stated, that his Imperial Majesty had nothing more at heart than to concur in re-establishing the repose of Europe, and terminating a war that desolated the two nations. In consequence of the overture made by the French General to Prince Charles, the Emperor had now deputed them to learn his proposals on a subject of such great importance. Persuaded of the earnest desire, as well as the intentions of the two powers to terminate, as soon as possible, this disastrous war, his Royal Highness desired a suspension of arms for ten days, in order to facilitate the attainment of so desirable an object, and in order that all delay and obstacles, which the continuance of hostilities would occasion to the negociation, might be removed, and every thing concur to the re-establishment of peace between the two nations.

Bonaparte observed in answer to this application, that, considering the military position of the two armies, a suspension of arms was in every respect disadvantageous to the French. But if it tended to open a road to peace, so much desired, and so beneficial to the two nations, he would consent without hesitation to their request. France had frequently manifested to his Majesty her desire to put an end to this sanguinary contest. She still entertained the same sentiments; and he had no doubt, from the conference he had with them, that in a few days peace would be at length concluded between the republic and his Majesty.

A convention was accordingly entered into, stipulating that hostilities should cease between the French and Imperial armies, calculating from the evening of the seventh to that of the thirteenth. By the second article, the French were to retain the following line:—The advanced posts of the right wing to keep possession of the position they then occupied between Fiume and Trieste; and their line to be extended by taking possession of Treffen, Littai, Windischleistritz, Marburg, Chienhaussen, the right bank of the Muhr, Gratz, Bruck, Leoben, Trasayak, Mantern, the road from Mantern to Rottemann, Rottemann, Irdinng, the valley of Lems as far as Rastadt, St. Michael, Spital, the valley of the Drave, and Lientz. It was also arranged by the third and last article, that the suspension of arms should extend to the Tyrol; and that the Generals, commanding the French and Imperial troops in that quarter, should regulate together the posts they were severally to oc-

cupy. Hostilities were not to commence there until twenty-four hours after the Generals, commanding the French and Imperial troops in the Tyrol, should be reciprocally informed of the circumstance.

This armistice enabled the French General to give to his army two or three days of repose, which the activity of their operations had rendered indispensably necessary. Accordingly, the division of General Serrurier occupied Gratz, one of the most considerable towns in the Austrian dominions, and containing forty thousand inhabitants. Prior to the conclusion of the convention, Generals Joubert, Delmas, and Baraguay d'Hilliers, had several engagements at Botzen and Milbach, in which they constantly proved victorious; and after traversing, as conquerors, the whole country of the Tyrol, and taking about eight thousand prisoners, joined the grand army by the valley of the Drave. The whole French forces, being now united, took possession of the line of demarkation prescribed by the armistice. Bonaparte transmitted to the Directory, by Adjutant-general Leclerc, several plans of arrangement, which had been sent to Vienna, and upon which the plenipotentiaries waited for instructions. In the mean time, M. de Vincent, the Emperor's Aide-de-camp, having arrived, the plenipotentiaries resumed the negociation; and at the expiration of two days, the preliminaries of the treaty of peace were agreed upon and signed. The French General did not levy a single contribution in Germany, and had the satisfaction to find that there was not one complaint made against his troops.

Immediately on receiving intelligence of the preliminaries being signed, the Executive Directory communicated their tenor to both the councils. They contained the cession of Belgium by the Emperor and King, the acknowledgment of the limits of France as decreed by the laws of the legislative body, and the establishment and independence of a republic in Lombardy. The message of the Directory ascertains the nature of the future treaty, the consequences of which, although still difficult to be foreseen, appear calculated to change the destiny of many nations, and create a new system of policy in Europe. But to whatever diversity of opinions the preliminaries of Leoben may give rise, the glory of the conqueror of Italy and Austria will not be the less complete; for his powers, respecting the management of the war, were doubtless more extensive than in settling the terms of the negociation. If a system of moderation bordering on weakness, a shallow and contracted policy, or, in fine, the difficulties resulting from

the factions that divided the French republic, and consulted only their own triumph, when they ought to have had in view that of their country, its interests, its wants, and its glory—if these conclude with giving us a territory ill circumscribed, and leaving it in a condition, that revives the necessity of new wars, this evil certainly cannot, without injustice, be ascribed to the soldier, who has afforded us a right to impose on our enemies every condition necessary to the future safety and tranquillity of France.

For four centuries, Belgium has been moistened with the blood of Frenchmen. To the English it has served as a lever in inciting Austria against France, and it is the connecting chain of those two states. It accorded with the avidity of England that Belgium should remain under the yoke of a power not maritime, because she was thereby enabled to monopolise its commere, to secure the possession of which all her efforts were directed. France had formerly, but in vain, conquered the Netherlands, for both Louis XIV. and his successor were obliged to restore them as a compensation for the French colonies. The court of London knew, that no European nation having hitherto been able to retain long numerous armies and fleets in active service, it was sufficient to involve France in a continental war in order to detach her from naval operations, and thereby keep her marine in a state of weakness, that compromised the fate of her colonies, and ruined her commerce.

The cession of Belgium removed this cause of our misfortunes. Thanks to Bonaparte, who has more effectually conquered it, than the man who at first exacted its submission. And thanks to that courageous convention, which had the sage policy and noble firmness to decree its re-union! But will not this same cause arise on the banks of the Rhine, if these banks are abandoned, in favour of Austria, to electors and princes, who believe evey thing owing to her protection? It would have been easy to have detached these princes from her interests, by separating them from the empire, and declaring them the allies of the French people, guarantees of the sovereignty the latter had left them, if it was found impossible to appropriate those ancient states, and give indemnifications on the other side of the Rhine; a measure which would certainly have been still more beneficial and important. But whatever may be the treaty of peace, the terms of which are as yet unknown; and which, if its basis be ill arranged, will more endanger the Italian nations than France, it will not be the less true, that the last campaign of Bonaparte was the war of the

Titans. The French troops surmounted all the obstacles of art and nature, plunged into regions unknown, and penetrated, ever victorious, into countries, which Charlemagne alone had been able to display to their ancestors. In the Tyrol they succeeded in executing a plan, which had failed in the war of the succession; and they have proved that nothing was impossible to them, when commanded by a man worthy of directing their operations.

How profound a subject for reflection to our posterity! France wished to alter her government, and all Europe coalesced to hinder her, or to partition her like unfortunate Poland. Already is her frontier violated; the Prussians and Austrians advance within thirty leagues of Paris;—they are repulsed, and, by an uninterrupted series of exploits, which may one day appear fabulous, in the course of five years the French nation dictate peace, at the gates of their capitals, to all the monarchs of the continent, happy in not being expelled from their tottering thrones. They give to a portion of Europe, that liberty which they had already established in America; and, for the first time, we may ascribe to the scourge of war the abolition of nearly all the moral and political servitude, which, for these twenty centuries, has been the disgrace and misfortune of nations. Notwithstanding the crimes and disorders which have tainted the French revolution, and which, perhaps, were inseparable from so vast a movement as that it has effected, future generations will bless it, and will one day proclaim,

THE HUMAN RACE HAD LOST THEIR RIGHTS:
THE FRENCH NATION RECOVERED AND RESTORED THEM TO MANKIND.

FINIS.

J. DAVIS, Charlotte-
street, Bloomsbury.

# ORIGINAL JOURNAL

OF THE

# Second Campaign of Bonaparte,

BEING

## THE CAMPAIGN

IN

## EGYPT AND SYRIA,

IN THE YEAR 1798;

AND

THE OPERATIONS OF GENERAL DESAIX

IN

## Upper Egypt.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

OF

*BERTHIER,*

GENERAL DE DIVISION, AND CHEF DE L'ETAT-MAJOR-GENERAL OF THE ARMY OF THE EAST.

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Et facere et pati fortia Romanum est.

*Titus Livius.*

# PREFACE,

## *By GENERAL BERTHIER.*

THE following Memoir is confined to a Narrative of military events. The political relations of Egypt, the description of its monuments, and the manners and customs of its various inhabitants, have been treated of by Volney, with such an accuracy and depth of observation, as renders it superfluous to offer any thing on these heads. His admirable work was the guide of the French in Egypt, and it was the only one that never misled them.

With respect to the antiquities of Upper Egypt, a description thereof will be given by Denon. This distinguished artist, whom Desaix called his friend, accompanied to the cataracts the division commanded by that general, sharing its dangers and fatigues, to examine the magnificent remains

with which that country abounds. His work will furnish the Philosopher with researches fitted to develope the history of a celebrated people, and the lover of the arts with a source of instruction and enjoyment.

# ORIGINAL JOURNALS

OF THE

# Campaigns

OF

# *THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.*

## SECOND CAMPAIGN.

## CAMPAIGN OF GENERAL BONAPARTE

IN EGYPT AND SYRIA, 1798.

*Landing of the French in Egypt.—Taking of Alexandria.*

DURING the short interval of eight days Bonaparte took possession of the island of Malta, formed therein a provisional government, victualled the fleet, took in water, and arranged all the military and administrative dispositions. He appeared before this island on the 10th of June, 1798, and quitted it on the 19th of June, having entrusted the command to General Vaubois.

On the 25th of June, the armament came within sight of the island of Candia;—29th it was off the coast of Africa; and on the morning of the 30th of June, the Tower of the Arabs was discernable; and in the evening the fleet came before Alexandria.

Bonaparte immediately took measures for communicating with this city, for the purpose of seeing the French consul, in order to procure intelligence, as well with respect to the English, as to the situation of Egypt. On the 1st of July, the consul came on board the admiral's ship; he stated that the appearance of the French fleet had occasioned immediate adoption of measures against the Christian inhabitants of the city, and that he experienced great difficulty in coming away. He added that fourteen English vessels

had appeared on the 28th of June within half a league of Alexandria, and that Admiral Nelson, after communicating with the English consul, had directed his course towards the North East; and lastly, he informed us, that it was resolved to defend the city, and forts of Alexandria, against the troops of any nation, that should attempt to land.

It was generally apprehended that the English fleet would suddenly appear, and attack us, at a moment, and in circumstances, the most unfavourable for resistance. Not an instant was to be lost. The general in chief, the same evening, made the necessary arrangements for a landing, and fixed on the point at Marabou as the spot; he ordered the fleet to anchor as near the point as possible, but two ships of war in preparing to execute this, ran foul of the admiral's ship, which caused the order to be countermanded, and the armament remained at its then situation. This was at a distance of about three leagues from the shore, the wind was northerly, and blew with violence, and the waves dashing against the breakers which surrounded the coast, rendered the debarkation equally perilous and difficult; but neither these, nor the adverse state of the elements, could retard the brave men who were eager to anticipate the hostile dispositions of the inhabitants.

Bonaparte was anxious to superintend the debarkation in person, he went on board a galley, and was instantly followed by a numerous train of boats, in which he had ordered Generals Bon and Kleber, to embark such parts of their divisions, as were on board the ships of war. Generals Desaix, Regnier and Menou, whose divisions were on board the transports, were ordered to effect a landing, with their men, in three columns, as near as possible to the point of Marabou. The sea, in an instant was covered with boats, which stemmed the furious impetuosity of the waves. The galley which carried Bonaparte, approached the nearest breakers whence the entrance to the creek of Marabou was discoversd; he there waited for those boats that had orders to join him, but they arrived not at the place till after sun set, and were unable during the night, to penetrate the ledge of breakers.* At length, very early in the morning, the general in chief, effected a landing at the head of the foremost troops, who immediately formed in the desert, about three leagues from Alexandria.

Bonaparte inspected the troops which had landed, and placed the *eclaireurs* in front. The force consisted of about one thousand men of General Kleber's division, eighteen hundred of Menou's, and fifteen hundred of that of General Bon. The situation of the shipping, and the nature of the coast at Marabou, rendered it

impracticable to land either the horses, or the artillery, nor were the divisions of Desaix, or Regnier yet landed; but Bonaparte well knew he commanded men, who dreaded not their adversaries. It was necessary to take advantage of the hour, in advancing against Alexandria; and, between two and three in the morning, the troops began to march in three columns. At the moment of their departure, some vessels of Regnier's division arrived at the place of landing, and that general received orders to take a position, for covering the point of debarkation; General Desaix was ordered to follow the route of the army, as soon as his division had effected a landing. Orders were also issued, that the transport vessels should come to an anchor in the port Marabou, in order to facilitate the debarkation of the remainder of the troops, and to bring on shore two field pieces, with the horses necessary for drawing them.

Bonaparte marched on foot with the advanced guard, accompanied by his staff and general officers. He recommended to General Caffarelli, who had a wooden leg, to wait until a horse should be landed, but this officer, who always wished to be foremost in the field of honour, was deaf to all entreaties, and braved the fatigues of a painful march. A similar ardour and enthusiasm prevaded the whole army; General Bon commanded the column on the right, General Kleber the centre; and the left, which proceeded along the coast, was commanded by General Menou. About half an hour before day light, one of the advanced guards was attacked by a party of Arabs, who killed an officer; on their advancing, a number of shots were interchanged between them and the *tirailleurs* of the army. At half a league from Alexandria, the Arabs were joined by about three hundred horsemen, but at the approach of the main body of the French, they abandoned the heights which commanded the town, and retired into the desert.

Bonaparte perceiving, near the walls of the old town, a number of Arabs, ordered the troops to halt within cannon-shot of the place; desirous to prevent the effusion of blood, he was disposed to parley, but the frightful shouts of men, women, and children, and a cannonade which unmasked several pieces, unequivocally declared the intentions of the enemy. Reduced to the necessity of overpowering them, Bonaparte ordered a charge to be beat. The shouts were renewed with increased fury. The French advanced to the walls, which they proceeded to escalade, notwithstanding the fire of the besieged, and the showers of stones, which were directed against them; generals and soldiers promiscuously mounted the walls, and with equal intrepidity. General Kleber, was

wounded by a ball, in the head: Menou, covered with contusions, was precipitated from the parapet he had scaled. The soldiers displayed an equal ardour with their chiefs; one of the guides, named Joseph Cala, led the grenadiers, and was among the first who mounted the walls, where, in face of a heavy fire and showers of stones, he assisted the grenadiers, Sabathier and Labruyere, to ascend the rampart. The walls were soon covered with French, the besieged fled into the town, and terror became general. However, those who occupied the old towers, kept up their fire, and obstinately refused to surrender.

According to the orders of Bonaparte, the troops were not to enter the town, but to form on the heights near the port, which command it. The general in chief took possession of these hills with a view of inducing the town to capitulate, but the soldiers enraged at the resistance of the enemy were impelled to action. A large party were soon engaged in the streets, where a great slaughter took place: Bonaparte speedily caused the generale to be beat; he sent for the captain of a Turkish caraval, that lay in the old port, and employed him to make known to the inhabitants of Alexandria, his pacific intentions, and those of the French Republic, to assure them that their properties, their liberties, and their religion, should be duly respected; and that France, anxious to preserve their friendship, as well as that of the Porte, intended to employ her forces only against the Mameloucs. This captain, accompanied by several French officers, repaired to the city, and induced the inhabitants to surrender, and thereby to avert the destructive consequences of farther resistance. Shortly after, the Imans, Cheiks, and Sherifs, waited on Bonaparte, who renewed his assurances of the amicable and pacific dispositions of the French Republic. They retired full of confidence in those assurances; the forts of the Pharos were immediately delivered up to the French, who at the same time took possession of the city, and the two ports. Bonaparte, forthwith issued orders that the prayers and other religious ceremonies should continue as previous to the arrival of the French, and that all individuals should return to their homes and occupations; in consequence, order and security universally prevailed.

The Arabs, who, in the morning, had attacked the advanced guard of the army, sent a deputation to the general in chief, together with some French soldiers who had fallen into their hands. They declared that as the French came to fight only the Mameloucs, and neither to make war upon the Arabs, nor to carry away their women, they could not be their enemies. Bonaparte broke

bread with them as a symbol of the faith of treaties, and also made them various presents. These were gladly accepted, and the object of their visit being attained, they warmly expressed their gratitude; they swore to be faithful to the alliance! and returned —plundering all the French they encountered.—Such are the Arabians!

This memorable day, which secured to the French the key of Egypt, cost the life of a chief of brigade of the thirty-first, Masse, and of five officers of different divisions. The adjutant general Escale had an arm broke, twenty soldiers were drowned in the debarkation, sixty were wounded, and fifteen were killed in the attack of the town. Admiral Brueix, Gantheaume, naval chief of l'etat-major of the fleet, and all the naval officers, seconded the exertions of the army, with an alacrity which cannot be sufficiently praised, and to which, in some measure, its success was be attributed.

In order to secure these advantages, it was necessary to profit by that terror which the French arms had inspired, and to march immediately against the Mameloucs, before they should have time to arrange a system of attack, or defence. In this view, the general in chief gave orders to General Desaix, who had recently arrived with his division, and two field pieces, that were landed, to proceed without delay through the desert, on the route of Cairo. That general, accordingly, on the next day advanced to the distance of three leagues from Alexandria.

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*March of the French Army to Cairo.—Battle of Chebreisse—Battle of the Pyramids.*

When Bonaparte became master of Alexandria, he gave orders that the transport vessels should come into the port of that city, and immediately proceed to land the horses, provisions, and every thing with which they were laden, for the use of the expedition: the utmost diligence was used on this occasion, as well by night, as by day. The port not being capable of admitting the ships of war, they remained at anchor in the road at some distance, which circumstance rendered the landing of the battering cannon a work of great difficulty.

Bonaparte settled with Admiral Brueix, that the fleet should anchor at Aboukir, where the road is good, and the landing easy; and whence a communication might be kept open with Rosetta, as well as with Alexandria; at the same time he ordered the admiral, to cause the channel of the old port of Alexandria to be carefully sounded and examined, his intention being that the squadron should

afterwards, if possible, enter it, or in case such was found impracticable, that it should proceed to Corfou. Every consideration required that the debarkation should be as speedily completed as possible; the English might suddenly present themselves, the squadron therefore could not be too soon freed from the incumbrances of the expedition. In another point of view, it was essential, as well to anticipate the hostile dispositions of the Mameloucs, as to prevent their destroying, or removing the magazines, to march against Cairo with rapidity, and for this purpose also, it was necessary, as expeditiously as possible, to land the troops requisite for such an operation. During these proceedings, Bonaparte inspected the town and fortifications; he gave orders for the erection of new works, and took every measure that tended in a civil as well as a military point of view, to ensure the tranquillity and defence of the city: he organized a Divan, and finally arranged every thing, so that the troops intended for the purpose were soon enabled to march.

Two routes lead from Alexandria to Cairo, the first is through the desert by Damanhour; to proceed by the second, it is necessary to arrive at Rosetta, by the sea side, and crossing at the distance of a league from Aboukir, a strait of about two hundred toises wide, which joins the lake Madie to the sea: but to go by this route, for which we were entirely unprepared, would necessarily retard the progress of the army. Nevertheless, Bonaparte caused a small flotilla to be prepared, which he intended should proceed up the Nile. This flotilla was commanded by Peree, chef de division, and consisted of several gun boats and a xebeck, which would have been a considerable assistance to the army had the route of Rosetta been taken, in carrying the baggage, and provisions of the troops, and co-operating with them on all occasions. But the French had not yet taken possession of Rosetta, and in proceeding by that route, Bonaparte would have retarded the progress of the army to Cairo, at least eight or ten days. He therefore determined to advance through the desert, by Damanhour, and by this route General Desaix had been ordered to proceed.

The general in chief became master of Alexandria on the 5th of July. The next day, the army began its march to Cairo, and on that day, General Desaix arrived at Damanhour, after having traversed fifteen leagues of the desert. Bonaparte on his departure entrusted the command at Alexandria to General Kleber, who had been wounded at the siege of that city. The division of this officer, commanded by General Dugua, received orders to proceed, to-

gether with the dismounted cavalry, to the mouth of the Nile, in order to cover the entrance of the French flotilla into the river, the general was also instructed to take possession of Rosetta, to establish therein a provisional divan, to leave a garrison in the place, to erect a battery at Lisbé, and to embark a quantity of rice in the flotilla; after which, he was ordered to proceed towards Cairo, on the left bank of the Nile, in order to join the army near Rahmanieh; and the flotilla was to proceed up the river, with all possible expedition.

The main army marched from Alexandria, the 6th and 7th of July, with the field artillery, and a small corps of cavalry, of about three hundred troopers, mounted on horses exhausted by a voyage of two months, and scarcely able to support their riders, can be so called; the artillery from the same causes was badly drawn. On the 8th of July, the divisions arrived at Damanhour; during their march they were greatly harassed by the Arabs, who had filled up all the wells at Beda and at Birkit, so that the soldiers scorched by the heat of the sun felt all the torments of a parching thirst, which they had no means of assuaging. The wells, which generally yield a little brackish water, were explored, but a little muddy water could alone be obtained, and at the moment, a glass of the pure element would have sold for its weight in gold. The army of Alexander, in a similar extremity had nearly mutinied against the conqueror of the world: the French accelerated their march!

The troops arrived at Damanhour, the 8th of July, and remained there the following day; the Arabs never appeared in great numbers, they chiefly harassed the rear guards; many skirmishes took place, in one of which, the general of brigade, Mireur, was mortally wounded. On the 10th of July, at sun rise, the army commenced its march for Ramanieh,—the paucity of the wells, obliged the divisions to march. About nine in the morning, the divisions of Generals Menou, Regnier and Bon, took a position. The soldiers discovered the Nile! accoutred as they were, they plunged in, and drank plentifully of a water comparatively delicious. But, speedily the drums recalled them to their colours; a corps of about eight hundred Mameloucs were perceived approaching in order of battle. The soldiers ran to their arms, the enemy retired, and took the route to Damanhour, where they encountered the division of General Desaix; the discharge of cannon announced an action. Bonaparte instantly marched against the Mameloucs, but the artillery of General Desaix had already compelled them to retreat; they were soon put to flight, leaving forty men killed

or wounded. Parmentier, of the sixteenth demi brigade, was killed in this affair, as was one of the guides attached to the cavalry; ten of the infantry were slightly wounded. The troops, exhausted by fatigue and privations, were greatly in want of repose; and the horses unavoidably harassed and enfeebled by the voyage required it still more. These considerations induced Bonaparte to halt at Rahmanieh, the 23rd and 24th, when he expected the flotilla, and the division under the command of General Dugua.

This general had successfully executed his orders: he took possession of Rosetta without any obstacle, and by forced marches joined the army at the expected period. With respect to the flotilla, he announced, that it ascended the river with great difficulty, in consequence of the lowness of the water; however it arrived on the night of the 24th, and during the same night the army set out for Miniet el Sayd, where it rested, and the 25th, before day break, it was on its march to give battle to the enemy wherever it could find them.

*Battle of Chebreisse.*—The 13th of July, the Mameloucs, in number about four thousand, were discovered at the distance of a league. Their right was covered by the village of Chebreisse, in which they placed some pieces of cannon, and also by the Nile, on which they had a flotilla, consisting of gun boats and armed dgerms. Bonaparte ordered the French flotilla to continue its course, disposing itself so as to co-operate with the left of the army, and to engage the enemies' vessels, at the moment the former should attack the Mameloucs, and the village of Chebreisse. Unluckily, the violence of the wind deranged this plan: the flotilla passed the left of the army, and was driven nearly a league higher up, where they were compelled to engage at a great disadvantage, inasmuch as they had, at the same time, to sustain the fire of the Mameloucs, the Fellahs,* and the Arabs, and to defend themselves against the enemies' flotilla.

A number of the Fellahs, led on by a party of Mameloucs, advanced into the river, and getting on board some dgerms, they possessed themselves of one galley, and a gun boat. The chief of division Peree, with great skill and dexterity, disposed his force so as to make a successful attack in his turn, and speedily retook the galley and the gun boats. His xebeck, which on all sides dealt fire and death, prevented the recapture of those vessels, and destroyed several of the enemy's gun boats. He was powerfully

* Peasants or Husbandmen.

supported in this unequal contest, by the coolness and intrepidity of General Andreossy, and by Monge, Berthollet, Junot, Payeur, and Bourrienne, secretary to the general in chief, who were on board the xebeck.

In the mean time, the noise of the artillery made known to Bonaparte that the flotilla was engaged; he marched the army *au pas de charge*, and approaching Chebreisse, he perceived the Mameloucs ranged in order of battle, in front of the village. The general in chief reconnoitred the position, and immediately formed the army; it was composed of five divisions, each division formed a square, presenting at each side a front of six deep, the artillery was placed at the angles, and in the centre, the cavalry and baggage. The grenadiers of each square formed platoons which flanked the divisions, and were intended to reinforce the points of attack. The miners, and those charged with the depot of artillery, posted and barricadoed themselves in two villages in the rear, to secure places of retreat in case of that event. The Mameloucs, at this time, were not more than half a league from the army. Suddenly they advanced in crowds, without order or form, and wheeled about on the flanks, and on the rear; other masses fell with impetuosity on the right and front of the army. They were suffered to approach until the grape shot could effectually play upon them, when the artillery opened, and they were soon put to flight. Some of the bravest rushed sabre in hand upon the platoons on the flanks; the onset was received with firmness, and nearly the whole were killed by the fire of the small arms or by the bayonet.

Emboldened by this success, the army advanced rapidly against the village of Chebreisse, which the right wing was ordered to attack. This post was carried after a feeble resistance. The defeat of the Mameloucs was complete, they fled in disorder towards Cairo; their flotilla retreated up the Nile with all possible expedition. Thus terminated an action, which lasted two hours with unabated fury, the glory of the day was in a great measure owing to the valour of the dismounted cavalry, who had accompanied the flotilla. The loss of the enemy exceeded six hundred men, of whom more were killed than wounded; that of the French was about seventy. Immediately after the action, Bonaparte gave orders to the general of brigade, Zayencheck, to proceed with about five hundred dismounted cavalry, along the right bank of the Nile, in a route parallel to the march of the army, which advanced on the left bank.

The army rested at Chebreisse; on the 14th it halted at Shabour, and on the 15th at Comscherif. It was incessantly ha-

rassed during the march by the Arabs; it could not advance farther than the distance of a cannon shot, without falling into an ambuscade. These barbarians plundered and assassinated, whenever their number assured impunity, and always took to flight, when a proportionate number of their adversaries rendered resistance probable. The assistant to the adjutant generals, Gallois, was killed while carrying an order from the general in chief; and adjutant Denano fell into their hands, they conducted him to their camp, and this amiable young man was barbarously assassinated. All communication, beyond three hundred toises, from the rear of the army was cut off: no intelligence, therefore, could be forwarded to, or received from Alexandria.

All the villages at which the army arrived, were abandoned; neither men nor cattle were to be seen. The soldiers lay upon heaps of corn, though they had no bread to eat; they were equally destitute of animal food, and subsisted only upon some lentils; a kind of thin cakes which the soldiers made themselves, by bruising the corn. The army continued its march towards Cairo, lay the 16th at Algam; the 17th at Abboné Shabbi, and the 18th at Wardam, where it halted; 19th it repaired to Ommeldinar, near which General Zayoncheck, occupied a position, at the point of the Delta, or where the Nile divides itself into two branches, namely, those of Rosetta, and Damietta.

Bonaparte, learning that Murad Bey, at the head of six thousand Mameloucs, and a host of Arabs and Fellahs, was entrenched at the village of Embaba, on some high ground near Cairo, and opposite Bulac, waiting the approach of the French, hastened forward to give him battle. On the 20th at two in the morning, the army set out from Ommeldinar; at day break, the division of General Desaix, which formed the advanced guard, observed a corps of about six hundred Mameloucs, and a great number of Arabs, which however soon retired. At two in the afternoon, the army arrived at the villages of Ebverach and Boutis; they were about three quarters of a league from Embaba, and could perceive the Mameloucs who occupied that village. The heat was intense, and the soldiers excessively fatigued, which induced Bonaparte to halt. But the Mameloucs no sooner perceived the army, than they formed upon the plain, in front of his right: an appearance so imposing never yet presented itself to the French; the cavalry of the Mameloucs were covered with resplendent armour. Beyond their left were beheld the celebrated Pyramids, of which the imperishable mass has survived so many empires, and braved for more than thirty centuries, the outrages of time! Behind

their right was the Nile, the city of Cairo, the hills of Mokattam, and the fields of the antient Memphis.

A thousand interesting reflections arose at the sight of these celebrated plains, where the fortune of war had so often decided the fate of empires. The army, impatient to come to action, was soon ranged in order of battle; the disposition of the forces was similar to that at the battle of Chebreisse. The line was formed in echelon order, and by divisions, which by flanking each other, refused its right. Bonaparte ordered the line to advance, but the Mameloucs, who till then appeared irresolute, prevented the execution of this movement; they made a feint against the centre, but rushed, with impetuosity, on the divisions of Desaix and Regnier, which formed the right. They intrepidly charged these columns, which, firm and immoveable, reserved their fire, until the enemy advanced within half musket shot; the ill directed valour of the Mameloucs, in vain endeavoured to break through those walls of fire, and ramparts of bayonets; their ranks were thinned, a great number of killed and wounded remained on the field, and they soon retired in disorder, without venturing to return to the charge.

While the divisions of Generals Desaix and Regnier, so successfully repulsed the Mamelouc cavalry; the divisions of Bon and Menou, supported by that of Kleber, then under the command of General Dugua, advanced rapidly against the intrenched village of Embaba. Two battalions of the divisions of Bon and Menou were detached with orders to turn the village, and in the mean time, to take advantage of a deep ditch that lay in the way, the better to defend themselves from the enemies' cavalry, and to conceal their movements towards the Nile. The divisions, preceded by their flank companies, rapidly advanced. The Mameloucs unsuccessfully attacked the platoons; they unmasked forty pieces of bad artillery, which they discharged upon them; but the divisions rushed forward with such impetuosity, that the enemy had not time to re-load their guns. The intrenchments were carried by the bayonet, and the camp, as well as the village of Embaba, were soon in the possession of the French. Fifteen hundred Mamelouc cavalry, and an equal number of Fellahs, whose retreat was cut off by Generals Marmont and Rampon, occupied an intrenched position, in the rear of a ditch that communicated with the Nile, and in vain performed prodigies of valour in their defence; they were unwilling to surrender, and none of them escaped the fury of the soldiers; they were all either put to the sword, or drowned in the Nile. Forty pieces of cannon

four hundred camels, the baggage, and the stores of the enemy, fell into the hands of the victors.

Murad Bey, seeing the village of Embaba carried, attended only to his retreat. The divisions of Generals Desaix and Regnier had already compelled his cavalry to fall back: the army notwithstanding it had been on foot from two in the morning until six in the evening, pursued the enemy as far as Giza, beyond which they continued their flight; and the French, after fighting or marching and fighting nineteen hours, occupied a position at Giza. Never did a victory of equal importance cost so little blood to the French, we had to regret the deaths of only ten men, during the whole day, and about thirty wounded. Never was the superiority of modern European tactics, over those of the Orientals; or disciplined courage, over ill directed valour, more conspicuous, or more sensibly felt than on that day. The Mameloucs were mounted on superb Arabian horses, richly caparisoned, their armour was magnificent, and their purses well stocked with gold, these spoils in some degree compensated the soldiers for the excessive fatigues they had undergone. During an interval of fifteen days, their only nourishment consisted of a few vegetables, without bread; the provisions found in the camp, therefore, afforded them a delicious repast.

The division of General Desaix was ordered to take a position in front of Giza, and on the route of Faium. The division of Menou passed during night a branch of the Nile, and took possession of the isle of Roda. The enemy in their flight burned those vessels which could not speedily re-ascend the Nile. The following morning, 22nd July, the principal inhabitants of Cairo presented themselves on the banks of the Nile, and offered to deliver up the city to the French: they were accompanied by the Kiaja of the Pacha, Ibrahim Bey, who had abandoned Cairo during the night, having carried of the Pacha with him. Bonaparte received them at Giza, they required protection for the city, and engaged for its submission; he answered, that the wish of the French was to remain in amity with the Egyptian people, and the Ottoman Porte, and assured them that the manners; the customs, and the religion of the country should be scrupulously respected. They returned to Cairo, accompanied by a detachment under the command of a French officer. The populace took an advantage of the discomfiture and flight of the Mameloucs, and committed some excesses; the mansion of Murad Bey was pillaged and burned, but order was restored in consequence of the proclamations that were issued, and the appearance of an armed force.

The 26th of July, Bonaparte removed his head quarters to Cairo. The divisions of Generals Regnier and Menou were stationed at Old Cairo, the divisions of Bon and Kleber at Boulac, a corps of observation was placed on the route of Syria, and the division of Desaix was ordered to occupy an intrenched position, about three leagues in front of Embaba, on the route to Upper Egypt.

*Battle of Salehieh.—Ibrahim Bey driven from Egypt.*

AT the time the French entered Cairo the forces of the Mameloucs were divided into two armies, the one commanded by Murad Bey, which took the route of Upper Egypt; the other, under the command of Ibrahim Bey, proceeded to Syria. The whole power of the Egyptian government had been divided between these beys. Murad Bey was at the head of the military department, while Ibrahim presided in the administration of civil affairs.

Desaix, who was charged to observe the former, and to hold him in check, formed an intrenched camp, four leagues beyond Giza, on the left bank of the Nile: his advanced posts, and those of Murad Bey, were very near each other. Ibrahim Bey retired to Belbeis, where he waited for the return of the caravan from Mecca, in order to be reinforced by the corps of Mameloucs that escorted it, with a view to execute an extensive plan of hostile operations in conjunction with Murad Bey and the Arabs. He made every exertion in his power to induce the Fellahs of the Delta to take arms, and to incite the inhabitants of Cairo to revolt. The army had suffered considerably during its march, from the excessive heats, and inadequate nourishment. Some repose was therefore necessary to enable them effectually to pursue the Mameloucs, and to drive them entirely out of Egypt. Superadded to this consideration, Bonaparte felt the necessity of organizing a provisional government for the capital, and the country in general, in order to insure the subsistence of the people and of the army, as well as to regulate every branch of the public service; he also wished, by placing his forces in intrenched positions, to secure the French from all surprise, either on the part of the Mameloucs, or the inhabitants.

In the mean time, as the neighbourhood of Ibrahim Bey was highly dangerous, the general of brigade, Le Clerc, was dispatched from Cairo, the 2nd of August, with three hundred cavalry, three companies of grenadiers, and a battalion with two pieces of light artillery, and ordered to take a position at Elhanka, and to observe his motions. On the following day, the general was attacked by

a body of four thousand Mameloucs and Arabs, which however some discharges from the artillery soon compelled to retire. The removal of the Mameloucs was necessary to secure the tranquillity of the country, and especially that of Ibrahim Bey. In this conviction, Bonaparte expedited the necessary arrangements for establishing the essential basis of a new administration of affairs, and prepared to march against Ibrahim in person. The city of Cairo was given in charge to the division of General Bon, and of those troops of the other divisions, who had still need of repose.

On the 7th of August, the army destined for the purpose, consisting of the divisions of Generals Bon, Regnier and Menou, set out from Cairo, with the view of coming up with Ibrahim Bey,—to give him battle, destroy his force, and finally drive him out of Egypt; the army joined the advanced guards of General Le Clerc's force, and lay the 9th of August at Belbeis. Ibrahim Bey, however, not deeming it safe to wait for its arrival, fled towards Salehieh.

The army had advanced within a few leagues of that place, when they perceived in the desert a caravan, escorted by a troop of Arabs. The cavalry immediately advanced, put the Arabs to flight, and stopped the caravan; it proved to be that of Mecca, the greater part of those who originally composed it had joined Ibrahim Bey, who carried away with him a great number of merchants with their goods; he permitted the remainder to take the route to Cairo, with an escort of some Arabs, for which they were to be paid by the merchants; but scarcely had these relics of the caravan parted from the Mameloucs, than the Arabs, who should have protected, plundered the merchants, under the fallacious pretext that they could not escape being pillaged by the French. There remained of the whole not more than six hundred camels, which carried chiefly men, women, and children; these Bonaparte had safely conducted to Cairo, by an escort of the French troops. In almost every village through which the army passed, they found individuals who made part of the caravan, and had taken to flight; Bonaparte quieted their fears, he assured them of safety and protection, and to convince them that the promises of the French were very unlike those of the Arabs, as soon as he arrived at the Arabian village of Gereid, he caused the Cheik to be arrested, and brought into the presence of one of the principal merchants, to whom he had furnished the escort which had pillaged them. The Cheik, threatened with being shot, soon produced the greater part of the stolen goods, and restored to the merchants their women and their slaves.

The army continued its progress, by forced marches, in order to come up with Ibrahim Bey. The 11th of August, at four in the afternoon, the advanced guard, consisting of about three hundred cavalry, came within view of Salehieh; at the moment the foremost men of the advanced guard entered the village, Ibrahim retired with precipitation, covering his rear with about a thousand Mameloucs. The French infantry, were still a league and a half distance, the horses of the cavalry were weakened by fatigue, the surrounding plains were covered by crowds of Arabians, waiting the issue of the action, for the purpose of falling upon the vanquished. The rear guard alone of Ibrahim Bey, was three times as numerous as the advanced guard of the French. Notwithstanding this disparity, Bonaparte at the head of his advanced guard, chaced Ibrahim into the desert. Two hundred brave fellows, of the seventeenth regiment of Hussars, and the twenty-second of Chasseurs, charged the Mameloucs with impetuosity, and opened a passage through their ranks, but this success augmented their danger, they were surrounded by a mass at least five times their own number; but valorous exertion supplied the deficiency, they fought as lions in the toils; the Mameloucs, repulsed on every side, at length sought only to secure their retreat. They abandoned in their flight two pieces of bad cannon, and some camels. But Ibrahim Bey succeeded in carrying off his baggage, his treasures, and the most valuable merchandise, together with his women, and those of his principal Mameloucs, belonging to the caravan. When the French infantry entered the village of Salehieh, Ibrahim continued his flight towards Syria, where he arrived after nine days' march across the desert.

This advantage cost the French twenty brave fellows, who were killed among the enemy's ranks. Among the officers who charged at the head of the cavalry, and encouraged the valour of the soldiers by their examples, the chief of brigade Destrees, who received several deep wounds, the adjutant general Le Turq, the chief of brigade Lasalle, the aides de camp Duroc and Sulkouski, and the adjutant Arrighi, merit to be particularly distinguished. Bonaparte determined with General Caffarelli, commandant of the engineers, respecting the fortifications necessary for the defence of Salehieh and Belbeis. The division of General Dugua, was ordered to proceed to Damietta, take possession of it, and to subdue the Delta. General Regnier's division was posted at Salehieh, in order to secure the submission of the province of Cherkie, and Bonaparte took with him the rest of the troops to Cairo, where he arrived on the 14th of August; on his march thither he

received intelligence of, and also details of the naval action at Aboukir.*

No other obstacle now remained than Murad Bey, to the deliverance of Egypt from the despotism of the Mameloucs. General Desaix was ordered to act against him. The different provinces of Egypt were governed by French generals, the tyrannical government of the country was superseded by a regular system of civil administration.† Bonaparte had fulfilled a part of his promises,

* These are already before our Readers, through various channels; we cannot, however, avoid offering to their perusal the following brief but animated picturesque and glowing sketch of this celebrated action; it is from the pen of an officer of rank, in the French service, then at Alexandria.

"August 1st, five o'clock, we discern the English fleet, very clearly with our glasses.—It seems about to drop anchor at Aboukir, for the purpose of attacking us.—Half after five, the cannonade begins, and about six increases.—Seven, it is now night, and the fire still increases.—Half after seven, the whole horizon seems in flames, this shews that a ship is on fire.—Eight, the cannonade slackens a little.—Nine, the flames augment—a little after nine, the vessel blows up! how tremendously beautiful! a sky covered with fire!

"Half after nine, the cannonade slackens, and a thousand sailors are dispatched to Aboukir by land.—Ten, the moon rises on the right of the spot where the explosion took place: the French here are all under arms.—We are assembled at the house of General Kleber, and on the terraces.—Fresh detachments are hourly sent off to Aboukir, to reinforce the crews of our ships.

"Midnight, the firing, which never totally ceased, recommences with redoubled fury.—It is evident that the English are determined to sink or be sunk.—We burn to know what has happened, but we shall be kept in suspence till nine in the morning.

"Three o'clock, the firing increases in violence, it has now continued an hour.—Six, the firing still increases; more sailors and cannoneers are sending off, it is now eight, and the firing is as brisk as ever.

"Noon, an express is arrived from Aboukir; O fatal night! O fatal action for the honour of France! the fleet is destroyed.—Of thirteen sail of the line, and four frigates, two only of each have made their escape."

*Intercepted Letters.*

† This system of government was comprised in the following Orders.

"*Head-Quarters, Cairo, 27th of July,* 1798.

"Bonaparte, Member of the National Institute, General in Chief.

"ORDERS.

"ARTICLE I. There shall be in each province of Egypt, a Divan composed of seven persons, charged to watch over the interests of the province, to inform me of every grievance, to prevent the contests which arise between the different villages, to keep as steady eye over the turbulent and seditious, to punish them by calling in a military force under the French commander, and to enlighten the people, as often as it shall be found requisite.

"ART. II. There shall be in each province an Aga of the Janissaries, who shall constantly reside with the French commandant. He shall have with him a company of armed men, natives of the country, with whom he shall proceed

and evinced to the country which he had subdued, that the French had in fact no other enemies than its oppressors, no other ambition than to be its deliverers!

## THE EXPEDITION TO SYRIA.

*The army marches into Syria.—Affair of El Arish.—Action at Mount Tabor.—Taking of Gaza and of Jaffa.*

THE military and political system adopted by Bonaparte since his arrival in Egypt had for its object, to restore to civilization, and to its antient splendour, a country, once so flourishing. But at the same time that he laboured to give freedom to the people, and to expel their tyrants, he neglected no occasion to convince the Porte of the desire entertained by the French republic to preserve the friendship which subsisted between the two powers. The Ottoman Porte had just grounds for complaint against the Beys of Egypt, whose frequent revolts, and usurpations, had left it but the shadow of power, in this province. The French also had experienced their outrageous conduct; to punish these usurpers, therefore, would be, at the same time, to avenge and serve the Porte, France, and Egypt itself. The commercial establishments which Bonaparte intended to form, would enrich the inhabitants, render Egypt the *entrepot* of the commerce of Europe and Asia, open to France and the Southern powers new sources of wealth and prosperity, and destroy the commerce of the English in India, against whom this expedition was more particularly directed.

Were the Porte once clearly apprised of the object of the French in entering Egypt, and of their ulterior views, it would regard with satisfaction, projects so advantageous to itself. In this conviction Bonaparte uniformly conducted himself with respect to the Ottoman Porte, as to the faithful friend and ally of France. On the taking of Malta, a great number of Turkish slaves were found in the prisons of the order, which were immediately set at

whenever his services may be necessary to maintain good order, and to keep every one in tranquillity and obedience.

"ART. III. There shall be in every province an intendant, charged with the collection of the *Miri* and the *Faddam*; and generally of all the revenues, which belonged heretofore to the Mameloucs, and which appertain at present to the Republic; he shall have with him the necessary number of agents.

"ART. IV. There shall always be with the said intendant, a French agent; for the purpose of corresponding with the administrator of finances, and for acquiring a perfect knowledge of the system of administration."

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

[A true copy, BONAPARTE.]

liberty, and forwarded to Constantionople. The agents of the Porte were respected since the arrival of the French, in Egypt, and the Turkish flag waved in conjunction with that of the Republic. A Turkish caraval, together with some merchant-ships, were found in the port of Alexandria; Bonaparte assured the captains of the friendship and protection of the French. An order was received from the Grand Seignior for the caraval to proceed to Constantinople, it was at the period when the Turkish vessels usually sail from Egypt; Bonaparte having made presents to the captain of the caraval, requested him to take on board Beauchamp, with dispatches for the Ottoman Porte. This envoy was charged to repeat the assurance of the pacific, and amicable dispositions of the French Government towards the Grand Seignior, to communicate to the Porte, the causes of complaint which Bonaparte had against Achmet Dgezzar, Pacha of Acre, and to state that the chastisement he intended to inflict upon him, should he persist in his improper conduct, was not in the least directed against the Ottoman Porte, and therefore, ought not to give any umbrage or uneasiness to that power. This Pacha, who on account of his cruelties, was surnamed *Dgezzar*, ("Butcher,") was regarded as a monster of ferocity, even by the most sanguinary barbarians of the East.*

Ibrahim Bey, after the affair of Salehieh, had retired with about a thousand Mameloucs, and his treasures, to Gaza, where he experienced from Dgezzar the most favourable reception; the Pacha not only granted an asylum to, and protected the Mameloucs, but even menaced the frontiers of Egypt, by his hostile dispositions. Bonaparte, who was unwilling to give the least umbrage to the Porte, dispatched an officer by sea, with a letter to Dgezzar, assuring him that the French were desirous of preserving the friendship of the Grand Seignior, and living in peace with him; but he insisted that Dgezzar should remove Ibrahim Bey and his Mameloucs, and afford him no further support. To this communication the Pacha made no answer; he insolently commanded the officer to return, and the French at Acre were put in irons.

* A number of barbarous atrocities are imputed to this being, which, as outraging every principle of human nature, even when imbued with its most odious attributes, we must regard as incredible; still his character must be of a cruel and sanguinary cast, to entitle him to the almost universal appellation of *Dgezzar*. On the other hand, he certainly appears throughout the *Syrian* campaign to have conducted himself in the most unexceptionable, even laudable manner, towards his *British* allies, and to have evinced the greatest constitutional firmness and courage, during the siege of Acre.

The army had received no intelligence from Europe since the unfortunate action at Aboukir, as the ports of Egypt were closely blocked up by the English. Bonaparte had no official information respecting the issue of the negociation, which the directory had opened with the Ottoman Porte, relative to the expedition to Egypt, but all the accounts received overland, announced that the English ministry had availed themselves of the victory at Aboukir, to seduce the Porte into an alliance with England and Russia, against the French Republic. However, Bonaparte considering that if the Porte yielded to the persuasions of its natural enemies, a combined operation would take place against Egypt; (an attack on the side of Syria, and an attack by sea;) he had not therefore a moment to lose, and immediately came to the following determination. To march into Syria, chastise Dgezzar, and to destroy the preparations for the expedition against Egypt, in case the Porte should unite with the enemies of France; but, on the contrary, to restore to it the nomination of a Pacha of Syria, and its original authority in that province, if it continued in amity with the French Republic; afterwards, to return to Egypt in order to oppose the expected invasion by sea, which from the season, probably would not take place before the end of June. Such was the plan of operations, which Bonaparte resolved upon, and which without delay, he proceeded to execute.

Immediately after his return to Cairo, Bonaparte sent the division of General Desaix against the forces of Murad Bey, who had retired into Upper Egypt, and over whom the former obtained some advantage every day. After thus repelling his internal adversaries, Bonaparte turned his attention to organizing a system of government for Egypt; he established a Divan in each province, and communicated to the people the first rights of liberty, that of concurring in the election of their own magistrates; he organized a novel system of warfare against the Arabs, who had so long devastated these fine countries; he established a new distribution of imposts, on principles more productive to the treasury and less oppressive to the people; he enforced a system of rigid economy in the administrative concerns of the army; he established a commercial company, in order to facilitate the exchange and circulation of all kinds of commodities. An institute was founded at Cairo, to which a library was attached; and a chemical laboratory was also constructed. A work-shop, on an extensive scale, was opened for all the mechanic arts. The making of bread, and of various fermented liquors, was soon brought to the necessary degree of perfection; salt-petre was refined, and several hydraulic

machines constructed. While Bonaparte, thus appeared to create anew the city of Cairo, scientific and literary men proceeded by his orders into the interior of Egypt, where they made many interesting observations, and important discoveries, with reference to geography, history, and natural philosophy.

General Andreossy was ordered to reduce the country surrounding the lake Menzale, the Pelusian Mouths, to secure the command of the lake, and to take an actual survey of all these points, as well in a scientific, as a military point of view. Accordingly, the general, on the 23d September, sounded the roads of Damietta, of Bougasie, and of those near Bougan, as well as the mouths of the Nile, in order to determine the passage of the Boghaz, and the form of the bar. He left Damietta the 2d October, at two o'clock in the morning, with two hundred men, and fifteen dgermes, conducted by the reys, or boatmen, of the Nile. Three of the dgermes were armed with a cannon each. He passed the Boghaz at seven o'clock, proceeded along the coast, and took a position at three in the afternoon, at the mouth of the Bibeh, where he performed the same operations as at the mouth of the Nile. The 3d of October he advanced up the lake about five leagues, and intended to proceed to Matarieh; but the reys, intimidated at the sudden appearance of about one hundred and thirty dgermes full of Arabs, embarked at Matarieh, and conducted him towards Menzale. Having lost the advantage of the wind, he was followed and attacked by them, but notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, they were compelled to retire with loss. He then fell back towards Damietta, and came to an anchor before Minie at nine o'clock in the evening. The night between the 5th and 6th of October, he was again attacked more furiously, but not with more success. On the 7th, he directed his course towards Menzale, and the following day he proceeded to the isles of Matarieh.

On the 11th of October the general anchored at the isle of Tourna; the 15th of October, at Tanis; the 16th at the mouth of Oummfaredge; and on the 19th of October, he arrived at the ruins of Tineh, Pelusium and Farounna; he quitted those on the 20th of October, and proceeded towards the canal of Moez, which he entered; on the 21st he visited San, and reached Salehieh, obtained accurate information respecting the canal of that name, and the same day set out on his return for Menzale and Damietta, where he arrived on the 23d of October, after having completed the surveys, the soundings, and a chart of the lake, for the formation of

which he measured with the chain, the coast, to an extent of more than forty-five thousand toises.

General Andreossy returned to Cairo, which, however, he shortly quitted, accompanied by Berthollet, in order to survey the lakes of Natron. On his journey thither he was escorted by a detachment of eighty men as far as Terrane, whence he departed on the night of the 24th and 25th of October, and after a march of fourteen hours, arrived at the lakes, situate in a valley more than two leagues broad, the direction of which is forty-four westerly. These lakes comprehend an extent of about six leagues. Three Cophtic convents, one of which is at some distance from the others, are situated in that part of the valley nearest to Terrane. On the 26th he visited the lakes; on the 27th of October, he went to a large valley, not far from that of Natron, called the river *Sanseau*,† (without water,) this valley is encumbered with sand, its surface is about three leagues in diameter, there he found numbers of large trees entirely petrified; the same day he proceeded to a fourth convent, which is in the direction of Wardam; in the valley of the lakes were found several springs of very good water; the Natron there is of a very good quality, and may form a valuable branch of commerce.

All the learned and scientific men, who accompanied Bonaparte were employed in pursuits commensurate to their respective knowledge and talents. Accordingly, Nouet and Mechain determined the latitudes of Alexandria, Cairo, Salehieh, Damietta and Suez. Lefevere and Malus surveyed the Moez, the former, together with Bouchard, accompanied General Andreossy, in his survey of lake Menzale. Peyre and Girard formed a plan of Alexandria. Lanorey surveyed the canal of Aboumanege, he was also charged with the direction of the works on the canal of Alexandria; Geoffroy examined the animals of the lake Menzale, and the various kinds of fish found in the Nile; Delisle investigated the plants peculiar to Lower Egypt; Arnolet and the younger Champy were dispatched to the Red Sea, to make mineralogical observations in that quarter; Girard was charged with the inspection of the canals in Upper Egypt; Denon was sent to Fayum and afterwards to Upper Egypt, in order to delineate the monuments of antiquity; his enthusiasm for the arts and sciences, caused him to surmount every obstacle to his progress, and brave innumerable perils and hardships. Conte superintended the workshop destined for the mechanic arts; he

† Or *Waterless River*, deemed, in the result of various observations, to be the bed of the *ancient* course of the Nile, which fell into the lake Mareotis, and thence to the Mediterranean.

also constructed wind-mills, and several machines till then unknown in Egypt; Savigny made a collection of insects of Syria and the desert; Beauchamp and Nouet compiled an almanac, containing five calendars, viz. those of the French Republic, and of the Romish, Greek, Coptic, and Mussulman churches; Costaz edited a journal; Fourrier, secretary to the institute, was appointed French commissioner at the Divan; Berthollet and Monge had the chief direction of all the works and undertakings; they exerted themselves with the greatest alacrity, repairing to every part of the country, forming useful establishments, or making important discoveries.

While the preparations were making for the expedition to Syria, Bonaparte assisted the *savans* in their occupation, and regularly attended the sittings of the Institute, where each member gave an account of his proceedings. He determined to visit the isthmus of Suez in person, and to resolve one of the most important, yet obscure problems in history: he had made arrangements for this interesting journey, when a calamitous and unexpected event obliged him to postpone it.

The greatest tranquillity had hitherto reigned in the city of Cairo; the delegates from all the provinces deliberated with calmness on the propositions made by the French commissioners, Monge and Berthollet, respecting the definitive organization of the Divans, the civil and criminal code, the establishment and distribution of imposts, and on the various objects of administration and general police. Suddenly indications of an approaching insurrection were manifest. On the 21st October, at day-break, numbers of the inhabitants were assembling in different parts of the city, particularly near the great mosque. General Dupuy, the commandant, advanced at the head of a small force, in order to disperse them, but he was assassinated, together with several officers and some dragoons, by a numerous party of the rioters. The insurrection immediately became general, all the French who fell in with the insurgents were massacred, and the Arabs appeared in force at the gates of the city. The *generale* was beat, the French troops flew to their arms, and, forming in moveable columns, they marched, taking several pieces of artillery with them, against the insurgents; the latter, in general, repaired to the different mosques, which they barricaded, and whence they directed a galling fire against the soldiers: the mosques were soon forced, and a terrible combat ensued between the parties, in which the force and intrepidity of the French were heightened by the feelings of indignation. Cannon placed on several of the adjoining

eminences, and those of the citadel, were fired on the town, and the great mosque and other stations of the insurgents were set on fire. The Cherifs and principal residents of Cairo came at length to supplicate the clemency of Bonaparte: a general pardon was immediately granted, and on the 23d October order was entirely restored. But, for the purpose of preventing the recurrence of similar excesses, the place was put in such a state of defence, that a single battalion would be sufficient to quell any insurrection of the populace; measures were also taken to secure the city from the external attacks of the Arabs. Bonaparte, after having impressed all parts of the country with the terror of his arms, continued to organize his plans for the interior administrations, without forgetting, however, the interests of commerce, or of the arts and sciences. General Bon was dispatched across the desert with fifteen hundred men, and two pieces of cannon, to Suez, which he took possession of on the 7th of November.

Bonaparte, accompanied by a part of his etat-major, the members of the Institute, Monge, Berthollet, Costaz and Bourrienne, and escorted by a corps of cavalry, set out from Cairo the 24th December, and encamped at Birkit-el-Hadgi, or the Lake of the Pilgrims, the following day. He halted at ten leagues distant, in the desert, and on the 26th December, he arrived at Suez; the following day was spent in viewing the town and coast, and ordering such works and fortifications as he deemed necessary for their defence. On the 28th December, he passed the Red Sea, at a ford near Suez, which is practicable at low water, and proceeded to the fountains of Moses, situate at the distance of about three leagues and a half from Suez, in Asia; these fountains are formed by five springs, which rise from the tops of low sand hills, the water is sweet, but a little brackish; near them were found the remains of a small modern aqueduct, which conveyed the water to cisterns formed near the sea shore, here it was preserved for the use of ships; the fountains are at the distance of three quarters of a league from the sea. Bonaparte returned the same evening to Suez, but it being high water, he was obliged to ascend to the extremity of the Red Sea, this route was rendered the more tedious, in consequence of the guide having lost his way in the marshes, from which they extricated themselves with difficulty, being at one time up to the middle in water. The magazines at Suez clearly indicated, that it had once been the *entrepot* of a considerable commerce; at present none but barks can enter the port, but at the extremity of a sand bank, which projects a league into the sea, frigates may anchor;

this bank is dry at low water, and would admit of the erection of a battery, which would protect the anchorage, and defend the road.

Bonaparte encouraged commerce by various useful regulations, and secured it from those heavy exactions to which it was subject from the oppressions of the Mameloucs and the Pachas; the old rates and duties were superseded by others less onerous and severe; he adopted measures for securing the safe carriage of goods from Suez to Cairo and Belbeis; finally, the dispositions were such, as bade fair, in a short time, to restore Suez to its antient splendour. During the stay of Bonaparte, four ships arrived there from Jedda; and the Arabs of Tor came to solicit the friendship of the French. Bonaparte quitted Suez on the 30th December, and proceeded in a northerly direction. At the distance of two leagues and a half, he discovered some vestiges of the entrance of the canal of Suez, the course of which he followed nearly four leagues; the same night, he rested at the fort of Adgeroud, on the 31st at the distance of ten leagues in the desert, and on the 1st of January, 1799, he arrived at Belbeis; on the 3d, he advanced to the oasis* of Mount Horeb, where he discovered some farther remains of the canal of Suez, this was near its entrance into the irrigated, and fruitful lands of Egypt. He traced the course of the canal, for the space of several leagues, and convinced by this second discovery, he ordered Peyre, engineer, to repair to Suez, and to set out with a sufficient escort, to take a geometrical level of the whole course of the canal, an operation which would finally resolve the problem of the existence of one of the greatest and most important works in the world. †

On his return to Suez, Bonaparte learned that Dgezzar, (recently appointed Pacha of Syria,) had taken possession of the fort of El-Arish, which defended the frontiers of Egypt; this fortress, situated about two days' journey from Cathieh, and ten leagues within the desert, was occupied by the advanced guard of the Pacha. These

* *Oasis* is a term applied to an insulated extent of fertile land, situate in a desert. *Denon.*

† The manner in which the chain of the mountains on each coast of the Red Sea terminates, and the low lands which form a species of valley in the isthmus of Suez—a valley enclosed on each side with sand hills, stretching to the foot of the mountains, particularly on the side of Asia—would lead us to suppose that in former times there was a communication between the two Seas, by a strait, since filled with sands brought thither by the opposing currents, and the accumulation of the mud of the Nile, at the mouths of that river. Some extraordinary change which has altered the level of the Mediterranean—since that is twenty-five feet lower than the Red Sea—may have contributed to the first formation of the isthmus, which has since been greatly increased by the mud of the Nile. "*Regnier's State of Egypt.*" *Notes.*

hostile movements left no doubt respecting the intentions of Dgezzar, and the Porte, which had even declared war against France. Certain of being attacked, no other alternative remained to Bonaparte, than that of an anticipation of farther hostilities. He quitted Suez immediately, but previous to his coming to Cairo, he proceeded to Salehieh, near which were cantoned the troops destined to form the advanced guard of the expedition to Syria, these he ordered to march without delay; he then proceeded with the utmost expedition to Cairo, where he exerted himself with the utmost celerity in the preparations, and in collecting the main body of the army, for the Syrian expedition.

This force consisted of the divisions of General Kleber, who had under his command Generals Verdier and Junot, a part of two demi-brigades of light infantry, and of the twenty-fifth and seventy-fifth of the line.—Of the division of General Regnier, who had under his orders, General Legrange, with the ninth, and the eighty-fifth demi-brigade of the line.—Of the division of General Lannes who had under his direction, Generals Vaux, Robin and Rambeau, with a party of the twenty-second demi-brigade of light infantry, and of the thirteenth and sixty-ninth of the line.—Of the division of General Bon, under whose orders were placed Rampon and Vial, with a part of the fourth demi-brigade of light infantry, and of the eighteenth and twenty-second demi-brigades of the line. Of the division of General Murat, with nine hundred cavalry, accompanied by four light four pounders, the artillery was commanded by General Daumartin, and the engineers by General Caffarelli; the park of artillery consisted of four twelve pounders, three eight pounders, and three five inch mortars; there were besides, attached to each division two eight pounders, two six inch howitzers, and two three pounders. To the guide parties, cavalry and infantry, were allotted four eight pounders, and two six inch howitzers. The different corps constituted an army of about ten thousand men.*

The nineteenth demi-brigade, the third battalions of the demi-brigades on the Syrian expedition, the marine legion, the depots of the cavalry corps, and the Maltese legion, were partly stationed

* "Effective force of the army destined for the Expedition into Syria" Division of Kleber, two thousand three hundred and forty-nine men.—Of Bon, two thousand four hundred and forty-nine.—Of Lannes, two thousand nine hundred and twenty-four.—Of Regnier, two thousand one hundred and sixty.—Cavalry eight hundred.—Engineers three hundred and forty.—Artillery one thousand three hundred and eighty-five.—Guides, infantry and cavalry, four hundred.—Ditto for Dromedaries, eighty-five.—Total, twelve thousand eight hundred and ninety-five men. *Berthier's Letter to the Minister of War.*

at Alexandria, Damietta, and Cairo, as garrisons, or formed into moveable columns, to retain the provinces of Lower Egypt in obedience, and to protect them against the Arabs; General Desaix remained in Upper Egypt with his division. The commands in the other provinces were entrusted to General Belliard, Lannuse, Zayoncheck, Fugiers, Le Clerc, and the Adjutant-General Almeyrac. Poussielgue, chief financial administrator, remained at Cairo; the pay-master general of the army, Estire, a young man, respectable in every point of view, accompanied the expedition. The command at Alexandria was one of very great importance; it could not properly be trusted but to an officer who, to a thorough knowledge of artillery, added that of engineering, and of the military science in general; that fortress, on account of the distance of the general in chief, was almost independent of him in a military and administrative point of view; added to these considerations, the English were in the neighbourhood, and symptoms of the plague were beginning to appear; at length the general of brigade Marmont was appointed to that important command.

Bonaparte gave orders to the adjutant-general Almeyrac, to whom the command of Damietta was entrusted to expedite the fortifications of that place, and to transport, without delay, the stores and provisions across the lake Menzale to the port of Tineh, whence they were to be forwarded to the magazines at Cathieh, a march of about five hours. Some pieces of battering cannon were necessary for the reduction of Acre in case of resistance; to bring them by way of the desert was impracticable: they were ordered to be put on board some frigates, which lay at anchor in the road of Alexandria, and conveyed by sea in defiance of the English cruisers; this was doubtless a hazardous project, but without greatly venturing, can victory be obtained?

Bonaparte gave orders to the *contre-admiral* Peree to cause the battering cannon to be embarked forthwith, and to sail with la Junon, la Courageuse, and l'Alceste frigates, in order to cruise off Jaffa, and to keep up a communication with the army; he calculated upon their arrival within a given time. The utmost diligence was used in Cairo in collecting the necessary number of camels and mules, for conveying the field artillery, the stores, ammunition, &c. necessary for the passage of an army through the desert.

General Kleber was ordered to embark with his division at Damietta, the French being then complete masters of the navigation of lake Menzale, and to proceed across the lake to Tineh,

from thence to march to Cathieh, where he was expected to arrive on the 4th February. General Regnier quitted Belbeis, with his etat-major, on the 23d January, on his route to Salehieh; he left the latter on the 2d of February, and arrived at Cathieh on the 4th, where he joined his advanced guard; on the 6th he marched for El-Arish, which together with the fort was occupied by about two thousand troops of the Pacha of Acre. General Legrange, with two battalions of the eighty-fifth demi-brigade, one battalion of the seventy-fifth, and two pieces of cannon, formed the advanced guard of General Regnier's division. On the 8th, when approaching the fountains of Messondiat, he perceived a party of Mameloucs, but these were soon dispatched by his tirailleurs. He arrived in the evening at a grove of palm trees, near the sea and fronting El-Arish; the next day he advanced rapidly, and took possession of some sand hills which commanded El-Arish; on these heights he took a position, and planted his artillery. The operations were speedily commenced; General Regnier caused the charge to be beat, when the advanced guard advanced rapidly on the right and left of the village, which was attacked by Regnier himself in front. Notwithstanding the advantageous position of the enemy, in a village situated in the form of an amphitheatre, consisting of houses built with stone and embattled on the tops, and covered by the fort; notwithstanding a most obstinate resistance, and a galling fire, the village was carried by the bayonet. The enemy retired into the fort, and barricadoed the doors with so much precipitation, as to exclude about three hundred men, who were either killed or taken prisoners. General Regnier, the same evening, blockaded the fort of El-Arish; soon after a corps of cavalry and infantry were discovered on the route from Gaza, which were escorting a convoy of provisions for El-Arish: this reinforcement continually increased till the 13th, when the enemy, emboldened by the superiority of their cavalry, advanced and pitched their tents, within half a league of El-Arish, on a plain covered by a very steep ravine, where they considered themselves as safe from an attack.

In the mean time General Kleber arrived, with some troops of his division. In the night between the 14th and 15th February, a party of General Regnier's division turned the ravine which covered the encampment of the Mameloucs; they rushed into the camp, of which they soon became masters, fell upon the enemy, and killed or made prisoners such as could not escape by flight; a considerable number of camels and horses, and great quantities of provisions and warlike stores, together with the field equipages

of the Mameloucs, fell into the hands of the victors; two Beys and some officers of rank were killed. On the second day after this brilliant affair, Bonaparte appeared before El-Arish.

The general in chief was at Cairo so late as the 9th February, when he received an express from Alexandria, informing him that the English squadron, recently reinforced, had bombarded that city and port. He immediately judged that this manœuvre was only intended to divert him from his proposed expedition to Syria, the incipient operations of which had already alarmed the English and the Pacha of Acre. He therefore quietly suffered the former to continue their bombardment, which produced no other effect than the sinking a few transports, and proceeded from Cairo on the 10th with his etat-major: he lay that night at Belbeis; the 11th at Cored; the 12th at Salehieh; the 13th at Kantara, in the desert; the 14th at Cathieh; the 15th at the wells of Bir-el-Apt; the 16th at those of Messondiat, and the 17th he arrived at El-Arish, where he was joined, at the same time, by the divisions of Generals Bon and Lannes, and the corps of artillery.

General Regnier had previously directed a slight cannonade against the fort, and commenced his approaches, but not being furnished with a sufficient quantity of ammunition to batter it in breach, he summoned the commander of the fort, and rendered the blockade closer; he had also advanced a mine under one of the towers, but this had been counterworked by the enemy. The 18th February the army took a position before El-Arish, on the sand-hills between the village and the sea. Bonaparte ordered one of the towers of the fort to be cannonaded, and as soon as a breach was effected, the place was summoned to surrender. The garrison consisted of Arnauts, Maugrabins, &c. all rude barbarians, destitute of regular chiefs, and ignorant of the principles or usages of war, as carried on between civilized nations. They opened a correspondence, which was, on their part, equally singular and curious, and which alone would suffice to shew the character of these barbarians. Bonaparte, on whom it was very incumbent to be careful of his army and stores, patiently attended to their singular conduct and representations, and deferred the assault of the place. The besieged continued alternately to fire and parley. At length, on the 20th February, the garrison, consisting of sixteen hundred men, surrendered and laid down their arms, on the sole condition of their being allowed to retire to Bagdad, across the desert.—A number of the Maugrabins entered into the French service. In the fort were found about two hundred and fifty horses, two dismounted pieces of artillery, and pro-

visions for several days. On the 21st, Bonaparte sent to Cairo the standards taken from the enemy, and the Mamelouc prisoners.

On the 22d General Kleber set out with his division, and the cavalry, from El-Arish towards Kan-Jouness, a frontier village of Palestine, near the desert. On the 23d, the head-quarters were removed from El-Arish, and destined for Kan-Jouness. The general in chief, the staff, &c. arrived upon the heights near that place, without receiving any intelligence of General Kleber's division. Bonaparte dispatched some of his escort to the village; no French troops had arrived there: some Mameloucs, who were in the place, fled to the camp of Abdallah Pacha, which was then at the distance of about a league on the route to Gaza. Bonaparte having only a picquet for his escort, and convinced that Kleber's division must have been misled, he fell back towards Santon, three leagues from Kan-Jouness, in the desert. He there found the advanced guard of the cavalry; the guides, it appeared, had led General Kleber astray in the desert; but he stopped some Arabs, and compelled them to point out the right road, from which he had been misled nearly a day's march. His division arrived on the 24th, at eight o'clock in the morning, after a distressing march of forty-eight hours, during which he was without water.

The divisions of General Bon and Lannes, who had followed the same route, were also led astray for some time. These three divisions, which, according to orders, should have arrived and moved on successively, thus arriving at Santon nearly at the same time, the wells were soon exhausted. With a laborious perseverence, the soldiers, who were tormented by a burning thirst, sunk wells in various places, but could only obtain a partial and very inadequate supply of water. The division of General Regnier was ordered to remain at El Arish, for the purpose of putting the fort, which is the key of Egypt (on the side of Syria,) into a respectable state of defence, after the prisoners of war had evacuated it; and also to wait until the field-artillery should advance. This division was to form the rear-guard of the army at an interval of two day's march.

On the 24th of February, head-quarters were removed, and the army marched towards Kan-Jouness. About a league in front of this village are several columns of granite, and fragments of marble spars, which, at first sight, we imagined to be the remains of an ancient monument; but, as the wells of Reffat lie at the distance of a few toises, are very neatly built, and afford abundance of good water, it is more probable that these ruins are the remains

of a caravansera, at which the caravans were accustomed to halt, in order to take in water for their journey across the desert, which separates Syria from Egypt. The army had traversed sixty leagues of an arid and barren desert; for the habitations at Cathieh and El-Arish are merely clay huts, with a few palm trees near the wells; its entrance, therefore, into the plains of Gaza, and the prospect of the mountains of Syria were highly gratifying. At the approach of the army, Abdallah, who was encamped with his infantry and the Mamelouc corps within a league of Kan-Jouness, had quitted that station, and fallen back towards Gaza.

On the 25th February the army marched from Kan-Jouness towards Gaza; about two leagues from that town a body of the enemy's cavalry was perceived upon the heights. Bonaparte immediately formed each of the divisions into a square; that of General Kleber formed the left, and was ordered to march against Gaza, on the right of the enemy; the division of General Bon occupied the centre, and advanced towards its front; the right was formed of the division of General Lannes, which marched towards the heights, and turned the positions which Abdallah occupied. General Murat, with the cavalry and six pieces of cannon, marched in front of the infantry, and prepared to charge the enemy. At his approach, the cavalry of Abdallah made several irregular movements, and their confusion was manifest; at one time they suddenly advanced, and seemed willing to charge; they, however, immediately made a retrograde movement. General Murat pushed forward, and manœuvred judiciously with his force, but failed in bringing the enemy to action, who, taking advantage of the night, effected a retreat; a party of their riflemen, however, were intercepted by General Kleber's division, by whom twenty-one were killed.

The army advanced about a league beyond Gaza, which had been evacuated by the enemy, and occupied the heights; head-quarters were established in the town. The fort of Gaza is of a circular form, about forty toises in diameter, and flanked with towers. It contained sixteen thousand pounds of powder, a great quantity of cartridges, and other warlike stores, together with several pieces of cannon. In the town were also found about one hundred thousand rations of biscuits, some rice, a number of tents, and a great quantity of barley. The inhabitants having sent deputies to meet the French, were treated as friends. The army remained the 26th and 27th in this quarter. Bonaparte employed himself during that interval in organizing a system of civil and military government for the town and district; he formed a

divan, consisting of the principal Turkish inhabitants of the place. On the 28th the army advanced to Jaffa, where the enemy were collecting their forces. The escorts of provisions and ammunition, forwarded from the magazines at Cathieh, were at this time several days' march in the rear of the army; but the stores which the enemy abandoned at Gaza were such as enabled the army to advance.

The desert, which lies between Gaza and Jaffa, is an immense plain, on which are numerous moving sand-hills; these render the march of cavalry a work of great difficulty. The camels advanced slowly, and with pain, and we were obliged, in the space of about three leagues, to change the artillery horses three times. On the 1st of March the army rested at Ezdoud, and the 12th at Ramleh, a town inhabited for the greater part by Christians; a quantity of biscuit was found there, which the enemy had not time to remove, and nearly as much was found at the village of Lidda. The hordes of Arabs, who hovered about these villages for purposes of plunder, took flight on the approach of the army. On the 3d the advanced guard, which consisted of General Kleber's division, arrived before Jaffa: the enemy, on his approach, retired into the body of the place, cannonading the eclaireurs. The other divisions and the cavalry arrived soon after. General Kleber's division and the cavalry were ordered to occupy a position on the river Lahoya, about two leagues on the route to Acre, for the purpose of covering the siege of Jaffa. The town was invested by the divisions of Generals Bon and Lannes.

On the 4th we made every practicable observation on the place. Jaffa is surrounded by a wall, but destitute of a fosse: it is flanked by towers in good condition, on which cannon were mounted. Towards the sea are erected two forts, which command the port and road: the place, altogether, appeared in a good state of defence. The principal point of attack was fixed on to the south of the town, against the highest and strongest part of the works. In the night between the 4th and 5th the trenches were opened, a battery in breach was constructed, and two counter-batteries, against the square tower, the most commanding part of the whole front of attack. A battery was also erected to the north of the place, in order to effect a diversion. The whole of the 5th and 6th were employed in advancing and completing the works. The enemy made two sorties, but were driven back with considerable loss.

On the 6th March, at day-break, the cannonade commenced, and at four the breach made was deemed practicable. An assault

was ordered; the carbineers of the twenty-second demi-brigade of light infantry were the first to advance; they were led by the Adjutant-General Rambaud, the Adjutant Netherwole, and Vernois, an officer of the engineers. They were accompanied by some workmen of the artillery and engineers. The chasseurs followed the engineers; they mounted the breach under the fire of some flanking batteries we were unable to silence. After performing prodigies of valour they effected a lodgment in the square tower. Lejeune, chef de brigade of the twenty-second, a very distinguished officer, was killed in the breach. The enemy, at different times, made great efforts to repulse the twenty-second demi-brigade, but it was effectually sustained by the division of General Lannes, and by the artillery on the batteries, which discharged grape shot upon the enemy in the town, who were engaged with the assailants. The division of General Lannes, in following up the latter, drove the enemy from roof to roof, and from street to street, and, in a short time, gained possession of two forts. The Aid-de-camp Duroc distinguished himself greatly on this occasion. The division of General Bon, which had been engaged in making false attacks, now entered the town by the port. The garrison continued to defend themselves desperately, and refusing to lay down their arms, were put to the sword: it consisted of about twelve hundred Turkish gunners, and about two thousand five hundred Maugrabins or Arnauts. Three hundred Egyptians, who had surrendered, were sent to Egypt, and restored to their families. The loss of the French army in this affair was thirty men killed, and about two hundred wounded.

When the French became masters of the town and forts, Bonaparte gave orders that the inhabitants should be spared; the command of the place was given to General Robin, who succeeded in extinguishing those disorders which naturally follow an assault, especially when obstinately resisted by barbarians, ignorant of the usages of war among civilized nations. The inhabitants were fully protected; they returned to their respective habitations; and on the 7th of March, order was completely restored. We found in the place, the field-train sent to Dgezzar Pacha, by the Grand Signior, which consisted of forty pieces of artillery, cannon, or large howitzers; and twenty-one guns, brass or iron, were found on the ramparts; in the port were fifteen small trading vessels. The general in chief gave the necessary orders for putting the town and port in a proper state of defence; and also for esta-

blishing in the town an hospital and magazines. He constituted a divan, consisting of the most distinguished Turks of the place; and sent orders to the Contre-admiral Peree to sail immediately from Alexandria, with the three frigates, and to repair to Jaffa. This port was intended to be the depot of every thing we should receive from Alexandria and Damietta. As the place was rather exposed to descents and incursions of the enemy, Bonaparte entrusted the command to the Adjutant General Gressier, an officer equally distinguished by his talents and bravery; he soon after died there of the plague. General Regnier arrived at Rombih, on the 9th of March, he was ordered to proceed to Jaffa with his division, and take a position near the place, so as to be able to escort the convoys, and afterwards to rejoin the army.

*Affair of Korsum.*—On the 15th March, General Kleber was encamped at Misky, in front of the position which he had taken for the purpose of covering the siege of Jaffa. On the 14th, the division of Generals Bon and Lannes, as well as the head quarters, removed from Jaffa, and joined the advanced guard at Misky. The army on the 15th, marched onward to Zeta; about noon the advanced guard observed a corps of the enemy's cavalry. Abdallah Pacha, it appeared, had taken a position, with two thousand cavalry, on the heights of Korsum, having on his left a body of about ten thousand Turks, who occupied a more elevated situation. The object of the Pacha was to check the progress of the army, and by taking a position on its flank, to force us to an action among the mountains and defiles of Naplouz, for the purpose of retarding its march to Acre. The divisions of Generals Bon and Kleber were immediately formed in squares, and advanced against the enemy's cavalry, who fled from the contest. General Lannes's division was ordered to march towards the right of Abdallah's force, for the purpose of intercepting its communication with the rest, and compel him to retreat at once, either to Acre or Damascus. This division, borne away by its ardour, pursued the enemy into the heart of the mountains and defiles, and attacked the Naplouzian force with such vigour and bravery, as to put them entirely to flight; the light infantry pursued them with such alacrity, that they advanced so far in front as to oblige the general en chef to send them repeated orders to desist from a pursuit attended with no advantage; they at length obeyed, and the Naplouzians, regarding their retrograde movement as a retreat, pursued, in their turn, the light infantry; being acquainted with the defiles and advantageous situations among the mountains, they fired upon the French with some effect. The division endeavoured to draw the

Naplouzians into the plain, but the latter would not leave the mountains. This affair, however, cost the enemy four hundred men; the loss of the French did not exceed fifteen killed, and about thirty wounded.

On the 15th the army and the head-quarters advanced, and lay all that night under arms, near the tower of Zeta, about a league from Korsum. The 16th they lay at Sabarin, the plains of Acre, near the entrance of the defiles of Mount Carmel. The division of General Kleber advanced to Caiffa, which the enemy abandoned on their approach; about twenty thousand rations of biscuit, and an equal quantity of rice, were found in the place. Caiffa is surrounded by strong walls, flanked by towers, a castle defends the road and port; a tower, built with embrasures and embattled, commands the town at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles, but the whole is overlooked by the heights of Mount Carmel. This place would have been of great use to the French army, had not the enemy, when they abandoned it, carried off the artillery and all the military stores. We left a garrison in the castle, and on the 17th the army marched towards St. John d'Acre; the roads were in very bad condition, and the weather foggy; in consequence of which, it was very late when we arrived at the entrance of the river of Acre, which runs at the distance of fifteen hundred toises from the place, through marshy grounds. This passage was the more dangerous to attempt during the night, as the enemy appeared in force, cavalry and infantry, on the opposite bank. Notwithstanding, General Andreossy was dispatched to examine the fords; he passed with the second battalion of the fourth light infantry, and took possession at night-fall of an eminence overlooking an intrenched camp. Bessiere, *chef de brigade*, with a party of the guides, and two pieces of artillery, took a position between the works and the river of Acre.

During the night a bridge was constructed, on which the army passed the river at day break on the 18th. Bonaparte immediately led the army to an eminence which commanded St. John d' Acre, at the distance of a thousand toises. Parties of the enemy still kept their ground without the place, in the gardens with which it is surrounded; however, they were so briskly attacked, that they soon retired within the works.

## SIEGE OF ST. JOHN D'ACRE.

THE army took a position on an insulated eminence, which extends as far as Cape Blanc, a league and a half to the northward, commanding to the east a plain about a league and three quarters in length, terminated by the mountains that lie between Acre and the river Jordan. The provisions found in the magazines at Caiffa, and in the villages of Cheif-Amrs and Nazareth, were made use of for the subsistence of the army. The mills at Tanoux and Kerdanne were employed in grinding the corn; the army had eaten no bread since they left Cairo.

Bonaparte, in order to keep open the route to Damascus, garrisoned the castles of Saffet, Nazareth, and Cheif-Amrs. On the 19th of March, Generals Dommartin and Caffarelli reconnoitred the fortress, and it was determined to attack the front of the salient angle to the eastward. Samson, *chef de brigade*, of the engineers, was wounded by a ball in the hand, while reconnoitring the counterscarp. On the 20th, the trenches were opened, about one hundred and fifty toises, and advantage was taken of the garden enclosures, the fosse of the old town, and an aqueduct that crossed the glacis, in their formation. A blockade was established so as to enable us to repulse sorties with advantage, and at the same time to intercept all communication. The erection of batteries *en breche*, and cross batteries, were incessantly laboured at. No intelligence was yet received of the battering cannon that had been shipped at Alexandria.

The commander of the English squadron, being informed that a great quantity of stores and provisions were collected at Caiffa, formed the design of seizing them, and, at the same time, of capturing several vessels that had recently arrived there from Jaffa, with provisions for the army. The command at Caiffa was provisionally entrusted to Lambert, *chef d'escadron*, a distinguished officer. On the 22d of March, a smart cannonade was heard in the camp before Acre, in the direction at Caiffa; we were soon informed, that several English sloops of war, armed with thirty-two pound carronades, had attacked Caiffa, and attempted to seize the transport vessels that lay in the port: that the *chef d'escadron*, Lambert, had given orders to suffer the English to approach very near to land, without any shew of opposition; but that he had concealed a howitzer, and placed in ambuscade sixty men, who composed his garrison, and that, at the moment the enemy were on the point of landing, he fell upon them at the head of his brave men, boarded and took possession of one of their sloops, and also a thirty-two

pounder, and made seventeen prisoners; finally, that the fire from his howitzer was directed against the other sloops with so much success, that they shortly took to flight, having more than a hundred men killed or wounded. The English Commodore, thus repulsed, abandoned his design upon Caiffa, and soon after came to an anchor before Acre.

The operations of the siege were carried on with activity: on the 26th of March the enemy made a sortie, but were repulsed with loss; the 28th the batteries *en breche*, and the cross batteries were completed; the siege artillery not having yet arrived, field pieces were necessarily used. At day-break we began to batter *en breche* the tower in the line of attack; about three in the evening a breach was made, at the same time a mine, which was pushed under the counterscarp, was sprung, which we thought did considerable execution; the troops were impatient to be led to the assault, and it was determined to accede to their wishes. The breach was deemed as practicable as that at Jaffa, but the grenadiers had not advanced far, when their course was arrested by a fosse, fifteen feet deep, connected with a counterscarp; this obstacle did not cool their ardour; ladders were placed, the foremost grenadier descended in a moment; the breach was still eight or ten feet above them; scaling ladders were affixed; Mailly, assistant to the adjutant-general, the first who mounted, was killed by a ball. The fire from the place was terrible; the springing of the mine, it was found, had but slightly affected the glacis; the counterscarp was not injured; in consequence, the progress of the grenadiers, who were advancing to support the first party, was checked; they were constrained to fall back. The Adjutants-general Escale and Lagnier were killed. An impulse of terror for a moment unaccountably affected a number of the enemy; they fled towards the port, but soon rallied, and returned to the breach, which the French grenadiers in vain attempted to mount, its height being near ten feet above the rubbish. This circumstance afforded the enemy time to ascend to the parapet of the tower, whence they showered down stones, grenades and combustible materials, upon the assailants. The platoon of grenadiers, who arrived near the foot of the breach, were unable to advance, and obliged to return to the trenches; six men were killed and twenty wounded.

The taking of Jaffa inspired the French army with a degree of confidence, that induced them to regard the works at Acre as of less importance than they deserved. They seemed to consider, as an ordinary field operation, a siege which required all the resources

of the military art; the more so, as we were destitute of the artillery and the ammunition necessary for the attack of a place surrounded by a wall, flanked by strong towers, and environed by a fosse, with a scarp, and counterscarp. The enemy, surprised as well as elated at the effect of their resistance, made on the 30th March a spirited sortie, but they were repulsed with considerable loss, and forced to retire with precipitation within their walls. Detroy, *chef de brigade* of engineers, fell on this occasion.

On the 1st of April a frigate anchored in the road of Caiffa. The *chef d'escadron*, Lambert, who continued to command in that place, knew the flag to be Turkish: he prevented his men from appearing: the frigate, ignorant that Caiffa was in the hands of the French, sent her long-boat on shore, with the officer second in command, and twenty men; they landed with composure, but in an instant Lambert surrounded them with his soldiers, made every one prisoners, and took possession of the boat.

Dgezzar had sent his emissaries among the Naplouzians, and to the cities of Sidon, Damascus, and Aleppo, and with them considerable sums of money, with the view of inducing all the Musselmen in those parts, who were capable of bearing arms, to rise *en masse*, for the purpose, as expressed in the firmans, of combating the infidels. It was likewise stated, that the French were but a handful of men, and destitute of artillery; while, on the other hand, he was assisted by a formidable English force, and finally, that to shew themselves would be sufficient to enable him to exterminate Bonaparte and his army. This measure produced a considerable effect; we were informed by some Christians, that large bodies of troops were assembling at Damascus, and magazines were establishing at the fort of Tabarie, which was occupied by the Maugrabins. In hourly expectation of the appearance of the forces from Damascus, Dgezzar caused frequent sorties to be made, but which cost him a great number of men.

Bonaparte was still destitute of battering cannon; on the 1st he was apprised that three vessels of our fleet, that sailed from Damietta, laden with ammunition and provisions, had, during a heavy fog, fallen in with the English squadron, by which they were immediately captured. The rest arrived safely at Jaffa. These three vessels had on board several pieces of battering artillery. With respect to the frigates which, after the taking of Jaffa, had sailed from Alexandria, no intelligence had yet been received. We continued to batter *en breche*, and also blew up a part of the counterscarp. Bonaparte ordered that a lodgement in the tower, wherein a breach had been made, should be

attempted; but the enemy had so filled the breach in such a manner with sand bags, timber, and bales of cotton, to which our howitzers had set fire, that the effort was impracticable, and we were under the necessity of waiting for some battering cannon, and a sufficient stock of ammunition, to enable us to commence a new attack. In the mean time we laboured to establish a mine under the tower, to blow it up, which would have laid open the place. This was an undertaking of great importance; the enemy had intelligence of our operations, and made frequent sorties purpose of gaining possession of the mine, but they were always for the repulsed with loss.

Dgezzar having caused the inhabitants of Tyre to arm themselves, General Vial was dispatched, on the 3d of April, at day-break, in order to make himself master of the place. He arrived after a march of eleven hours, through roads impassible to artillery. On the route to Cape Blanc, in a very elevated situation, appear the remains of a castle, built by the Mutualis, about a hundred and fifty years ago, and since destroyed by Dgezzar. After having passed Cape Blanc, he discovered, on entering the plain, the vestiges of an ancient fortress, and of two temples. At the approach of General Vial and his force, the inhabitants of Tyre were alarmed, and took to flight; he, however, quieted their apprehensions, and promised to protect them, if they renounced their hostile dispositions. They accordingly returned to the town, and Turks and Christians were equally protected. General Vial left a garrison at Tyre of two hundred Mutualis, and on the 5th April proceeded with his detachment to the camp before Acre.

On the 7th, at day-break, the enemy made a general sortie in three columns; in front of one of these, we perceived English troops, which were taken from the marines and companies of the ships, which lay before Acre *. The batteries of the town were worked by English artillerists. The object of the sortie was evi-

* We present our Reader with the first of that celebrated officer Sir William Sidney Smith's letters, (extracted from the London Gazette) which appears more immediately to relate to the operations of this important siege. This we are the more inclined to do, as several of the operations and their results are narrated in a manner very wide of the statement of General Berthier. However, we think it fair to observe, that this difference may, in some measure, arise from their seeing these things (literally speaking,) in a very different point of view. It is scarcely necessary to add, that Commodore Sir W. S. Smith commanded the British auxiliary force in the defence of St. John D' Acre, and that it was principally owing to his skill, bravery, and exertions, that the French were compelled to raise the siege, and the farther progress of Bonaparte stopped in that quarter.

dently to get possession of our advanced posts and works; we immediately directed, from the different batteries and parallels, so

"My Lord, Tigre, *Saint Jean d'Acre Bay, April 7th*, 1799.

"I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that as soon as the return of fine weather, after the equinoctial gale allowed me to approach this unsheltered anchorage, I resumed my station in the bay with the squadron under my orders. I found the enemy had profited by our forced absence, to push their approaches to the counterscarp, and even into the ditch of the north east angle of the town wall, where they were employed in mining the tower, to increase a breach they had already made in it, and which had been found impracticable when they attempted to storm on the 1st instant. The Alliance and prize gun-boats, which had been caught in the gale, had fortunately rode it out except one; and Captain Wilmot had been so indefatigable in mounting the prize guns, under the direction of an able officer of engineers, Colonel Phellipeaux, that the fire therefrom had already slackened that of the enemy; still, however, much was to be apprehended from the effect of the mine, and a sortie was determined on, in which the British marines and seamen were to force their way into it, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on the right and left. The sally took place this morning just before day-light; the impetuosity and noise of the Turks rendered the attempt to surprise the enemy abortive, though in other respects they did their part well. Lieutenant Wright, who commanded the seamen-pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shots in his right arm as he advanced, entered the mine with the pikemen, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and destroyed all that could be destroyed in its then state, by pulling down the supporters. Colonel Douglas, to whom I had given the necessary step of rank, to enable him to command the Turkish Colonels, supported the seamen in this desperate service with his usual gallantry, under the increased fire of the enemy, bringing off Lieutenant Wright, who had scarcely strength left to get out of the enemy's trench, from which they were not dislodged; as also Mr. Janverin, Midshipman of the Tigre, and the rest of the wounded. The action, altogether, speaks for itself, and says more than could be said by me in praise of all concerned. I feel doubly indebted to Colonel Douglas for having preserved my gallant friend Lieutenant Wright, whose life, I am happy to say, is not dispaired of by the surgeon. We have, however, to lament the loss of a brave and tried officer, Major Oldfield, who commanded the Theseus's marines, and fell gloriously on this occasion, with two of the men under his command. Our loss in wounded is twenty-three, among which is Lieutenant Beatty, of the marines, slightly. The Turks brought in above sixty heads, a great number of muskets, and some intrenching tools, much wanted in the garrison. A farther attack on the enemy's second parallel was not to be attempted without a greater number of regular troops. The return of the detachment was well covered by the Theseus's fire, Captain Miller having taken an excellent position to that effect. The result of our day's work is, that we have taught the besiegers to respect the enemy they have to deal with, so as to keep at a greater distance. The apprehensions of the garrison are quieted as to the effect of the mine, which we have besides learnt how to countermine with advantage, and more time is gained for the arrival of the reinforcemets daily expected.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

"W. Sidney Smith."

*Right Hon. Earl St. Vincent, Commander in Chief.*

brisk and well supported a fire on the columns, that all those who advanced were either wounded or cut off. The centre column appeared more determined than the others, their particular view was to get possession of the entrance of the mine; they were led on by an English officer, Captain Thomas Oldfield *, (the first who entered the place on taking of the Cape of Good Hope.) This officer, with some of his intrepid countrymen, advanced to the entrance of the mine; he fell, and his death checked their bold career; they were compelled to fly on all sides, and to take refuge within the fortress; the parallels and the approaches were covered with the dead bodies of English and Turks. Several Greek and Turkish deserters escaped from the place; they confirmed our information respecting the batteries being worked by the English, and that the Commodore, Sir Sydney Smith, accompanied by a number of French emigrants, among whom was the Engineer Phellipeaux, directed their operations. We enquired respecting some French soldiers who were wounded and made prisoners in the different attacks: they informed us, that, after having been mutilated by order of Dgezzar, their bleeding heads and palpitating members were carried, in horrid procession, through the town.

A few days after the affair of the 7th, a great number of sacks were observed by the soldiers, on the shore; they opened them;—but, O shocking! what were the contents? each sack contained two corpses tied together! On questioning the deserters, we learned that more than four hundred Christians, who were in the prisons of Dgezzar, were shot by orders of that monster, afterwards tied together, enclosed in sacks, and thrown into the sea.

Ye nations! who can blend with the laws of war, the feelings of honour and humanity, if events had constrained you to unite your standards with those of a Dgezzar, I appeal to your magnanimity, whether you would have suffered the barbarian to defile them by such atrocities? Would you not have compelled him to submit to those rules of honour and humanity which in the operations of war are recognized by all civilized nations?

* "The expiring Captain Oldfield † was carried off by our grenadiers, they brought him to our head quarters; he was at the point of death, and soon after his arrival was no more; his sword, to which he had done so much honour, was also *honoured after his death*; it remains in the hands of one of our grenadiers; he was buried amongst us, and he has carried with him the esteem of the French army."

*General Berthier's Letter to the Minister at War, from Alexandria.*

† See the honourable mention of him in the above letter of Sir W. S. Smith.

Bonaparte was informed by some Christians from Damascus, that a considerable force, composed of Mameloucs, Janissaries of Damascus, Deletians, Allepins, and Maugrabins, was preparing to pass the Jordan, in order to join the Arabs and Naplouzians, and to attack the French before Acre, at the same time that Dgezzar should make a grand sortie, supported by the fire of the English vessels. We were also informed by the commandant of the castle of Saffet, that some troops had passed the bridge of Jacob on the Jordan. The officer who commanded the advanced posts at Nazareth sent intelligence that another column had passed the bridge called Djesr-el-Meckanie, and had advanced to Tabarie, that the Arabs appeared in great numbers at the entrance of the mountains of Naplouze, and that Tabarie and Genin had received considerable supplies of provisions.

The general of brigade, Junot, was sent to observe the motions of the enemy; he learned that they were assembling in considerable numbers on the heights of Loubi, about four leagues from Nazareth, in the direction of Tabarie, and that some of them had advanced to the village of Loubi. He marched with a part of the second light infantry, three companies of the nineteenth, consisting of about three hundred and fifty men, and a detachment of one hundred and sixty cavalry, drafted from different corps, for the purpose of reconnoitring. At a short distance from Ghasar-Kana, he perceived the enemy on an eminence near Loubi; he pursued his march, turned the mountain, and found himself surrounded in an adjoining plain, by a body of about three thousand cavalry. The most intrepid of these rushed upon his force; under such circumstances, he yielded only to the impulse of his courage; and his soldiers shewed themselves worthy of so valorous a leader; they took five standards from their assailants. General Junot, with his little force, gradually gained the heights near Nazareth, on which route he fought with the enemy for the space of two leagues. This affair cost the enemy between five and six hundred men killed and wounded, besides the loss of the five standards; the loss of the French did not exceed sixty men. The chief of brigade, Duvivier, displayed extraordinary coolness and intrepidity in this action.

Bonaparte, on receiving intelligence of this engagement, ordered General Kleber to set out from the camp before Acre with the remainder of the advanced guard, in order to join General Junot at Nazareth. He left the camp on the 9th April, lay that night under arms at Bedaouie, near Safarie, and the next day repaired to Nazareth for a supply of provisions. Being informed

that the enemy had not quitted their position near Joubi, he determined to march against and to attack them the next day, the 11th. He had scarcely reached the heigths of Sed-Jarra, a quarter of a league from Loubi, and a league and a half from Kana, when the enemy descended from their elevated position, and rushed into the plain. General Kleber was immediately surrounded by a body of nearly four thousand cavalry, and five or six hundred foot, who prepared to charge him; this the general anticipated by attacking the cavalry, and, at the same time, directing a part of his force against the enemy's camp, near Sed-Jarra, which he carried. The enemy abandoned the field of battle, and retreated in disorder towards the Jordan, whither he would have pursued them, had not his force been destitute of ammunition. The troops then returned to the positions of Safarie and of Nazareth. After the affair of Sed Jarra, the enemy retired partly to Tabarie, partly towards the bridge of El-Mekanie, and a third part to Baizard. This last place soon became their principal rallying point, from whence, on the 14th April, the whole of their force advanced into the plain of Fouli, the ancient Esdron, where they formed a junction with the Samaritans or Naplouzians. The entire force, according to General Kleber's accounts, was between fifteen and eighteen thousand men, but the exaggerated statements of the inhabitants of the country increased their numbers to forty or fifty thousand. Kleber informed us, at the same time, that he was on his march to attack them.

The general in chief was farther informed, by Simon, commandant of Saffet, that on the 13th, the enemy advanced towards that quarter, and laid waste the neighbourhood of his post; that he was obliged to retire with his detachment into the castle, where he was soon attacked: the enemy attempted to scale the walls, but that he had repulsed them with considerable loss; however, he found himself closely blockaded, and he had very little either of provisions or ammunition. Simon displayed great talents, as well as bravery, upon this occasion. Tedesio, an administrative officer, the only person in the garrison who was provided with a horse, went out, accompanied by some of the Mutualis, to reconnoitre the enemy, but was unfortunately killed.

Bonaparte was of opinion that a decisive battle should be fought, for the purpose of effectually subduing a multitude, who, taking advantage of their numbers, harassed him with a desultory warfare, almost to the verge of his camp. Once routed, those people, who were under no necessity of fighting, would place little reliance on the assurances of Dgezzar, and feel strongly averse from

engaging again with the French. He was fully aware of the disadvantages which would attend an action near his position before Acre; he therefore gave orders for making the necessary dispositions to attack the enemy on all sides, and to force them to repass the Jordan. The route from Damascus, in crossing the Jordan, is either on the right of the lake of Tabarie, by the bridge of Jacob, at three leagues distance from which is situated the castle of Saffet, or on the left of that lake, by the bridge of El-Mekanie, a short distance from the fort of Tabarie. These two fortresses are to the right of the Jordan.

On the 13th of April, the general of brigade, Murat, marched from the camp before Acre with one thousand infantry, and a regiment of cavalry. He was ordered to proceed with all possible expedition to the bridge of Jacob, of which he was to take possession, in order to attack in the rear, the force that invested Saffet, and afterwards to join, as soon as practicable, the troops under General Kleber, who was greatly in want of reinforcements; that officer having intimated his intentions of setting out on the 14th, with a view of turning the enemy's positions at Fouli and Tabarie, and to endeavour to surprise them by night in their camps.

*Battle of Mount Tabor.*—Bonaparte left before Acre the divisions of Generals Regnier and Lannes, on the 15th of April. He set out from the camp, with the remainder of the cavalry, the division of General Bon, and eight field pieces; he took a position on the heights of Safarie, where the troops were all night under arms. On the 16th, at day break, he marched towards Fouli, through the defiles which branched among the mountains, and at nine o'clock in the morning, being arrived at the heights, from which Fouli and Mount Tabor can be seen, he perceived, at the distance of about three leagues, the division of General Kleber actually engaged with the enemy, whose force appeared to be about twenty five thousand, all cavalry, and surrounding the French troops, who did not exceed two thousand. We also perceived the camp of the Mameloucs, at the foot of the mountains of Naplouze, about two leagues in the rear of the scene of action. Bonaparte formed his forces into three squares, one of which was cavalry, and prepared for turning the enemy at a considerable distance, in order to separate them from the camp, cut off their retreat to Jenin, where their magazines were established, and to drive them to the Jordan, where General Murat could successfully, and finally encounter them. The cavalry, under the command of General Le Turq, with two light field pieces, were ordered to storm the camp of the

Mameloucs, while the infantry advanced against the main body of the enemy.

General Kleber, who received a supply of ammunition, four pieces of cannon, and a reinforcement of cavalry, had left his camp at Safarie on the 17th, and marched towards Baizard, with the determination of attacking the enemy, however numerous, on the 18th before day light; but being led astray by the guides, and retarded by the difficulties of the way, and the defiles he had to pass, he was unable to come up with them, until an hour after sun rise; but the enemy being informed of his approach, by their advanced posts on the heights of Harmon, had time to get on horse-back, and make some preparations for his reception. General Kleber formed his infantry into two square columns, and occupied some ruins in his front. The enemy stationed the Naplouzian infantry, with two small field pieces brought by camels, in the village of Fouli; all the cavalry, to the amount of twenty-five thousand, surrounded the little army of Kleber; they charged several times but without success; every effort to dislodge it was in vain; the musketry and grape-shot, from the division, which displayed the greatest valour and collectedness, did considerable execution among the enemy.

Bonaparte, on arriving within half a league from the scene of action, ordered General Rampon, at the head of the thirty-second, to march directly to the assistance of General Kleber's division, and to attack the enemy on the flanks and in the rear. General Vial was ordered to proceed with the eighteenth to the mountains of Noures, in order to force the enemy towards the Jordan; and the infantry guides were commanded to direct the course of the remaining troops towards Jenin, so as to intercept the retreat of the enemy to that quarter. At the moment the columns began to advance in their different directions, an eight pounder was discharged. General Kleber knowing by this signal of the approach of the general in chief, no longer remained on the defensive; he advanced to the village of Fouli, which he attacked and carried by the bayonet; he then advanced rapidly, putting all who resisted his progress to the sword, towards the cavalry, which were, at the same time, attacked by the column under General Rampon; while that commanded by General Vial cut off their retreat towards the mountains of Naplouze; and the infantry guides shot such of the Arabs as attempted to escape towards Jenin. Disorder and hesitation prevailed among the enemy; they saw their retreat to their camp intercepted, they were cut off from their magazines, and surrounded by their adversaries on all sides; at length they deter-

mined to seek for refuge in the rear of Mount Tabor; this situation, but in great disorder, they gained, and retreated during the night, over the bridge of El-Mekanie. A great number endeavouring to pass at a ford, were drowned in the Jordan.

General Murat had on his part completely gained the object of his operations; he had driven the Turks from their position at the bridge of Jacob; surprised the son of the governor of Damascus; carried his camp, and killed all who did not take to flight; he raised the blockade of Saffet, and pursued the enemy several leagues on the route to Damascus. The column of cavalry under the order of the Adjutant-General Le Turq, had surprised the camp of the Mameloucs, carried off five hundred camels, with all their provisions, killed a great number of men, and made two hundred and fifty prisoners. On the 16th of April, the army remained under arms at Mount Tabor. From this point, intelligence of the recent successes, and orders from the general in chief, were dispatched to the different corps of the army of the East, occupying Tyre, Cesarea, the cataracts of the Nile, the Pelusian mouths, Alexandria, the posts on the borders of the Red Sea, at the ruins of Kolsum, and at Arsinoe. The Naplouzians of Noures, Jenin and Fouli, had not ceased since the commencement of the siege of Acre, to attack the convoys of the French army, to keep up a correspondence with Dgezzar, and to give him every assistance in their power; these hostile proceedings, holding out a most dangerous example, rendered necessary the signal punishment of their authors. Bonaparte ordered these villages to be burned, and to put all found therein to the sword. Such of the inhabitants as implored his clemency, he reproached with having taken arms against him, and cruelly putting to death, such soldiers of the escorts as fell into their hands; nevertheless he relented, declined retaliating upon them, and promised them protection, if they remained quiet in their mountains. General Murat was still actively engaged, after leaving a detachment at the bridge of Jacob, and supplying Saffet with provisions, he advanced to Tabarie, on the 17th of April, where he took possession of the warlike stores and provisions, which the enemy had abandoned; the latter were collected in such quantities, as would be sufficient to maintain our army for twelve months. General Kleber took a position at Nazareth; he was ordered to occupy the bridges of Jacob and El-Mekanie, the castles of Saffet and Tabarie, and charged narrowly to watch the banks of the Jordan.

The result of the battle of Esdron, or mount Tabor, was the discomfiture of twenty-five thousand cavalry, and ten thousand

infantry, by four thousand French troops; the capture of all the enemy's magazines in those parts, and their disgraceful flight to Damascus. By their own accounts, their loss exceeded five thousand men; and they were at a loss to conceive, how, at the same moment, they could have been defeated, on a line extending nine leagues, so little notion have these barbarians of combined operations. Bonaparte returned to the camp before Acre with his etat-major, the division of General Bon, and the corps of cavalry under the orders of General Murat. No intelligence was yet received from Contre-Admiral Peree, to whom orders were given on the taking of Jaffa, to sail from Alexandria, with the frigates la Junon, la Courageuse, and l'Alceste; but at length the general in chief heard that the contre-admiral was before Jaffa, and that he had landed three twenty-four, and six eighteen pounders, with a quantity of ammunition. He then gave orders that Contre-Admiral Gantheaume should cruise with the frigates between the coasts of Syria and Cyprus, in order to seize on the vessels which were conveying to Acre supplies of ammunition and provisions. Some Arabs, posted in the environs of Mount Carmel, interrupted the communications of the army. The Adjutant-General, Le Turq, set out on the 19th April, with a corps of three hundred men, in order to disperse them: he surprised their camp, killed sixty-one, and brought away eight hundred head of cattle, which were of great service to the army.

On the 22d April the enemy worked at the erection of a *place d'armes*, to cover the southern gate through which they made their sorties towards the sea. On the 24th, the mine intended to blow up the tower, near the breach, was completed; the batteries were opened upon the place; we set fire to the mine, but a subterraneous passage under the tower presented a line of less resistance, and a part of the effort was spent and lost; the mine blew up but on one side of the tower, and the breach remained in such a state as to be as difficult of access as before. Bonaparte ordered that thirty grenadiers should endeavour to get into the tower, and reconnoitre its means of communication with the rest of the fortress: our grenadiers advanced as far as the ruins under the arch of the first story; but the enemy, who kept up a communication with the narrow vaulted passages, and who were in possession of the ruins of the upper arches, showered down such quantities of burning materials upon our brave men, that they were compelled to retire.

On the 25th our batteries continued to demolish the tower, and widen the breach; in the evening an attempt was made to effect

a lodgment in the first story, and workmen were employed several hours, for the purpose of rendering it more practicable: still the enemy, whom we could not drive altogether from the upper stories, again threw down burning materials, and compelled our soldiers, notwithstanding their ardour to press forward, again to retire from the tower. On this occasion General Veaux was dangerously wounded. On the 27th the army suffered a loss that will be sensibly felt by all France; the brave Caffarelli died in consequence of the wound he had received in the trenches on the 9th of April; a ball had shattered one of his arms, and amputation was recurred to. The loss of Caffarelli occasioned universal regret: in him his country lost one of its most glorious defenders, society a virtuous citizen, the arts and sciences a most enlightened votary, the engineers an intelligent commander, and the soldiery a companion in arms, brave, active, and devoted to the service:—had he survived, he would have become one of the first generals in the French army. The loss of the chief of battalion of engineers was soon followed by another, viz. that of Say, a young officer of great promise; he was also wounded in the arm on the walls of Acre; he suffered an amputation, which was attended with fatal effects; he was *chef de l'etat major* of engineers.

The enemy, in order to defend their front of attack, of which almost all the cannon were dismounted, erected some out-works; one in front, to the right, another was constructed to the left, in front of Dgezzar's palace; on these batteries were formed, which advantageously flanked the tower and the breach. They laboured at these works without cessation, cavaliers were erected, and every step taken to increase the effect of the fire from the flanking batteries; and finally, they prepared for a counter attack against the trenches of the besiegers. Under cover of the fire from their towers and elevated walls, they formed their out-works with a degree of facility: to silence this fire, and keep possession of their new works, we should have had a far superior artillery, and a greater quantity of ammunition than we were provided with. Several times, by performing prodigies of valour, did our brave soldiers carry these out-works; but, destitute of the means to enable them to maintain their ground, they were constrained to abandon them, and the enemy immediately retook possession. On the first of May four eighteen pounders were directed against the tower, for the purpose of widening the breach; in the evening twenty grenadiers were ordered to effect a lodgment in the tower, and, in some measure, succeeded, but by means of a work the enemy had constructed in the fosse, they were exposed to a cross

fire; the grenadiers, thus feeling the impossibility of passing through the tower into the place, desisted from the attempt. At the moment our grenadiers were monnting the breach at the tower, the besieged made a strong sortie from their right; they were charged by two companies of grenadiers with such impetuosity and effect, that all those who could not retire under the protection of the fire from the place, were driven into the sea. The loss of the enemy this day, in the various operations and attacks, was about five hundred killed or wounded *.

* We insert a second official letter of Sir W. S. Smith's relative to the siege.

"My Lord, "Tigre, *Saint Jean d'Acre Bay, 2d May,* 1799.

"The enemy continue to make the most vigorous efforts to overcome our resistance in the defence of this place. The garrison has made occasional sorties, protected by our small boats on their flank with field pieces, in which the most essential services have been performed by Lieutenant Brodie and Mr. Atkinson, of the Theseus, and Mr. Jones, master of the Tigre, who commanded them. Yesterday the enemy, after many hours heavy cannonade from thirty pieces of artillery brought from Jaffa, made a fourth attempt to mount the breach, now much widened; but were repulsed with loss. The Tigre moored on one side, and the Theseus on the other, flank the town walls; the gunboats, launches, and other rowing boats, continue to flank the enemy's trenches to their great annoyance. Nothing but desperation can induce them to make the sort of attempts they do, to mount a breach practicable only by means of scaling ladders, under such a fire as we pour in upon them; and it is impossible to see the lives, even of our enemies, thus sacrificed, and so much bravery misapplied, without regret. Our loss is as per list enclosed, and we have therein to lament some of our bravest and best amongst us. Captain Wilmot was shot on the 8th ultimo, by a rifleman, as he was mounting a howitzer on the breach; the loss is severely felt. We have run out a ravelin on each side of the enemy's nearest approach, in which the marines of the Tigre and Theseus have worked under a heavy and incessant fire from the enemy, in a way that commands the admiration and gratitude of the Turks, as it is evident the flanking fire produced from them contributed much to save the place yesterday. Colonel Phelippeaux, of the Engineers, who projected and superintended the execution, has fallen a sacrifice to his zeal for this service; want of rest and exposure to the sun having given him a fever, of which he died this morning; our grief for this loss is excessive on every account. Colonel Douglas supplies his place, having hitherto carried on the work under his direction, and is indefatigable in completing it for the reception of cannon. I must not omit to mention, to the credit of the Turks, that they fetch the gabions, fascines, and those materials which the garrison does not afford, from the face of the enemy's works, setting fire to what they cannot bring away. The enemy repair in the night all the mischief we do them in the day, and continue within half pistol shot of the walls in spite of the constant fire kept up from the ramparts under the direction of Lieutenant Knight.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

"W. Sidney Smith."

*Right Hon. Earl St. Vincent, Commander in Chief.*

Bonaparte gave orders that a second breach should be made in the curtain of the fortifications to the eastward; a sapping against the fosses, and the formation of a mine in order to blow up the counterscarp, were also ordered. Until the 4th of May the works and operations of the besiegers and besieged were carried on with great ardour and activity; when the ammunition of the former began to fail, and the general in chief was constrained to order the fire to be slackened. Perceiving this, the enemy increased in boldness, and carried on their sapping with greater activity than ever, particularly that on the right, the object of which was to prevent our sapping from communicating with the new mine. Bonaparte ordered, that at ten o'clock at night some companies of grenadiers should storm the outworks; this order was brilliantly executed, the enemy were surprised, put to the sword, the works taken possession of, and three of their cannon spiked; but the fire of the place, to which these works were completely exposed, prevented our troops remaining therein long enough to be able to destroy them; the next day the enemy re-entered, and immediately set about repairing them. The main object of the besieged was to counteract our mine, which was intended for blowing up the counterscarp that had been formed in front of the new breach in the curtain; and at this they laboured with the greatest activity. In the morning of the 6th they made extraordinary exertions for the purpose, but not succeeding to their wishes, they immediately determined to cut through their counterscarp, as near as possible to the mine; at three o'clock we perceived that they were opening, by a covert sapping, the mask of the mine; we cannonaded them, but the mischief was done; towards night we drove them from their lodgment, but the mine was completely counter-worked, a vent opened, and the framing destroyed.

This operation was the more mortifying to us, as the mine might have taken its full effect, in the night, between the 5th and 6th, as Bonaparte intended; but the general commanding the artillery pressed for a delay of twenty-four hours, in the expectation that the supply of powder ordered to be forwarded from Jaffa, would arrive in that interval. The old breach at the tower now appeared the only point against which we could direct our attacks with any prospect of success. Bonaparte, therefore, issued orders, that in the night between the 6th and 7th, we should again possess ourselves of the enemy's out-works, in that quarter; those which were erected for flanking the breach, and particularly that which crowned the glacis, near the first mine; that the attack should be made as expeditiously as possible; all those who occupied the works to

be put to the sword, and a lodgment therein secured. These orders were partly effected by the eclaireurs of the eighty-seventh, and a body of grenadiers, who gained possession of the works, except those which crowned the glacis near the old mine and flanked the tower; they were checked by the terrible fire from the town, which rendered unavailing the efforts of their valour, and compelled them to fall back.

On the 7th of May we discovered about thirty sail of Turkish ships; these we learned came from the port Mæris, in the island of Rhodes. They were laden with provisions and stores for the besieged, and brought besides a considerable reinforcement of troops. They were under the convoy of a caraval and several armed corvettes. Bonaparte, anxious that some decisive operation should take place before the arrival of these succours, gave orders for a renewal (on the night between the 7th and 8th,) of the attack of the preceding night. At ten o'clock the two *places d'armes*, the work upon the glacis, and the tower of the breach, were all carried, and a lodgement made in the tower. The eighteenth and thirty-second demi-brigades filled up the enemy's works with the bodies of their slain; they took several stand of colours, and spiked a number of cannon. Neither the determined resistance of the enemy, nor the tremendous fire from the batteries, could retard their progress. Never on any occasion was more valour or intrepidity displayed. Generals Bon, Vial, and Rampon, were at the head of the demi-brigades, and afforded the most striking examples of active courage, combined with cool determination. Boyer, *chef* of the eighteenth, a distinguished officer, was killed in the attack; one hundred and fifty brave fellows, of whom seventeen were officers, were killed or wounded; but the loss of the besieged was very considerable, and the bodies of their killed were used in forming epaulments for the besieged.

During the night we learned, that the supply of ammunition, expected from Gaza, would arrive on the morrow; Bonaparte ordered, that on the 8th, at day-break, we should direct the fire of our batteries against the breach made in the tower, and, at the same time, against that made in the curtain to its right, for the purpose of widening them; the greater part of the curtain soon fell, which rendered a breach fully practicable. Bonaparte ran towards the place, and ordered an immediate assault. The division of General Lannes, preceded by its eclaireurs and grenadiers, advanced: it was led on by the general de brigade, Rambaud; the other divisions were disposed so as to support and second its

efforts. The troops rushed forward to the breach, entered it, and two hundred men advanced into the fortress. According to the orders given by the general in chief, the troops, who had effected a lodgment in the tower, should, at the moment the breach was entered, have dislodged a party of Turks who were posted among the ruins of a second tower, which commanded the right of the breach; the intrenched battalions also should have carried the enemy's out-works, so as that no sorties could be made from the adjoining parts of the fortress, nor a flanking fire be directed towards the breach: these important orders, however, were not duly attended to. The enemy rushed from their out-works, filed under cover of their fosses, to the right and left, and commenced a fire of musquetry, which flanked the breach. The Turks, who were suffered to retain possession of the second tower, which commanded the right of the breach, also fired briskly upon the advancing troops, and likewise threw combustible materials upon the assailants. These combined means of annoyance compelled the latter to hesitate, confusion prevailed among the ranks, and they no longer rushed into the town with irresistible impetuosity. The fire from the houses, the barricadoed streets, and from the palace of Dgezzar, all which plied them either in front, flank, or rear, occasioned a retrograde movement among those who had advanced through the breach, and who were by no means properly supported; two pieces of cannon, and two mortars, which they had seized behind the ramparts, were necessarily abandoned. This retrograde movement was soon communicated to the whole column, but its disastrous effects were checked by the valour and exertions of General Lannes, who rallied his division, and replaced it in the front; the infantry guides, who remained as a reserve, now advanced rapidly to the breach, a close combat then ensued between the troops in front and the enemy; they were engaged man to man, and fought with the greatest fury, but the enemy having had time to rally and make additional preparations for the contest, gained the higher parts of the breach; the first impulse ceased to operate with the assailants; General Lannes was seriously wounded, and General Rambaud was killed on the spot. At the same time the debarkation of the reinforcements was complete, and we had to cope with, not only all the soldiers who were brought by the fleet, but with the Turkish seamen, who were obliged to assist in defending the breach; we were engaged in active fighting from the break of day till night-fall; every advantage was possessed by

the enemy, a retreat became unavoidable, and orders for effecting it were given.

On returning to the camp, we learned through Contre-Admiral Gantheaume, that the chief of division Peree, while cruizing before Jaffa, had taken two vessels that had separated from the Turkish fleet; on board these were found six pieces of field artillery, a considerable quantity of harnesses, and provisions; one hundred and fifty thousand livres in specie, four hundred soldiers, and the commissary of the Turkish fleet. We found on his person a statement of the number of troops embarked in the fleet, and of the quantity of warlike stores and provisions; we understood from him, that the fleet above mentioned made part of an armament for an intended expedition against Alexandria, combined with one which Dgezzar had undertaken by land, but, that, on receiving intelligence of the unforeseen attack upon St. John d'Acre, they had dispatched the fleet, together with the troops, the utmost force they could then collect, to the relief of that place.

During the day and night of the 9th of May, our batteries continued to fire; the 10th, at two o'clock in the morning, Bonaparte closely viewed the breach, and gave orders for a new assault. The eclaireurs of the different divisions, the grenadiers of the fifteenth and nineteenth, and the carbineers of the second light infantry mounted the breach; they surprised the enemy's out-posts, and put those found therein to the sword; but their progress was stopped by some newly formed intrenchments, which they were utterly unable to force, they were therefore constrained to retire. The firing from the batteries continued the whole day; at four in the afternoon the grenadiers of the 25th demi-brigade came in their turn to form the advanced guard; they solicited the honour of being permitted to begin the assault; their request was granted. These brave fellows rushed forward; but the enemy had formed a second, and a third line of defence; to force which required a new disposition on our part; the troops, therefore, were again ordered to retreat. The three last assaults cost the army about two hundred killed, and five hundred wounded. We had particularly to regret the loss of General Bon, who afterwards died of his wounds. The Adjutant General Fouler, Venoux, chief of the twenty-fifth, and the assistants to the Adjutants General Pinault and Gerbault, and Croisier, aide-de-camp to the general in chief, were also mortally wounded. Arrighy, aide-de-camp to General Berthier, and the assistants

to the adjutants-General Netherwood and Monpa tris, were severely wounded. In the two latter assaults, the grenadiers and the eclaireurs were commanded by General Verdier *.

* We here insert a third official letter of Sir W. S. Smith's.

"My Lord, "Tigre, *Acre, 9th May*, 1799.

"I had the honour to inform your Lordship, by my letter of the 2d instant, that we were busily employed completing two ravelins for the reception of cannon to flank the enemy's nearest approaches, distant only ten yards from them. They were attacked that very night, and almost every night since, but the enemy have each time been repulsed with very considerable loss; the enemy continued to batter in breach with progressive success, and have nine several times attempted to storm, but have as often been beaten back with immense slaughter. Our best mode of defence has been frequent sorties to keep them on the defensive, and impede the progress of their covering works. We have thus been in one continued battle ever since the beginning of the siege, interrupted only at short intervals by the excessive fatigue of every individual on both sides. We have been long anxiously looking for a reinforcement, without which we could not expect to be able to keep the place so long as we have. The delay in its arrival being occasioned by Hassan Bey's having originally received orders to join me in Egypt, I was obliged to be very peremptory in the repetition of my orders for him to join me here; it was not, however, till the evening of the day before yesterday, the fifty-first day of the siege, that his fleet of corvettes and transports made its appearance. The approach of this additional strength was the signal to Bonaparte for a most vigorous and persevering assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement to the garrison could disembark.

The constant fire of the besiegers was suddenly increased tenfold, our flanking fire from afloat was, as usual, plied to the utmost; but with less effect than heretofore, as the enemy had thrown up epaulments and traverses of sufficient thickness to protect him from it. The guns that could be worked to the greatest advantage were a French brass eighteen-pounder in the Light-house Castle, manned from the Theseus, under the direction of Mr. Scroder, master's-mate, and the last mounted twenty-four pounder in the north ravelin, manned from the Tigre, under the direction of Mr. Jones, midshipman. These guns being within grape distance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkish musquetry, did great execution; and I take this opportunity of recommending these two petty officers, whose indefatigable vigilance and zeal merit my warmest praise. The Tigre's two sixty-eight pound carronades, mounted in two gerrnes lying in the mole, worked under the direction of Mr. Bray, carpenter of the Tigre (one of the bravest and most intelligent men I ever served with), threw shells into the centre of this column with evident effect, and checked it considerably. Still, however, the enemy gained ground, and made a lodgment in the second story of the North-east Tower: the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins in the ditch forming the ascent by which they mounted Day-light shewed us the French standard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the besieged was much slackened in comparison to that of the besiegers, and our flanking fire was become of less effect, the enemy having covered themselves in this lodgment, and the approach to it, by two traverses across the ditch, which they had constructed

The rear of the parallels was filled with the dead bodies of the Turks, which produced a most intolerable stench, and a danger-

under the fire that had been opposed to them during the whole of the night, and which were now seen composed of sand-bags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them, their bayonets only being visible above them. Hassan Bey's troops were in the boats, though as yet but half way to shore. This was a most critical point of the contest; and an effort was necessary to preserve the place for a short time till their arrival.

I accordingly landed the boats at the mole, and took the crews up to the breach armed with pikes. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks, men, women and children, at sight of such a reinforcement, at such a time, is not to be described. Many fugitives returned with us to the breach, which we found defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missile weapons were heavy stones, which, striking the assailants on the head overthrew the foremost down the slope, and impeded the progress of the rest. A succession, however, ascended to the assault, the heap of ruins between the two parties serving as a breast-work for both, the muzzles of the muskets touching, and the spear heads of the standards locked. Dgezzar Pacha hearing the English were on the breach quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing musket cartridges with his own hands. The energetic old man coming behind us, pulled us down with violence, saying, if any harm happened to his English friends, all was lost. This amicable contest, as to who should defend the breach, occasioned a rush of Turks to the spot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the first body of Hassan Bey's troops. I had now to combat the Pacha's repugnance to admitting any troops but his Albanians into the garden of his seraglio, become a very important post, as occupying the *terre plein* of the rampart. There was not above two hundred of the original thousand Albanians left alive. This was no time for debate, and I over ruled his objections by introducing the Chifflick regiment of a thousand men armed with bayonets, disciplined after the Eurropean method under Sultan Selim's own eye, and placed by his Imperial Majesty's express commands at my disposal. The garrison, animated by the appearance of such a reinforcement, was now all on foot, and there being consequently enough to defend the breach, I proposed to the Pacha to get rid of the object of his jealousy, by opening his gates to let them make a sally, and take the assailants in flank: he readily complied, and I gave directions to the colonel to get possession of the enemy's third parallel or nearest trench, and there fortify himself by shifting the parapet out-wards. This order being clearly understood, the gates were opened, and the Turks rushed out; but they were not equal to such a movement, and were driven back to the town with loss. Mr. Bray, however, as usual, protected the town-gate efficaciously with grape from the sixty-eight pounders. The sortie had this good effect, that it obliged the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, so that our flanking fire brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach, so that the small number remaining on the lodgment were killed or dispersed by our few remaining hand grenades, thrown by Mr. Savage, midshipman of the Theseus. The enemy began a new breach by an incessant fire directed to the southward of the lodgment, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall much less solid than

ous infection In consequence, on the morning of the 11th of May, the general in chief sent a flag of truce to Dgezzar, with a letter couched in the following terms:

that of the tower on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. The group of generals and aids-du-camp which the shells from the sixty-eight pounders had frequently dispersed, was now re-assembled on Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount. Bonaparte was distinguishable in the centre of a semicircle; his gesticulations indicated a renewal of attack, and his dispatching an Aid-du-camp to the camp shewed that he waited only for a reinforcement. I gave directions for Hassan Bey's ships to take their stations in the shoal water to the southward, and made the Tigre's signal to weigh, and join the Theseus to the northward. A little before sunset, a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with a solemn step. The Pacha's idea was not to defend the breach this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then close with them according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the Pacha's garden, where in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced among them lay headless corpses, the sabre with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet; the rest retreated precipitately; and the commanding officer, who was seen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, and who we have since learnt to be General Lasne, was carried off, wounded by a musquet shot. General Rambaud was killed. Much confusion arose in the town from the actual entry of the enemy, it having been impossible, nay impolitic, to give previous information to every body of the mode of defence adopted, lest the enemy should come to a knowledge of it by means of their numerous emissaries. The English uniform which had hitherto served as a rallying point for the old garrison wherever it appeared, was now in the dusk mistaken for French, the newly arrived Turks not distinguishing between one hat and another in the crowd, and thus many a severe blow of a sabre was parried by our officers, among which Colonel Douglass, Mr. Ives, and Mr. Jones, had nearly lost their lives, as they were forcing their way through a torrent of fugitives. Calm was restored by the Pacha's exertions, aided by Mr. Trotter, who had just arrived with Hassan Bey, and thus the contest of twenty-five hours ended, both parties being so fatigued as to be unable to move. Bonaparte will, no doubt, renew the attack, the breach being, as above described, perfectly practicable for fifty men a-breast; indeed the town is not, nor ever has been defensible according to the rules of art, but, according to every other rule, it must and shall be defended, not that it is in itself worth defending, but we feel that it is by this breach Bonaparte means to march to farther conquests. It is on the issue of this conflict that depends the opinion of the multitude of spectators on the surrounding hills, who wait only to see how it ends to join the victor, and with such a reinforcement for the execution of his known projects, Constantinople and even Vienna must feel the shock. Be assured, my Lord, the magnitude of our obligations does but increase the energy of our efforts in the attempts to discharge our duty, and though we may, and probably shall be overpowered, I can venture to say that the French will be so much farther weakened before it prevails, as to be little able to profit by its dear bought victory. "I have the honour to be, &c.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

*Rear Admiral Lord Nelson.*

"*Alexander Berthier, chef de l'etat-major-general de l'armee;*

"*To Achmet Pacha el Dgezzar.*

"I am commanded by the general in chief to propose to you a suspension of arms, in order that the dead bodies which lie in the rear of the trenches might be interred.

"He is also desirous to establish an exchange of prisoners: he has in custody a *part of the garrison of Jaffa**, the General Abdallah, and especially the artillerists and bombardiers, a part of the force which arrived about three days since at Acre, from Constantinople."

The bearer of the flag of truce, whom Bonaparte made choice of, was a Turk, who had been apprehended as a spy. (With these barbarians we could not, without the greatest imprudence, follow the usual practice of civilized nations.) He was fired at by the garrison, and the fire from the fortress continued without interruption; the cannonade of the besiegers therefore continued. On the 13th of May the flag of truce was again sent, borne by the same person. He was admitted into the fortress, but the firing was still continued, and nothing appeared to indicate their intention to agree to our proposal. On the contrary, about six o'clock in the evening, on the signal of a cannon shot, the enemy made a general sortie, but they were repulsed with loss.

About this period, Bonaparte received intelligence of various insurrections in Egypt, and which appeared to be connected with a general system of external attack, meditated against the French in Egypt. At Cairo, and in the other principal towns, the public tranquillity was not disturbed in the smallest degree, but in the provinces of Benishef, Charkie, and Bahire, it was far otherwise. However, these disturbances were happily quelled by the activity of the French troops, and the vigilance of the generals. A tribe of Arabs, originally from Africa, were encamped upon the confines of the province of Gizeh, which they greatly infested by their robberies, and their repeated attempts to incite the Fellahs to revolt. General Dugua, who commanded in the district of Cairo, dispatched General Lanusse to chastise these hordes of barbarians; by means of an ambuscade, this officer became master of their encampment, and effectually dispersed its occupiers. A son of General Le Clerc, a young man of great promise, was severely

* "A part of the garrison of Jaffa," this is rather inconsistent, as the general himself, when narrating the capture of the town by storm, says, "The garrison continued to defend themselves desperately, and refusing to lay down their arms, *were put to the sword.*"

wounded in this affair. A few days after, the inhabitants of the village of Bondier, in the province of Charkie, revolted, upon which the chief of brigade, Duranteau, an officer of merit, was sent with a column to quell them, which service he effectually performed, and reduced the village to ashes.

The Pacha of Egypt, who, upon the approach of the French, had accompanied Ibrahim Bey, in his flight from Cairo, left his kiaya in that city. The conduct of this officer was such as to merit a degree of political confidence from Bonaparte, who had appointed him emir hadji for the next caravan of Mecca; and farther, had communicated to him the plan of his expedition to Syria. The kiaya was even engaged to follow the army, and had proceeded on the route, but he advanced very slowly, and made a halt in the province of Charkie; he there pretended to have received intelligence of the death of Bonaparte, and the total discomfiture of the French. By means of these false pretexts did this perfidious man excite insurrection and revolt in the province of Charkie, in which he was assisted by some Arab tribes, who were attached to him. General Dugua, whose activity is only equalled by his foresight, dispatched General Lanusse in pursuit of this traitor, but being duly apprised of the march of the French troops, he fled before them, and at length escaped through the desert into the mountains of Damascus.

In the beginning of the month of May, an adventurer who came from Africa, landed at Derne; he pretended to be the angel El-Mahdi, whose coming is announced by the Alcoran; he was soon surrounded by disciples, and joined the Arabs with his followers; at the same time two hundred Maugrabins also arrived from Africa, as it were accidently, and joined the fortunes of this pretended prophet. He asserted that the muskets, the bayonets, the sabres, or the artillery of the French, could have no power to injure the genuine believers who should march under his standard; that, at its appearance, the French, incapable of resistance, would lay down their arms. Numbers, among a people whose credulity renders them liable to seduction, in the blind hope of enjoying a triumph so confidently predicted, followed the steps of this impostor; when he imagined himself in sufficient strength, he marched at the head of his Arab adherents, to attack the French troops posted at Damenhour; (these very Arabs had but a few days before concluded a treaty of peace with General Marmont, at Alexandria.) Sixty men of the marine legion remained at Damenhour, notwithstanding the orders which their commander had received, to repair to the fort at Rahmanie. They were surprised and massacred.

The angel El-Mahdi profited largely of this success; the confidence in his predictions, which it naturally inspired, considerably augmented the number of his followers, and at length the district generally revolted; the insurgents were eager to engage with their opponents when they believed themselves invulnerable.

The illusion of these unhappy people was of short duration. The chief of brigade, Lefevre, marched from the fort of Rahmanie, with two hundred men; he was surrounded by swarms of fanatics, whom he engaged till six o'clock in the evening, when he retired to the fort, after having killed every one who had the temerity to advance within the reach of his fire. The deaths of such a number of genuine believers, considerably diminished the credit of the angel El-Mahdi, and the faith of his soldiers; but all that part of the country was in a state of revolt; the dread of signal punishment, the necessity of obviating it by decisive success, confidence in their numbers, all combined to strengthen that degree of desperate courage, which was, in the first instance, inspired by fanaticism. It was important to subdue them with the least practicable delay; but a greater force was necessary for that purpose, than the chief of brigade Lefevre had under his command. General Lanusse was therefore sent, at the head of a moveable column, the 8th May, to Rahmanie, whence he marched to Damenhour; he put to flight all who made a shew of opposition to his progress, put fifteen hundred men, who were posted at Damenhour, to the sword, and reduced the town to ashes; he every where dispersed the followers of the angel El-Mahdi, who was himself severely wounded, and sought for safety in flight. The Maugrabins passed the Nile, and made their way into Charkie; the Arabs were dispersed, and the district totally reduced to submission.

About the same period, several parties of Mameloucs, who were driven from Upper Egypt by General Desaix, came down into the provinces of Lower Egypt, where they endeavoured to excite the Fellahs and the Arabs to insurrection, but they were defeated by the chief of brigade Destrees. These also took refuge in the province of Charkie, whither, by the directions of General Dugua, the general of brigade, Lagrange, immediately pursued them. The 8th of May he came up with Elfi Bey, and the Arab chief Bellei, and defeated them. Their three principal kiachefs were killed, and the remainder fled into the mountains of Horeb, whence they made their way into Syria across the desert. General Lanusse, who had rendered the most signal services to the country, by the astonishing celerity of his movements into every

part where sedition appeared, came up with, on the 26th May, in the province of Charkie, the Maugrabins, and other disciples of the angel El-Mahdi, who had fled to Bahire when Damenhour was burned; he fought with them, and killed one hundred and fifty men, and burnt the village in which they had taken shelter.

During these operations an English force, consisting of a man of war and a frigate, appeared before Suez, but finding that port in a respectable state of defence, they retired; an armed brig, however, was sent to cruize off the port; but the Xerif of Mecca prevailed on the English to suffer the vessels to bring coffee to Suez. One expedition alone failed of those in which we were concerned, that to Cosseir; the object of which was to carry away all the specie and valuable property which the Mameloucs, vanquished by General Desaix in Upper Egypt, had collected, and were preparing to embark from that port; but the armed sloop Le Tagliamento, which, according to the orders of Bonaparte, had sailed from Suez the 6th March, having blown up on the first gun being fired, of course the project failed. With the exception of this, the most complete success attended the French arms in Egypt, and those troops which remained were not without signal and important occasions of displaying their valour and intrepidity, which equalled that of their fellow-soldiers employed in the expedition to Syria.

This expedition approximated to its close; the army had traversed the desert which separates Africa from Asia, with the rapidity of a native force, and overpowering all that opposed their progress, had gained possession of all those fortified posts which commanded the wells and fountains in the desert. They had disconcerted the plans of the enemy, by the boldness and rapidity of their operations. They had dispersed in the plains of Esdron, and the district of Mount Tabor, a force of not less than twenty-five thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry, hastily collected from different parts of Asia, in the hope of participating in the plunder of Egypt, and had obliged the force which was proceeding, in thirty ships, to attack the principal ports of Egypt, to alter its destination, and hasten to the relief of St. John d'Acre.

To consider this point farther, Bonaparte had, with a force of about ten thousand men, carried into, and maintained the war in the very heart of Syria, during three months; he had destroyed the most formidable of the armies destined for the invasion of Egypt, captured its field equipage and artillery, its camels, and one of its principal generals. He had killed, or made prisoners, more than seven thousand men, taken forty field pieces, and more

than one hundred stand of colours, and subdued the fortresses of Gaza, Jaffa, and Caiffa. The fortress of Acre did not appear inclined to surrender; but he had already attained the principal advantages which he could hope from the continuance of the siege. A few days' perseverance might have enabled us to take the Pacha in his palace. But Bonaparte was not to be affected by the vain glory of such an exploit; the period which he had destined for the Syrian expedition was approaching; besides, the season proper for effecting descents on the coast of Egypt was drawing near, a consideration which rendered his presence with the army essentially necessary in that quarter, in order to repel the attempts of the enemy. The plague also was making an alarming progress in Syria; seven hundred of the French troops had already fallen victims to it, and according to accounts received by way of Tyre, more than sixty men died daily in the fortress of Acre from this distemper. Could then, under such circumstances, the capture of this place compensate for the loss of time so precious as that of Bonaparte, or for the loss of such a number of gallant soldiers as must necessarily perish, and who were necessary for operations of greater importance?

All military men, who have carried on sieges against the Turks, well know that they all fight, not only to the last man, but even hazard the lives of their women and children in defence of the last heap of stones that remains. They never capitulate, or place any reliance on the good faith of an enemy; because, in similar circumstances, they entertain no idea but that of sacrificing them. The siege of Acre possibly might last some time longer, as well as prove bloody and desperate; every consideration recalled Bonaparte into Egypt; he could not, without compromising the fate of his army, and his conquests, protract his stay in Syria. The advantages, and the glory of the expedition depended not on the fall of the castle of Acre. Combined, and powerful considerations determined Bonaparte to raise the siege; several days would be necessary for the removal of the sick and wounded. During that interval, he ordered that all the batteries, cannon, and mortars, should be directed against the palace of Dgezzar, and that the remainder of the siege ammunition should be expended in demolishing it, together with the fortifications, and other public buildings.

On the 15th of May, at break of day, we observed the English commodore set sail, in company with three Turkish ships: it appeared, that just before he had received the intelligence that our frigates had captured two of his avisos, and two Turkish ships

he was, in consequence, alarmed respecting a convoy of dgerms, and two Turkish avisos that had been dispatched to the port of Abouzabourra, to take on board a number of Naplouzians, whom Dgezzar supposed had again risen in his behalf. It appeared that Contre-Admiral Peree was actually in chase of the flotilla; but it was rescued by the English: our frigates stood out to sea; the enemy did not pursue them, but immediately returned to their former station before Acre. The 16th, at half past two in the morning, the enemy made a sortie from the fortress, but they were warmly received, and driven back with loss. At seven o'clock they made a second sortie with a greater force, and attacked all our advanced posts, but every where they met the same reception as in the former instance; they were unable to form a single trench, our batteries played upon them with grape shot, and they were finally driven back with the bayonet into their outer-works, which, as well as the intermediate ground, were strewed with their dead. This brilliant affair did not cost the French more than twenty killed, and about fifty wounded.

On the 17th an English flag of truce was seen advancing towards the shore; the bearer was accompanied by the Turk whom we had sent with a flag of truce to Dgezzar on the 11th: the former brought a letter to the *chef de l'etat major*, from the English commodore, who, speaking of Bonaparte, thus expressed himself:—"Does he not know that it is with *me alone* to dispose of the ground which lies under my artillery?" He informed us, that Dgezzar could send no answer without his concurrence and participation, and that it was to him that all propositions were to be addressed. The officer who commanded the English boat also delivered a packet, containing proclamations of the Ottoman Porte, certified by the signature "SIDNEY SMITH:" they were conceived in the following terms:—

## PROCLAMATION.

"*The Minister of the Sublime Porte,*

"*To the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers of the French Army in Egypt.*

"The French Directory, entirely forgetting the rights of nations, has led you into an error, beguiled your good faith, and, in contempt of the laws of war, sent you to Egypt, a country subject to the dominion of the Sublime Porte, persuading you that it could consent to the invasion of its territories.

"Can you doubt, that in thus sending you to a distant region, its sole end has been to exile you from France, to plunge you into

an abyss of dangers, and to consign you to destruction. If, under a total ignorance of your situation, you have entered the land of Egypt; if you have served as the instruments of a violation of treaties, hitherto unknown among powers, is it not solely through the perfidy of your Directors? Yes, without doubt. Egypt, however, must be delivered from an invasion so iniquitous. Innumerable armies for that purpose are this moment on their march, and immense fleets already cover the seas.

"Those among you, of whatever rank, who wish to withdraw from the perils that await you, must, without delay, manifest your intentions to the marine and land forces of the allied powers; and you may rest assured of being conducted to those places to which you are desirous of proceeding, and that you shall be furnished with passports, in order that you may not be molested on your route by the cruizers or squadrons of the allied powers. Hasten, therefore, in time to take advantage of the benign intentions of the Sublime Porte, and regard this as a propitious offer of extricating yourselves from the frightful abyss into which you have been plunged.

"*Done at Constantinople, the 11th of the Moon Ramazan, the Year of Hegira* 1213," *(February 5th,* 1799.*)*

"I, the undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of the King of England at the Ottoman Porte, at present commanding the combined fleet before Acre, certify the authenticity of this proclamation, and guarantee the execution of it.

(Signed) "SIDNEY SMITH.

"*On board the Tigre, this 10th of May,* 1799."

This document received no other answer than that which insulted honour accords to infamous advice—silent contempt. The English commodore informed us, that an alliance was agreed upon between England and the Porte, and signed the 5th January, 1799. He also sent some French prisoners, who had fallen into the hands of Dgezzar. The officer who commanded the English boat was sent back without any answer: the firing continued on both sides.

During the night we commenced the removal of the sick, the wounded, and the park of artillery. The first battalion of the sixty-ninth demi-brigade set out on the 18th May, and the twelfth followed it on the 19th: these formed the escort of the wounded and artillery. The advanced guard, under the orders of General Junot, after having destroyed the magazines at Tabarie, took a position at Saffarie, in order to cover the defiles of Obeline and Chef-Amrs, near the camp before Acre.

The enemy, who had been latterly bombarded and cannonaded from our batteries more severely than ever, and saw a terrible fire directed against the palace of Dgezzar, those parts of the fortifications which were hithereto untouched, and against all the public edifices, made on the 20th May, at day-break, a general sortie; the besiegers received them with their usual intrepidity, and speedily forced them to retire. This unsuccessful effort, however, did not discourage them; at three in the afternoon they rushed out again, and attacked us at every point: on this occasion they employed all the reinforcements they had received, and the whole fought with a degree of furor and desperation which they had not hitherto displayed. Their object was to gain those batteries that played upon the town, and to save it from ruin, by destroying them. But, notwithstanding the ardour and perseverance of their attacks, they were every where repulsed, and compelled to retire, with considerable loss; they, however, gained a temporary possession of one of our works, near the glacis of the breach tower, but it was soon retaken by General Legrange, who commanded in that part; he attacked them vigorously with two companies of grenadiers, drove them out of the work, and pursued them to the verge of the fosses, killing all who fled not for protection under the cannon of the fortress.

The whole of our battering cannon being now removed, it was replaced on the batteries by some field pieces; we destroyed, by means of a mine and sapping, an aqueduct of several leagues in length, which supplied the town of Acre with fresh water, and reduced all the magazines and crops in its vicinity to ashes. After having thrown every thing useless, or not worth removing, into the sea, we began to raise the siege. The following proclamation, issued by the general in chief, sufficiently explains the motives of his conduct.

" PROCLAMATION.

" *At the Head-Quarters before Acre, the 17th Day of May,* 1799.

" BONAPARTE, *general in chief.*

" Soldiers,

" You have traversed the desert which separates Africa from Asia, with the rapidity of an Arab force.

" The army which was on its march to invade Egypt is destroyed: you have taken its general, its field artillery, camels, and its baggage: you have taken all the fortified ports which secure the wells of the desert, and you have dispersed, in the district of

Mount Tabor, those swarms of brigands, collected from all parts of Asia, in the hope of sharing the plunder of Egypt.

"The thirty ships which, twelve days since, you saw enter the port of Acre with troops, were destined for an attack upon Alexandria; but you compelled them to hasten to the relief of Acre, and several of their standards will contribute to adorn your triumphal entry into Egypt.

"Finally, after having, with a handful of men, maintained the war during three months in the heart of Syria, taken forty pieces of cannon, fifty stand of colours, taken six thousand prisoners, and razed or destroyed the fortifications of Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa, and of Acre, we prepare to return to Egypt, where the approaching season for landing imperiously calls for our presence.

"A few days longer might give you the hope of taking the Pacha in his palace; but, at this season, the castle of Acre is not worth the loss of those days; nor of those brave soldiers who must fall in the time, and are now necessary for more essential services.

"Soldiers,—we have yet a toilsome and perilous task to perform. After having secured ourselves from attacks from the eastward this campaign, it will, perhaps, be necessary we should repel the efforts made from the west. You will, in that case, have new opportunities of acquiring glory; and if engaged in so many encounters, each day is marked by the death of a brave comrade, fresh soldiers will come forward, and supply the ranks of that select number, which best gives an irresistible impulse in the moment of danger, and commands victory."

On the 20th of May, at nine in the evening, the generale was beat, and the siege, which lasted sixty days, after the opening of the trenches, was raised.

The division of General Lannes began its march for Tentoura; it was followed by the baggage of the army, and the artillery of General Bon's division. The division of General Kleber, and the cavalry, took their respective positions; the infantry in the rear of the head of the trenches, and the cavalry in front of the bridge thrown across the river of Acre, at the distance of fifteen hundred toises from the fortress. Immediately after, the division of General Regnier, which was intrenched, filed off in the greatest silence; their field-pieces were drawn by the men, and at once followed the route of the army. The out-posts were ordered into the works; the division of General Regnier, which halted at the termination of the trenches, proceeded to the camp for their baggage, and then followed the march of the army. When they had

passed the bridge, General Kleber's division began to move, it was followed by the cavalry, who had orders not to quit their station near the river, until two hours after the last of the infantry had marched off; they, however, left one hundred dismounted dragoons to protect the workmen employed in destroying the two bridges. General Junot, with his corps, had proceeded to the mill of Kerdanna, to cover the left wing of the army.

The siege would have been raised in the day time, had not the route, for more than three leagues, led along the coast, which would have afforded the enemy an opportunity of annoying us with their gun-boats, so far on our march. The besieged continued their fire throughout the night as usual, and did not perceive till next day that the siege was raised; they had, however, suffered so much that they made no movement for following us. The march was conducted with the greatest order; on the 21st of May we arrived at Tentoura; the port at which were landed the articles sent for the use of the army from Damietta and Jaffa, and also the battering cannon, as well as the forty large Turkish field-pieces taken at Jaffa, and of which only a part had been forwarded to Acre. We had not a sufficient number of horses to draw this immense quantity of Turkish artillery. Bonaparte determined that all the means we possessed of transporting by sea, should be preferably employed in removing the sick and wounded. In consequence, he resolved to carry with him but two howitzers, and some light pieces of the Turkish artillery, the remainder, about twenty-two, were thrown into the sea, their carriages and caissons being previously burned at Tentoura. All the sick and wounded were sent on to Jaffa; generals, officers, and administrators, all cheerfully lent their horses for that service: not one Frenchman was left behind, even those affected by the plague were removed.

On the 22d the army lay at the ruins of Cesarea; on the following day a party of Naplouzians appeared near the port of Abouhaboura, some of them were taken and shot, the rest fled; their object was to plunder the stragglers about the army in their march. On the 23d, we encamped within four leagues of Jaffa, near a small river. Detachments were ordered against some villages in the neighbourhood, the inhabitants of which had, during the siege of Acre attacked and plundered our convoys, and massacred the escorts; these villages were burned, as were the surrounding crops, and the cattle carried off. This vengeance was not only called for upon the heads of the assassins, but authorised by the rigorous laws of war, which allow of depriving the enemy of all means of subsistence. On the 24th, the army arrived at Jaffa, a

bridge of boats had been thrown over the river of Lahoya, as a ford near its entrance could not be passed without great difficulty. The 25th, 26th, and 27th, we remained at Jaffa; the time was employed in punishing the inhabitants of the adjacent villages for their criminal conduct, and in destroying the fortifications at Jaffa; all the iron cannon in the place were thrown into the sea. From this town, part of the wounded were sent off by sea; we had but a small number of vessels for this purpose, and the forwarding those who were to proceed by land caused some delays, so that the army could not march before the 28th. The first and second battalion of the sixty-ninth, and the twenty-second light infantry, departed successively to escort the convoys by lands.

On the 28th of May we marched from Jaffa; the division of General Regnier formed the left column, and proceeded by Ramlé, the head-quarters. The divisions of Generals Bon and Lannes took the central route; the inhabitants of the country between Jaffa and Gaza had been guilty of all sorts of excesses; the general order given to the columns was to burn the villages as they proceeded, and lay waste the adjacent country. The cavalry proceeded along the right, parallel with the coast; they scowered the downs, and drove in all the cattle that had there been collected. The division of General Kleber formed the rear-guard, and did not leave Jaffa till the 29th. In this order the army marched as far as Kan-Jouness; the surrounding plains presented a continued blaze of fire; but the recollection of the plunder of the convoys, and the atrocities exercised against the French, by the inhabitants of these countries, abundantly justified this terrible retaliation.

The army encamped on the 29th at El-Majdal, and arrived the next day at Gaza. The inhabitants of this town conducted themselves with propriety, their persons and properties were therefore respected. The fort was blown up, and on the 31st, the army proceeded towards Kan-Jouness, where it arrived the same day. On the 1st of June we entered upon the desert, followed by an immense number of cattle, taken from the enemy, and intended to provision El-Arish. The desert between Kan-Jouness and this fortress is about eleven leagues in extent. It is inhabited by some Arabian brigands, of whom Bonaparte had much to complain; we burned their camps, brought away their cattle and camels, and destroyed the small harvests that were collected in some parts of the desert. On the 2d the army halted at El-Arish; this post was of considerable importance. Bonaparte ordered the ancient fortifications to be strengthened, and new works erected for its defence; he left a garrison in the place, and

amply supplied it with ammunition, stores, and provisions. We continued our march to Cathieh, where we arrived on the 4th, after suffering excessively from the want of water. The divisions arrived in succession, but the wells yielded less water, and that of a worse quality, than when the army first passed through the town. The magazines at Cathieh were amply furnished; the army remained two days at Cathieh, and, in the interval, the general in chief went to inspect the posts at Tineth, Pelusium, and the mouth of Ommfaredge, on the lake Menzale: he ordered a fort to be erected near Tineth, in order to secure the command of the mouth of Ommfaredge. He left a considerable garrison at Cathieh, and united the command thereof to that of El-Arish, under a general of brigade *.

* We insert a fourth official letter of Sir W. S. Smith's relative to the raising the siege of St. John d'Acre, the retreat of the French, &c.

"My Lord, "Tigre, *at anchor off Jaffa, 30th May*, 1799.

"The providence of Almighty God has been wonderfully manifested in the defeat and precipitate retreat of the French army, the means we had of opposing its gigantic efforts against us being totally inadequate of themselves to the production of such a result. The measure of their iniquities seems to have been filled by the massacre of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa, in cool blood, three days after their capture: and the plain of Nazareth has been the boundary of Bonaparte's extraordinary career. He raised the siege of Acre on the 20th May, leaving all his heavy artillery behind him, either buried or thrown into the sea, where, however, it is visible, and can easily be weighed. The circumstances which led to this event, subsequent to my last dispatch of the 9th instant, are as follow:—Conceiving that the ideas of the Syrians, as to the supposed irresistible prowess of these invaders, must be changed, since they had witnessed the checks which the besieging army daily met with in their operations before the town of Acre, I wrote a circular letter to the Princes and Chiefs of the Christians of Mount Lebanon, and also to the Sheiks of the Druses, recalling them to a sense of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the supplies from the French camp. I sent them, at the same time, a copy of Bonaparte's impious Proclamation, in which he boasts of having overthrown all Christian establishments, accompanied by a suitable exhortation, calling upon them to choose between the friendship of a Christian knight and that of an unprincipled renegado. This letter had all the effects I could desire. They immediately sent me two ambassadors, professing not only friendship, but obedience; assuring me, that in proof of the latter, they had sent out parties to arrest such of the mountaineers as should be found carrying wine and gunpowder to the French camp, and placing eighty prisoners of this description at my disposal. I had thus the satisfaction to find Bonaparte's career farther northward effectually stopped by a warlike people inhabiting an impenetrable country. General Kleber's division had been sent eastward, towards the fords of Jordan, to oppose the Damascus army; it was recalled from thence to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and above three-fourths of their officers. It seems much was hoped from this division, as

On the 6th of June the army continued its march. The head-quarters were removed on the next day, in order to proceed to Salehieh. The division of General Kleber repaired to Tineth,

it had, by its firmness, and the steady front it opposed in the form of a hollow square, kept upwards of ten thousand men in check, during a whole day, in the plain between Nazareth and Mount Tabor, till Bonaparte came with his horse-artillery, and extricated these troops, dispersing the multitude of irregular cavalry, by which they were completely surrounded.

The Turkish Chifflick regiment having been censured for the ill success of their sally, and their unsteadiness in the attack of the garden, made a fresh sally the next night, Soliman Aga, the Lieutenant-Colonel, being determined to retrieve the honour of the regiment by the punctual execution of the orders I had given him to make himself master of the enemy's third parallel, and this he did most effectually; but the impetuosity of a few carried them on to the second trench, where they lost some of their standards, though they spiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach according to Bonaparte's intention, was thus obliged to spend its time and its strength in recovering these works, in which it succeeded, after a conflict of three hours, leaving every thing in *statu quo*, except the loss of men, which was very considerable on both sides. After this failure, the French grenadiers absolutely refused to mount the breach any more over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions, sacrificed in former attacks by Bonaparte's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit such palpable errors as even seamen could take advantage of. He seemed to have no principle but that of pressing forward, and appeared to stick at nothing to obtain the object of his ambition, although it must be evident to every body else, that even if he succeeded to take the town, the fire of the shipping must drive him out of it again in a short time: however, the knowledge the garrison had of the inhuman massacre at Jaffa rendered them desperate in their personal defence. Two attempts to assassinate me in the town having failed, recourse was had to a most flagrant breach of every law of honour, and of war. A flag of truce was sent into the town by the hand of an Arab Dervise, with a letter to the Pacha, proposing a cessation of arms, for the purpose of burying the dead bodies, the stench from which became intolerable, and threatened the existence of every one of us on both sides, many having died delirious within a few hours after being seized with the first symptoms of infection. It was natural that we should gladly listen to this proposition, and that we should consequently be off our guard during the conference. While the answer was under consideration, a volley of shot and shells on a sudden announced an assault, which, however, the garrison was ready to receive, and the assailants only contributed to increase the number of the dead bodies in question, to the eternal disgrace of the General, who thus disloyally sacrificed them. I saved the life of the Arab from the effect of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off to the Tigre with me, from whence I sent him back to the General, which made the army ashamed of having been exposed to such a merited reproof. Subordination was now at an end, and all hopes of success having vanished, the enemy had no alternative left but a precipitate retreat, which was put in execution in the night between the 20th and 21st instant. I had above said, that the battering train of artillery, (except the carriages, which were burnt) is now in our hands!

in order to embark on the lake Menzale for Damietta. The other divisions of the army took the route to Cairo, where they arrived on the 14th of June. The grandees of Cairo, the people, and the

amounting to 23 pieces. The howitzers and medium twelve-pounders, originally conveyed by land with much difficulty, and successfully employed to make the first breach, were embarked in the country vessels at Jaffa, to be conveyed coastwise together with the worst among the two thousand wounded, which embarrassed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected. I took care, therefore, to be between Jaffa and Damietta before the French army could get as far as the former place. The vessels being hurried to sea without seamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every necessary, even water and provisions, they steered strait to his Majesty's ships, in full confidence of receiving the succours of humanity, in which they were not disappointed. I have sent them on to Damietta, where they will receive such farther aid as their situation requires, and which it was out of my power to give to so many. Their expressions of gratitude to us were mingled with execrations on the name of their General, who had, as they said, thus exposed them to peril rather than fairly and honourably renew the intercourse with the English, which he had broken off by a false and malicious assertion, that I had intentionally exposed the former prisoners to the infection of the plague. To the honour of the French army be it said, this assertion was not believed by them, and it thus recoiled on its author. The intention of it was evidently to do away the effect which the Proclamation of the Porte began to make on the soldiers, whose eager hands were held above the parapet of their works to receive them when thrown from the breach. He cannot plead misinformation as his excuse, his Aid-de-camp, Mr. Lallemand, having had free intercourse with these prisoners on board the Tigre when he came to treat about them; and having been ordered, though too late, not to repeat their expressions of contentment at the prospect of going home. It was evident to both sides, that when a general has recourse to such a shallow, and, at the same time, to such a mean artifice as a malicious falsehood, all better resources were at an end, and the defection in his army was consequently increased to the highest pitch.

The utmost disorder has been manifested in the retreat, and the whole tract between Acre and Gaza is strewed with dead bodies of those who have sunk under fatigue, or the effect of slight wounds; such as could walk, unfortunately for them, not having been embarked. The rowing gun-boats annoyed the van column of the retreating army on its march along the breach, and the Arabs harassed its rear when it turned inland to avoid their fire. We observed the smoke of musketry from behind the sand hills from the attack of a party of them, which came down to our boats, and touched our flag with every token of union and respect. Ismael Pacha, governor of Jerusalem, to whom notice was sent of Bonaparte's preparation for retreat, having entered this town by land at the same time that we brought our guns to bear on it by sea, a stop was put to the massacre and pillage already begun by the Naplousians. The English flag, rehoisted on the consul's house (under which the Pacha met me), serves as an asylum for all religions, and every description of the surviving inhabitants. The heaps of unburied Frenchmen lying on the bodies of those whom they had massacred two months ago, afford another proof of divine justice, which has caused these murderers to perish by the infection arising

garrison came forth to greet the army, which then drew up in order of parade. They were astonished to behold troops in the highest order, and presenting a brilliant appearance, who had just traversed a desert, and suffered a toilsome and sanguinary campaign of four months; a sight so gratifying, but so unexpected, produced a scene truly affecting, that of dear friends and respected comrades, impressed with the most lively, even an enthusiastic joy, at once more seeing and embracing each other. The city of Cairo was, in effect, to the French as a second country; its inhabitants universally received them as countrymen.

Numberless extravagant and unfounded reports were maliciously disseminated at Cairo, respecting the condition of the army; it was at length described as reduced to a handful of wounded and dying men: what contrast did it present? The following is a correct statement.

The army engaged in the Syrian expedition lost, in the course of four months, seven hundred men by the plague, and about five hundred killed in battle. The numbers of the wounded were certainly at least eighteen hundred, but of these not more than ninety suffered amputation: almost all the others were likely to be soon cured, and in a condition to join their respective corps.

from their own atrocious act. Seven poor wretches are left alive in the hospital, where they are protected, and shall be taken care of. We have had a most dangerous and painful duty in disembarking here to protect the inhabitants, but it has been effectually done; and Ismael Pacha deserves every credit for his humane exertions and cordial co-operation to that effect. Two thousand cavalry are just dispatched to harass the French rear, and I am in hopes to overtake their van in time to profit by their disorder; but this will depend on the assembling of sufficient force, and on exertions of which I am not absolutely master, though I do my utmost to give the necessary impulse, and a right direction. I have every confidence that the officers and men of the three ships under my orders, who, in the face of a most formidable enemy, have fortified a town that had *not* a single heavy gun mounted on the land side, and who have carried on all intercourse by boats, under a constant fire of musquetry and grape, will be able efficaciously to assist the army in its future operations. This letter will be delivered to your Lordship by Lieutenant Canes, first of the Tigre, whom I have judged worthy to command the Theseus, as captain, ever since the death of my much-lamented friend and coadjutor Miller. I have taken Lieutenant England, first of that ship, to my assistance in the Tigre, by whose exertions, and those of Lieutenant Summers and Mr. Atkinson, together with the bravery of the rest of the officers and men, that ship was saved, though on fire in five places at once, from a deposit of French shells bursting on board her.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

*Right Hon. Lord Nelson, Rear Admiral of the Blue, &c.*

Our losses by the plague were especially made the subject of interested or malicious exaggeration. When the army arrived in Syria, the towns were in general infested by this malady, one which ignorance and barbarity renders so deplorably fatal in these countries. Those who are affected by it generally give themselves up for dead, every one abandons, and flies from them, and they are left to perish, when the aids of medicine, and a proper degree of attention, would have saved their lives. The principle of fatalism, by which these people are guided, contributes not a little to prevent their recurrence to medical assistance. The French soldiers were not without strong prejudices in this respect; the slightest fever was by them deemed to be the plague, and they considered themselves as infected by an incurable malady. Desgenettes, chief physician to the army, closely attended the hospitals, visited every patient himself, and tranquillized their apprehensions. He maintained that the glandular swellings, which were taken to be symptoms of the plague, were those of a species of malignant fever, which might easily be cured by care and attention, and keeping the patient's mind easy. He even went so far as to inoculate himself in presence of the patients, with the suppurated matter from one of these buboes, and proceeded to cure himself by the same remedies which he ordered for them.

Every species of heroism was exhibited in this fine army; but the philanthropic devotion of the illustrious Desgenettes, ranked among the most generous, and the most useful. After having restored to the soldiers that tranquillity of mind so necessary to convalesence, he perfected, by his care, assiduity, and the exertion of his talents, that cure which he so happily undertook, and the far greater number of his patients were completely restored.

So glorious an example necessarily had its influence upon the other officers of health; the conduct of Larrey, chief surgeon to the army, merits the highest eulogium, in the zeal and activity which he unremittingly displayed in the performance of his duty. He has been seen, together with his worthy assistants, dressing the unfortunate wounded even at the foot of the breach, and under the fire of the enemy. Several of these professional heroes were wounded while thus nobly employed, and one or two were killed, but nothing could diminish their patriotic ardour and devotion.

## OPERATIONS OF GENERAL DESAIX, IN UPPER EGYPT.

WHILE in the north, Bonaparte routed those forces which Ibrahim Bey and Dgezzar collected to act against him, General Desaix, in the south, chased Murad Bey from Upper Egypt, whither he had retreated after the battle of the Pyramids.

One month after the surrender of Cario, General Desaix received orders to march in pursuit of Murad Bey. In consequence, he embarked on the Nile the 25th of August, 1798, at day-break, with two battalions of the eighty-eighth of the line, two battalions of the second light infantry, two battalions of the sixty-first of the line, and the artillery attached to each battalion. The flotilla was convoyed by a Xebec, an aviso, and two demi-gallies armed *en guerre.*

On the 31st August, being arrived at Bench, the division of the army under General Desaix took a position in front of that town, which appuyed his left, while his right was to the Nile, formed so as to be protected by the armed vessels in that river: he remained in this position on the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th September, and on the 5th, the general having provided means of subsistence, quitted that station, and proceeded to Aba-Girge, where he arrived at seven in the evening. He there learned that a body of one hundred and fifty Mameloucs, and a number of dgerms, laden with stores, provision, and ammunition, were lying at Behnese; in consequence of this intelligence, he set out the 20th, at day-break, with two battalions of the twenty-first light infantry, to reconnoitre their position. The inundation of the Nile had arrived to a considerable height, and the troops experienced the greatest difficulties in their progress: they crossed eight canals; and at lake Bathen, which they passed over at a fordable place, the water was as high as their arm pits. After having advanced during four hours, almost continually through water, they arrived at the village of Chebouba Murad Bey had descended as far as Fayum; he stationed three Beys at Behnese, with one hundred and fifty Mameloucs, and a number of Arabs. General Desaix marched against this village, and notwithstanding the difficulties he had to encounter in his progress, among which was an impassable dyke, the borders of which he was obliged to follow, he exerted so much diligence, that he arrived at the moment the baggage of the enemy had passed the canal of Joseph. The corps of Mameloucs and Arabs remained on the left bank of the river, to protect twelve dgerms that had escaped by ascending the Nile,

The carbineers of the twenty-first advanced rapidly to the bank, and fired with such effect that the Mameloucs soon retreated, and the Arabs dispersed. The dgerms were then captured; of these, eleven were laden with ammunition and provisions, especially a large quantity of corn; the twelfth had on board seven pieces of artillery.

On the 7th September General Desaix, with his force, rejoined the rest of the troops at the position at Aba-Girge; on the 12th he proceeded to Tarut-el-Cherif, and on the 13th he took a position at the entrance of the canal of Joseph. Being informed that the enemy were in force at Siut, off which were anchored the remainder of their armed vessels, he set out with the demi-gallies, two battalions of the sixty-first, and two of the eighty-eighth. Having given orders that the twenty-first should follow him, accompanied by an aviso, he proceeded towards Siut, dispatching a force, consisting of a demi-brigade and a gun-boat, to occupy Tarut-el-Cherif, in order to keep open the communication with Cairo. On the 14th he arrived at Siut, but the enemy fled at his approach, and caused their flotilla to remove farther up the river.

Three kiachefs of Soliman Bey, about three hundred Mameloucs, and a party of Arabs, had posted themselves at Benhadi, within six leagues of Siut, with their women, and a quantity of baggage. General Desaix marched on the 17th September, in the hope of encountering them. He pursued his course at the foot of the mountains, and arrived very early the next day at the place, after a rapid and distressing march through a desert country. The enemy had fled at his approach. On the 19th September he turned to Siut, where he left a demi-brigade and an aviso, for the purpose of escorting a considerable convoy of grain, which he had ordered to be forwarded to Cairo. The same evening he set out with his army and flotilla, in the view of encountering Murad Bey, who had retired to Fayum. On the 21st of September he arrived at the entrance of the canal of Joseph, and received, at the same time a supply from Cairo of sixty quintals of biscuit and three thousand cartridges. On the 23d he continued his march, and entered Bahr-Joseph, leaving on the Nile six armed vessels to guard the entrance of the canal, and the river, generally, near Tarut-el-Cherif. Two gun-boats, co-operating with the troops, descended the river as far as Benesuef.

After a long and toilsome navigation in the canal, in which the dgerms carrying part of the army, were frequently aground; the advanced guard, on the 3d of October, descried Murad Bey, posted on the heights near the village of Menekiah. General Desaix or-

dered the troops to land with all possible expedition, and advanced towards the enemy along a species of downs, which overlooked the canal as far as Illahon, where they interchanged some shots with the advanced-guard; the troops re-entered the boats, and they pursued their course on the canal. On the 4th, in the morning, they perceived a number of the enemy in a sort of ambuscade, near that part of the canal which approaches the desert, and immediately after, a considerable force appeared in the village of Mansura. Deeming it hazardous to land under the fire of such a force he ordered the army to turn, proceed up the canal and gain the position near Menekiah; soon after, the troops debarked, the battalions formed successively, and the carbineers dispersed a number of Mameloucs, who had advanced and annoyed the dgerms.

After forming his force into a square column, General Desaix arranged the plan of operations so that the dgerms on the canal could follow the movements of and co-operate with the troops; these advanced along the extremity of the inundation and the verge of the desert. In their progress, the Mameloucs seemed inclined to attack, but a few cannon-shot always made them retire: at night the troops took a position in front of the village of Mansura. The next day the march was continued in the same order, but the advanced-guard was not a little harassed by the enemy. The main body of Murad Bey's force was still at a distance of two leagues, and appeared to be formed in two lines. At the approach of the division, he gained the heights, and took a position on its left flank, and seemed preparing to charge. General Desaix changed the direction of its march; he advanced directly towards Murad Bey's force, and cannonaded it with such effect, that this mass of cavalry, always undecided in its movements, made a sudden halt, wheeled about, and fled. The division continued its march as far as Elalamon. On the 6th of October, it made a retrograde movement for the purpose of getting a supply of biscuit from the dgerms; the enemy imagining this to be a retreat, turned and followed it with shouts of joy and exultation, and for a short time harassed its rear; however, a few discharges from the artillery, as usual, made them fall back; the army resumed its route, after furnishing itself with provisions, and taking a short repose.

*Battle of Sediman.*—General Desaix receiving intelligence that Murad Bey intended to wait his approach, at Sediman, and to give him battle, determined to commence the attack. On the 7th, at sun rise, the division was on its march; it was formed into a square column, flanked by platoons, and advanced along the verge of the inundation. At eight o'clock Murad Bey was per-

ceived at the head of his army, it was composed of about three thousand Mameloucs, and between eight and ten thousand Arabs. They advanced, surrounded the division, and charged it with great impetuosity on all sides, but on every side they were repulsed by the fire of the musquetry and field pieces: the most intrepid of the Mameloucs, hopeless of breaking the ranks of the division, rushed with great fury upon one of the platoons on the flank, which was commanded by Captain La Valette, of the twenty-first light infantry. Enraged at the resistance they experienced, and seeing the impotence of their efforts to make any impression, numbers, in despair, advanced to the very point of the bayonet, and flung at the soldiers those arms which they had in vain tried to use effectually; the ground was in a moment covered with sabres, pistols, lances, and carbines; they met their death in this unequal conflict, but sold their lives dearly; several of the chasseurs were killed. At this moment fresh detachments of the Mameloucs advanced to the scene of action, and twice charged the platoon, the chasseurs fought their assailants man to man; after performing prodigies of valour, they fell back, and incorporated with the square of the division. In this attack the Mameloucs lost more than one hundred and sixty men; the brave chasseurs had thirteen killed, and fifteen wounded. Murad Bey, after charging the other platoon, without effect, divided his cavalry, and proceeded to surround the division; his own party occupied some sand hills at a short distance, on which they unmasked a battery of several pieces of cannon, advantageously placed; whence they directed a most galling fire against the division.

General Desaix, exposed to an enemy six times as numerous as his own force, and in a position whence a retreat to his vessels was not only difficult, but would be abandoning his wounded to the barbarity of his adversaries, felt that he must either conquer, or fight to the last man. He determined to advance towards the enemy, and first directing his force against the battery, he attacked and carried it with the bayonet. Possessed of the heights, and of the artillery of the Mameloucs, he directed a brisk fire against the enemy, which soon caused them to fly on all sides; a considerable number of the Mameloucs and Arabs were killed, and, among the former, three Beys, and several kiachefs. The division rested awhile, the wounded were duly attended to, and at three o'clock in the afternoon the former was on its march for Sediman, where it seized a considerable quantity of the enemy's baggage, which the Arabs were beginning to plunder. Murad Bey retired beyond the lakes in the Fayum, and was abandoned

by the Arabs. The entire loss of the French in the battle of Sediman was three hundred and forty men; one hundred and fifty were wounded. The conduct of the whole division, generals, officers, and soldiers, in this action, was such as redounded to their glory. On the 8th of October, the division, together with the flotilla, set out for Illahon, where, on its arrival, they seized a number of the enemy's vessels.

The wounded were forwarded to Cairo, whither General Desaix had already sent about four hundred men affected with the Opthalmia, a disease occasioned by the vapours of the Nile,* and, unhappily, very prevalent in Upper Egypt. The division, after a short stay at Illahon, proceeded to levy the taxes, and take away the horses in the districts of Fayum; Murad Bey not only charged the inhabitants not to pay the former to the French, but sent a kiachef named Ali, with one hundred and fifty Mameloucs, and a number of Arabs, into this quarter, to resist the levy, and incite the inhabitants to insurrection. General Desaix stationed three hundred and fifty men in the town of Fayum, and set out on the 6th November, to quell the insurgents; these were every where

* "In the case of the *Opthalmia* the anguish of the affected part (the eyes,) is acute, nearly to delirium, whilst the unhappy patient retains a consciousness that his agonies probably may terminate in the loss of organs, precious as existence.—The disorder is believed to originate in the nitrous particles emitted from the ground by the force of the sun, which are of a quality so pungent and penetrating, as to injure the fine vessels at the corner of the eye. The acrid and burning dust, flying continually in the atmosphere, irritates still more the affected part; whilst the reflection of the soil, the heat of the air, and livid light of the sky, tend to weaken the sight, at last occasioning that excessive inflamation denominated Opthalmia. When the actual Opthalmia has taken place, the patient suffers the most excruciating pains, which are described as if the balls of the eyes were on fire, and the points of needles perpetually pierced into them. The abcess formed under the eyelids discharges a considerable quantity of moisture, which frequently vitiates into matter, every membrane swells, and the whole eye becomes frightfully distorted.

"The affection of the malady is sometimes extremely sudden, which induces the supposition, that checked prespiration frequently and severely contributes to produce the disease. In a few hours the inflamation has often attained an alarming strength, of which no precise crisis can be anticipated. With some the dirorder lasts only nine days; in others, the patients have suffered for months; and, unfortunately, there is no security even after perfect recovery against an immediate new attack.

"Opthalmia is epidemical to Egypt, its extirpation can scarcely be expected; but an acquaintance with all the different cases has enabled the European physicians to discover remedies which have rendered this disease, in some degree, less fatal. Opium was found the best application."

*Sir R. T. Wilson, K. M. T. on the Diseases of Egypt.*

under arms, but they were soon reduced to obedience, except at the village of Lirine, where Ali Kiachef made a short stand against the advanced guard; he soon fled, leaving six camels laden with baggage; the village was given up to military execution, and afterwards burned.

Murad Bey, taking advantage of the departure of General Desaix from Fayum in order to quell the insurrection, sent a corps of about one thousand Mameloucs against the town of Fayum, and to support the insurgents in its vicinity. Added to this, several Beys and kiachefs were dispersed throughout the northern and central parts of the province, to keep up the spirit of insurrection among the Fellahs and Arabs. The 7th November, a great number of these were under arms, on the 8th the Arab insurgents appeared on the south-west of the town of Fayum, and advanced against that part of it which is on the left bank of the canal. General Robin was at this time at Fayum, but affected by the opthalmia. The chief of battalion, Expert, commanded. Apprised of the movements of the enemy, he intrenched, as far as circumstances would admit, the house which was used as an hospital. His force consisted of three hundred and fifty men; the sick and wounded amounted to one hundred and fifty. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, upwards of three thousand Arabs, and about one thousand Mameloucs, and a very great number of armed Fellahs, advanced in two columns; one party rushed forward to scale an inclosure, which surrounded a part of the suburbs; they were led on by kiachefs and beys. The remainder of the force attacked the town on all sides; the outlets of the town were not all occupied, which gave the enemy the advantage of turning the principal posts. These, after a spirited resistance, and leaving the avenues, which they defended, covered with the slain, retreated in good order, as far as the house of Ali Kiachef, where they rallied and made a stand. Here it was, that General Robin, and the commander Expert united their strength, having fought to great disadvantage separately, in the streets, while the Arabs and Fellahs advanced upon the roofs of the houses; the rest of the assailants advanced along the streets, without order, and without precaution.

The chief of battalion Expert, perceiving this disorder, divided his force into two columns, the right he commanded himself, the left he intrusted to the chief of battalion Sacro; as soon as the assailants were advanced near the hospital, the reserve corps, stationed within the mansion, galled them severely from the roof and windows; at the same time, the two columns rushed forward,

*au pas de charge*, using the bayonet against the enemy, putting them into the greatest confusion, and cutting them off from street to street. The Arabs and Fellahs, upon the house tops, were equally impressed with terror; the greater part of these, assured, in the first instance of victory, began to plunder; this on their precipitate flight greatly encumbered them, and left them more exposed to the attacks of the columns. The whole were driven out, and pursued as far as a league from the town, by the chiefs of battalion Expert and Sacro, who respectively shewed the most admirable coolness and intrepidity. Two hundred of the enemy were killed in the town, and a great number wounded; the French had four killed and sixteen wounded.

The inhabitants of the town of Fayum assisted the French, and joined them in the pursuit of the enemy. General Desaix, on learning the dangerous situation of the town, immediately marched towards it, he arrived on the morning of the 19th December, and was most agreeably surprised, on hearing of the brilliant and complete victory gained by the French force in his absence; of this advantage he hastened to avail himself, by proceeding to the provinces of Benesuef and Miniet, in order to anticipate Murad Bey in receiving the revenues, who had made some movements for that purpose. Although completely defeated at Sediman and Fayum, Murad, by the preponderancy of his cavalry, with which the French troops could never keep pace, long maintained a footing in Upper Egypt, and incessantly harassed his opponents.

Bonaparte forwarded to General Desaix, a reinforcement of one thousand cavalry, and three light field pieces, commanded by General Davoust, accompanied with orders, that Murad Bey should be briskly pursued, even to the cataracts of the Nile, and that the Mameloucs should be either destroyed, or driven entirely from Egypt. General Davoust set out from Cairo on the 6th December, and arrived at Benesuef in four days; he soon after joined General Desaix. On the 16th December, the French troops were in motion, for the purpose of bringing Murad Bey to an action; he was then encamped at the distance of two days' march, on the left bank of the canal of Joseph, near the confines of the desert. On the 17th, they fell in with the advanced guard of the enemy, consisting of the Mameloucs of Selim-Aboudie; these were driven from the village of Feshneh, were they had taken a position; they retreated to the camp of Murad Bey, which broke up on the approach of the French troops; Murad marched towards the Nile, which he made preparations for ascending. General Desaix, from whom he was still ten or twelve hours' march, in vain endeavoured

to come up with him; the division lay under arms at Zaftesain the night of the 17th December, at Bermen on the 18th, and at Zagny the 20th, where it quitted the route near the mountains, and approached the river. The infantry took a position at Tahta, and the cavalry at Miniet, from which post Murad Bey fled at sun rise, the same day, and which such precipitation, that he abandoned four dgerms on board which were one brass twelve pounder, one twelve inch mortar, and fifteen pieces of iron cannon, of various calibres.

Murad Bey retreated towards upper Said; Desaix pursued him by forced marches; on the 20th December, the division lay near the ruins of the antient porticoes at Achmounain, the 24th at Siut, and the 29th, it arrived at Girgeh; but the flotilla, retarded by unfavourable winds, could not keep pace with these rapid movements; the troops were in great want of ammunition and provisions, and in consequence, were under the necessity of waiting twenty days for its arrival; a loss of time incalculably injurious to the service. Murad profited by this unavoidable inaction of the French troops, in exerting himself to procure assistance from the neighbouring countries. He had written to the chiefs of the provinces of Jedda and Yambo, in Arabia, to induce them to cross the Red Sea, and to co-operate with him, in the extermination of *a handful of infidels, who wished to destroy the religion of Mahomet!* Emissaries were dispatched into Nubia for reinforcements. Some were sent to Hesnei, to old Hassan Bey Jeddaoi, with a view of reconciling him to Murad, and to induce him to make common cause with the latter. Others were dispersed throughout the fine country between Girgeh and Siut, to stir up the inhabitants, on the rear of the French, to attack the troops, and to destroy their flotilla.

General Desaix received intelligence on the 1st of January, 1799, that a great number of the peasants had risen, and were assembled in arms, near Souage, a few leagues from Girgeh. It was important, that a speedy and terrible example should be made of the insurgents, in order to retain the inhabitants, generally, in their obedience, and to crush all opposition to the payment of the taxes. General Davoust was ordered to set out immediately with the cavalry, and to attack the insurgents. This officer, on the 3d, encountered a multitude of armed men, near the village of Souage. He instantly prepared for battle, and formed his corps in echellon order; he caused the advanced guard, consisting of the seventh hussars, and the twenty-second chasseurs, to charge the enemy with impetuosity. The insurgents were unable to sustain the shock;

they fled in the greatest confusion, and were pursued to a considerable distance; more than eight hundred were killed. A signal chastisement of this kind, it was hoped, would have its due effect in the country; but scarcely had the cavalry returned to Girgeh, than General Desaix was informed that a body of armed peasantry, still more numerous than the first, was assembled at the distance of several leagues from Siut, that a great part of these were mounted, and that they came, in general, from the provinces of Miniet, Benesuef, and Hoara. The delay of the flotilla, of which no certain intelligence had yet been received, gave a considerable degree of uneasiness to General Desaix; he ordered Davoust again to march at the head of the cavalry against the insurgents, to inflict a terrible chastisement upon them, and to make every effort to bring up the flotilla.

On the 8th of January, General Davoust marched towards the village of Tahta; at the moment he was entering, he was apprised that a considerable corps of the enemy's cavalry had attacked his rear guard, which was composed of a squadron of the twentieth dragoons; he instantly formed his corps, and precipitately charged the enemy, whom he cut to pieces; more than a thousand laid dead on the field, the rest took to flight; while engaged in the pursuit, General Davoust discovered the flotilla near Siut; about this time the wind became favourable, it pursued its voyage, and got on the 18th of January, to Girgeh, where the cavalry had previously arrived. General Desaix had recently received intelligence that about a thousand Arabs from the districts of Jedda and Yambo, commanded by a chief from the latter, had crossed the Red Sea to Cosseir, and traversed the desert to Tinch, where they had formed a junction with Murad Bey; that Hassan Bey Jeddaoi and Osman Bey Hassan, at the head of two hundred and fifty Mameloucs, had arrived at Houa, where a number of Nubians and Maugrabins were encamped; that, in consequence of the exertions of the Mameloucs, almost all the inhabitants of Upper Egypt, from Girgeh to the cataracts, were in arms and ready for action, and finally, that Murad Bey, confiding in his numeroue force, was on full march to attack the French. In fact, the advanced guard of the enemy, under the orders of Osman Bey Hassan, took a position in the desert on the 21st of January, near the heights of Samanhout.

*Battle of Samanhout.*—General Desaix ordered the most necessary articles to be landed from the flotilla, and that the vessels should follow the march of the division; he set out from Girgeh

on the 21st of January, in order to give battle to the enemy, and lay that night at Marcera. On the 22d, the advanced guard, consisting of the seventh hussars, and led by the chief of brigade Duplesis, fell in with that of the enemy near the walls of Samanhout. General Desaix came up with the main body soon after; he divided the infantry into equal parts, forming each a square column; the cavalry were also formed *en carre*, and placed between those of infantry, so as to be flanked and protected by their fire. These dispositions were hardly completed, when the enemy advanced on all sides; their numerous cavalry surrounded the French troops, and a column of infantry, composed of the Yambodian Arabs, under the orders of their own cherifs and chiefs, rushed into a large dry canal,* which lay on the left of the French, whence they directed a galling fire upon them. General Desaix ordered his aids-de-camp Rapp and Savary, to put themselves at the head of a squadron of the seventh hussars, and to charge the enemy in flank; while Captain Clement, with the carabineers of the twenty-first light infantry, should advance, in close column, along the canal, and dislodge the enemy's infantry. These orders were executed with equal bravery and precision; the enemy were routed and fled: fifteen were killed upon the spot, and a great number wounded. A carabineer, who was in the act of carrying off the standard of Mecca, was killed by a wound of a poignard: he was the only man killed on side of the French, who by this engagement, became masters of the village of Samanhout.†

In the mean time the innumerable force of the enemy rallied, advanced towards the French with frightful yells, and seemed disposed to renew the attack. The column of Yambodian Arabs were among the foremost, they attacked and endeavoured to force the village of Samanhout, but the brave carabineers of the twenty-first received them with so brisk and well supported a fire, that

* "It must be understood, that the canals in Egypt are not like those of Europe, as they have no water in them, except at *high* Nile; the level of the country forming their bed, and the banks being raised above it. The beds of some canals are of a *higher* elevation than the country, in order, when cut, all the water may be let out."

*Sir R. T. Wilson, K. M. T.*

† "All the villages in Egypt have high mud walls, flanked with little towers of the same material, to protect them from the Bedouin Arabs. At night a constant guard is mounted, and the faithful dog, who, in Egypt, is treated with such barbarity, protects the thankless master's property; for the magazines of corn are formed on the outsides of the walls, otherwise they would be too extended for the inhabitants of the village to defend."

*Sir R. T. Wilson, K. M. T.*

they compelled them to retreat with considerable loss. A corps of the Mameloucs precipitated themselves on the square column, commanded by General Friant, while swarms of their infantry attacked that under General Belliard; the assailants, however, were greeted with such a discharge from the field pieces and musketry, that they dispersed in an instant, and fled; the ground was covered with their slain. General Davoust was ordered to charge the column of Mameloucs, commanded by Murad and Hassan Beys, who appeared determined to preserve their position; but they declined the conflict, and the precipitate flight of Murad Bey became the signal for a general retreat; the enemy were closely pursued by the victors, as far as Farchout; a great number were cut off in the retreat, the wounded were still more, of whom several died at the above place; the loss of the enemy in killed, exclusive of the wounded, exceeded two hundred and fifty, of which about one hundred were Yambodian Arabs. The French had four killed, and a few wounded. These brilliant successes were principally owing to the execution of the light field pieces, which were under the direction of the chief of brigade La Tournerie, an officer equally valuable for his activity and his professional talents.

On the 23d January, at one o'clock in the morning the pursuit of Murad Bey was resumed; sixty Yambodian Arabs, who were found in a village, were cut to pieces. A great part of these auxiliary forces crossed the river and fled with precipitation; many others were dispersed throughout the country. General Desaix arrived on the 28th of January at Esneh, where he left General Friant with his brigade, and departed himself on the 29th, for Syene, where he arrived on the 1st of February, after a toilsome and distressing march, chiefly through a desert, and always driving the enemy before him.

Murad, Hassan, Soliman, and eight other Beys, seeing themselves pursued with a determination which cut off their resources in Egypt; that their Mameloucs, worn out by fatigue, were incapable of active service; that the number of deserters augmented daily; that they had lost a great number of their finest horses, and a considerable part of their stores and baggage, and that they had no hope of a moment's respite from the French, came to the resolution of retiring into the dreary country of Barabra,* beyond the cataracts, and to the distance of four days' march from Syene. The 2d, General Desaix advanced towards the isle of Philoe, in

* A *generic* name in Egypt for the countries that lie on the *other side* the cataracts. *Denon.*

Ethiopia,* where he seized a quantity of baggage, and one hundred and fifty barks, near which, the Mameloucs, with great trouble and perseverance had collected in that part of the river, and which they abandoned on the approach of the French. General Desaix did not enter the isle of Philoe, but he charged General Belliard to take possession of it, who was stationed at Syene, with the twenty-first light infantry. The French troops, in traversing Upper Egypt, found a great number of monuments of antiquity, of the greatest beauty and magnificence; of these the ruins of Thebes, and the remains of the great temple at Tentyra, astonish the beholder, and challenge the admiration of the world.†

On the 4th of February, General Desaix set out from Syene for Esneh, where he arrived on the 9th with the cavalry; these he divided into two corps, intending one to act on each side of the river; that on the right bank was under the orders of the Adjutant-General Rabasse. Osman Bey Hassan did not accompany Murad in his retreat beyond Syene; he crossed the Nile at Rabin, with about two hundred and fifty Mameloucs, and quartered in the adjacent villages on the right bank; when he was apprised of the march of a French force from Syene, he fled into the desert; General Desaix, whose cavalry were greatly exhausted, did not pursue him, but rested at Esneh, contenting himself with destroying the resources of Osman Bey in that quarter. General Friant, whom Desaix had left at Esneh, received intelligence that the remains of the Yambodian Arab force had rallied and collected in the environs of Keneh, on the route to Cosseir. In consequence of this information, he dispatched, on the 6th of February, a flying column, composed of the sixty-first, and the grenadiers of the eighty-eighth, with a field piece, under the command of the chief of brigade Conroux, towards Keneh. He was ordered to advance with rapidity. Keneh is a small town, but important on account of its commercial intercourse with the port of Cosseir on the Red Sea.

* Erroneously, Nubia is the country immediately adjoining Egypt on the south.

† These, principally, form the subject of the truly valuable work of M. Denon, a lively, sensible, and most intelligent writer, to use the language of General Berthier in his *avis* to this Memoir, "This distinguished Artist, whom Desaix called his friend, accompanied to the cataracts, the division commanded by that general, sharing its fatigues and dangers, in order to describe the magnificent remains, with which those countries are covered. His collection will furnish the philosopher with researches fitted to develope the history of a celebrated people, and the lover of the arts, with a source of instruction and enjoyment."

General Desaix on his arrival at Esneh, was informed that the chief of the Yambodian Arabs was still lurking in the desert, in expectation of reinforcements; he immediately sent General Friant with the remainder of his brigade, towards Keneh, with orders, at the same time, to levy contributions in money and horses, in the country as far Girgeh, when he had subdued the inhabitants of those parts of the right bank, who were of a very turbulent disposition. Intelligence was also received that Osman Bey Hassan had advanced to the borders of the river, where he found means to subsist and to augment his force. General Desaix determined to drive him from those quarters, especially as the distance from Esneh was not great; accordingly he dispatched General Davoust against him, with a force consisting of the twenty-second chasseurs, and the fifteenth dragoons.

*Defeat of Osman Bey Hassan.*—On the 12th of February, at day break, General Davoust was assured that Osman Bey Hassan's force was then at the banks of the river, where his camels were loading with a supply of water; he advanced with the greatest expedition, and the eclaireurs soon discovered the enemy bending their course towards the desert, into which many of the camels had entered, the Mameloucs were near the foot of the mountains, and seemed determined to protect their convoy. General Davoust formed his cavalry into two lines, and rapidly advanced against the enemy; the latter, at first, made a feint of retreating, but suddenly they wheeled about, and charged vigorously in face of a most destructive fire from the fifteenth dragoons; a number of the Mameloucs fell on the spot, the chief of squadron Fontette was cut down by the sabre, the horse of Osman Bey was killed under him, and he was himself dangerously wounded. The twenty-second chasseurs, rushed with impetuosity upon the enemy, who fought with valour; the combatants were, for some time, closely engaged, and a dreadful carnage took place; but, notwithstanding the superiority of the arms as well as the numbers of the Mameloucs, they were forced to abandon the field of battle; they swiftly retreated into the desert, by the route their camels had taken; several kiachefs were killed in the action. Among the numbers of those who had greatly distinguished themselves in this brilliant affair, Montleger, aid-de-camp to General Davoust, merits particular remark; this officer was severely wounded in the heat of battle, and having his horse killed under him, he rushed forward, seized a horse from one of the Mameloucs, and plunged into the thickest of the fight!

Osman Bey Hassan retired into the interior of the desert, near the wells of Kittah, on the route to Cosseir, a situation where it was concluded, he could not long subsist his force, and deemed probable he would return towards Radesa, and take a position at a village which was under his sway near the left bank of the Nile; under this supposition, General Desaix sent to the village a detachment of one hundred and sixty men of the twenty-first light infantry, under the orders of his aide-de-camp Clement. On the 14th of February he returned to Esneh; and the 15th General Desaix left that town for Kous. He placed as a garrison at Esneh, the detachment with which Binot, aide-de-camp of General Friant, had escorted a valuable convoy to Syene; this consisted of two hundred of the sixty-first and the eighty-eighth, and the command was given to Binot. On his march, General Desaix received dispatches from the chief of brigade Conroux, who commanded the flying column sent by General Friant on the 6th towards Keneh against the Yambodian Arabs. The chief of these auxiliaries who still hovered about the environs of Keneh, finding his force ill supplied with provisions by the inhabitants, unable to return to Cosseir, and feeling the necessity of providing a certain resource until the arrival of the expected reinforcements, formed the project of capturing Keneh. In consequence, on the 12th of February, at eleven at night, all the posts of the sixty-first (then in the town,) were attacked at the same time by the Arabs, who had pressed into their ranks a crowd of peasants. In an instant the troops were under arms; they rushed out to meet the assailants, who were cut off, or repulsed on every side. The chief of brigade Conroux, a young officer full of ardour, and equally active and intelligent, in hastening from one line to another, to direct and encourage his men, received a blow of a pike on the head that brought him down; he was carried off senseless by the grenadiers, who swore vengeance against the enemy. These soon after were constrained to fly, but the darkness prevented a pursuit, and the heroic soldiery were impatient for the appearance of the moon, to enable them to follow the enemy. The chief of battalion Dorsenne, who commanded in the town, exerted himself greatly in its defence, and though the enemy were repulsed, he abated not of his vigilance: nor was this unnecessary, as shortly after, they returned to the charge in great numbers, hooting in a frightful manner; they were received by the troops with repeated vollies of musketry; after which they charged them with impetuosity, and with so great an effect as completely to rout them. The enemy were pursued during two hours; in their retreat more

than two hundred of the wretches threw themselves into an enclosure of palm trees, where, in the face of a destructive fire poured in by a demi-battalion, they defended themselves with desperation to the last man. The loss of the enemy in this affair exceeded three hundred killed, besides a very considerable number of wounded; the victors had but three men wounded, one of whom was the chief of battalion, Dorsenne, whose conduct throughout merits the highest praise. In a few hours after the action, General Friant arrived at the place with the seventh hussars.

General Desaix set out from Esneh on the 15th and arrived at Kous on the 17th with the fourteenth and eighteenth; he had detached the fifteenth and twentieth, under the orders of the chief of brigade Pinon, towards Salamieh, a post of considerable importance as commanding the route to Kittah. He was charged to exert himself, as he proceeded, in levying the contribution of horses, and in expediting the collection of the pecuniary imposts, as money was then greatly wanted. After the action at Keneh, the Yambodian Arabs retired into the desert, near Aboumanah, where their Sherif Hassan, a zealous and enterprising fanatic, kept them together in the hope of exterminating the infidels, as soon as the expected reinforcements should arrive. In the mean time he used every possible exertion, to induce the true believers, on the right bank, to take up arms against the common enemy, and with a considerable degree of success. A multitude of Arabs flocked to his standard at Aboumanah, they were accompanied by a number of fugitive Mameloucs; the enthusiasm of these people was roused, and they burned with impatience to meet the conflict with their opponents.

On the 17th, General Friant arrived near Aboumanah, where he found multitudes in arms. In the front the Yambodian Arabs were ranged in order of battle. The French grenadiers were previously formed in a column *d'attaque*, and under the command of the chief of brigade Conroux; after a few shots were discharged from the artillery, and the grenadiers had advanced near the line, the enemy's horsemen and the peasants took to flight, but the Arabs kept their ground. General Friant then formed the main body into two columns, in order to turn the village, and to cut off their retreat; they were unable to withstand the charge of the grenadiers, and ran to the village for shelter, but there they were attacked by one of the columns, and great numbers cut off. In the mean time, the second column, led by the chief of brigade Silly, commandant of the sixty-eighth, pursued the fugitives with such ardour, that they advanced full five hours march in the desert.

when they arrived at the camp of Yambodian Arabs, where, with a quantity of baggage, they fortunately found a considerable supply of water and bread. General Friant was alarmed at the long absence of this column from the scene of action; he feared, that, if the column should not be entirely lost, from its incautiously advancing too far into the desert, a great number of the soldiers would expire for want of nourishment; and above all, from the burning thirst, with which they must be afflicted; in proportion, therefore, great must have been his pleasure and surprise on beholding them return to the main body, refreshed, and laden with booty. An Arab whom they had taken prisoner in the desert, conducted the column to the camp of the enemy. In this action, the Yambodian Arabs lost about four hundred killed, and a very great number were wounded; a considerable number of the peasants also were killed and wounded. The French had none killed, and but a few wounded.

After the action at Aboumanah, General Friant continued his route to Girgeh, where he arrived on the 21st. He there stationed a battalion of the eighty-eighth, under the orders of the chief of brigade Morand; and two days after he proceeded to Farchout, whence he sent back the two battalions of the sixty-first, to Kench. In this interval, General Desaix received intelligence from General Belliard that, on his learning Murad Bey intended a movement against Syene, he had marched against him, and compelled him to return to the sterile region of Barabra. That, some days after, that chieftain, accompanied by a few kiachefs, and about an hundred Mameloucs, had traversed the deserts on the right bank, in order to avoid Syene, and joined the force of Osman Bey Hassan, near Kittah. They were seen on their route by some of the detachment at Etfu, and pursued, but without effect. By other accounts, he was apprised that Mahamed Elfi Bey, who was separated from the main body at the battle of Samanhout, after retiring sometime to the Oases of Ackmin, had recently repaired to Siut, where he was, assisted by the Arab tribes of Coraim and Benouasi, levying contributions in money and horses. Finally, General Desaix was informed that Murad, Hassan, and several other Beys, at the head of seven or eight hundred cavalry, and a considerable number of Nubians, had suddenly appeared at day break, before Esneh, on the 25th, when his aid-de-camp, Clement, at the head of his detachment of an hundred and sixty men of the twenty-first, advanced from the town, and offered battle to this comparatively immense force. This, however, they declined, being intimidated by the courageous boldness of the French commander, they retreated; after a pursuit of about an hour, in which

many were cut off, they fled with the utmost expedition towards Arminta.

From every thing General Desaix could collect, he concluded, that the grand rallying point of the enemy would be at Siut; in consequence he proceeded to concentrate his force. He dispatched orders to General Belliard, who had descended from Syene in pursuit of the Mameloucs, to leave a garrison of four hundred men at Esneh, to continue his march downwards, and to be particularly vigilant with respect to the Yambodian Arabs, whom he was to bring to action wherever he should encounter them. On the 2d of March, General Desaix crossed the Nile, and advanced to Farchout, where he arrived on the 3d; leaving, a short distance in his rear, an armed dgerm, named *L'Italie*, and also several vessels laden with ammunition, and various articles appertaining to the artillery. *L'Italie* carried the wounded, some sick, the ammunition of the sixty-first demi-brigade, and a few soldiers. The general advanced rapidly to Siut, in order to prevent the junction between Murad and Elfi Beys, or to give them battle immediately, should the junction have taken place. On his march he was informed, that Murad Bey, in his route, had incited great numbers of the peasantry to take up arms, and that they were in motion to attack the French; this irregular force was commanded by the principal sheiks of the country, and particularly by a Mameluc chief, of considerable activity and talents; they were within a few leagues of the French army.

*Battle of Souhama.*—On the first appearance of the enemy, General Friant formed the troops under his orders into three large bodies, with a view of intercepting, and to prevent their gaining the desert. This manœuvre was productive of considerable effect; in a very short time, more than a thousand of the insurgents were either killed by the French, or drowned in the river; the rest escaped with the greatest difficulty; great numbers were wounded; the force of General Friant was not diminished a man in this short (but, to the enemy, disastrous) encounter; about fifty horses were captured; they were abandoned by their riders, who preferred taking their chance by swimming across the river. On the morrow of this affair, the Mameloucs were so closely pursued, that Murad Bey was constrained to fly towards Elouah with about an hundred and fifty men. The other Beys advanced a little within the desert, and proceeded in the direction of Siut, where General Desaix arrived shortly after this temporary retreat. On the French entering this town, Elfi Bey crossed the river, and repaired to the lesser Oasis of Ackmin; several kiachefs and Mameloucs, adherents of Murad Bey, followed him, as did Osman Bey Cherkaôi; the others

retired into the desert above Beneadi, where they experienced the greatest distress. Several of the men deserted their chiefs, and came to Siut, and many concealed themselves in different villages, where they were constrained to sell their arms to procure subsistence; these, in general, afterwards joined the French.

In the mean time, the Yambodian Arab chief, having received the expected reinforcements, which exceeded fifteen hundred men, he incorporated the remains of his former force with them. Soon after this junction he was apprised that General Desaix had left his flotilla in his rear, which a violent wind from the north afterwards prevented from descending lower than the village of Benout; this was within a league and a half of his then position. He immediately sent intelligence to Osman Bey Hassan, at Kittah, who speedily arrived with his force at the Nile. The vessels were attacked with a heavy fire from the enemy, which was answered by a brisk cannonade from *L'Italie*, which killed more than an hundred Arabs. The enemy then gained possession of several of the lesser vessels, from which they took out the ammunition, and the articles appertaining to the artillery, and manned them with a great number of their troops; these together surrounded *L'Italie*, and attempted to board her, but they were repulsed by the intrepid Morandi, the commander, who fired repeated charges of grape shot upon the assailants. This officer, having a great number of wounded on board, and seeing a crowd of peasants hurrying to attack him from the left bank, thought it preferable to attempt to get away; having but few hands left to work the vessel, and the wind being unfavourable, she soon ran aground. The enemy then advanced on all sides, and proceeded to board the vessels; still the intrepid Morandi refused to surrender, but, hopeless of saving the dgerm, he set fire to her, and threw himself into the river; he was instantly assailed by a shower of stones, and numerous shots were fired at him; he was shortly no more. All the unfortunate French who escaped from the flames were cruelly massacred by the fanatical Arabs of Yambo. This partial advantage highly elevated the spirits of their chief, who spoke of the total destruction of the French as certain, exclaiming they were but a handful of infidels whom he was going to annihilate.

*Battle of Capthos, and assault of the village and fortified post of Benout.*—On the morning of the 8th, General Belliard crossed the Nile at Elkmonte, and arrived near the ancient Copthos. At that moment he perceived advancing three numerous columns of infantry with tambours playing and colours flying, together with three or four hundred Mameloucs, chiefly the adherents of Hassan

Bey Jeddaoi, who had recently passed the Nile at Etfu. General Belliard formed his troops into a square; he had no artillery except one three pounder. The largest of the enemy's columns, composed of the Yambodian Arabs, advanced with great boldness; at the sight of the French tirailleurs, the fanatical Hassan, impelled by an enthusiastic fury, rushed forward, and commanded that an hundred of his best men should charge these infidels, and put them to death. Instead of being alarmed at these proceedings, the tirailleurs firmly kept their ground, and prepared to receive them. A close combat ensued, and for a while, success was doubtful, when fifteen of the twentieth dragoons, charged the enemy, separated the assailants from the French, and cut down numbers of the Yambodian Arabs; the chasseurs then advanced, and completed the rout of the enemy; more than fifty of the Arabs were killed on the spot. The Adjutant Major Laprade killed two who engaged him at the same time. Two standards from Mecca were taken. During the action the fire from the three pounder was so well directed, as to prevent the Arabs, who had advanced in front, from receiving any assistance from the main body. The Mameloucs had turned the square, and seemed inclined to charge it in flank, but a party of twenty-five tirailleurs held them in check.

General Belliard continued his march, and after passing several fosses and canals, which were but slightly defended, arrived near Benout. The enemy cannonaded the advanced-guard; General Belliard reconnoitred the position of the enemy, who had four pieces of cannon planted on the farther side of a very wide and deep canal; he formed the carabineers in a column of attack, and ordered them to force this battery, at the same time the remainder of the troops, formed in a square, should pass the canal, and make a feint of turning the position. The charge was beat, and the carabineers advanced to attack the battery, when the Mameloucs, who had fallen back towards the rear, came forward with a rapid movement, and charged them in flank. The carabineers were not broken, but checked for a moment; they wheeled, and discharged a volley upon their assailants with such effect, that the Mameloucs speedily retreated with the loss of several men and horses. The carabineers returned to the charge, attacked the battery with fury, and took possession of it, killing thirty Yambodian Arabs upon the spot. The cannon were then turned upon the enemy, who immediately fled into the village, taking refuge, some in a mosque, others in particular houses, but the far greater part retreated into a large house belonging to the Mameloucs, built with battlements, and fortified, and containing

a great quantity of stores, ammunition, and provisions. General Belliard formed his force into two columns, one of these was destined to surround closely the fortified mansion, the other to force the mosque, and the other houses to which the enemy had retired; a sanguinary and terrible conflict ensued. The Yambodian Arabs fired upon the French from all quarters; a party of the latter rushed into a vessel in the river, into which some of the enemy had retired, and put every one to the sword. The chief of brigade Eppler, a brave and meritorious officer, commanded the troops in the village; he attempted to force the mosque, but the heavy fire of the enemy constrained him to fall back. Soon after, the French succeeded in setting fire to the mosque, and the corps of Yambobian Arabs, who defended it, perished in the flames! Twenty other houses were also consumed, the village presented a scene of ruins, and the streets were strewed with the dead and wounded.

The fortified mansion yet remained to be taken: Eppler offered to lead the attack; the assailants forced their way through the exterior defences, to the great gate, which the pioneers endeavoured to burst open with battle-axes; at the same time the sappers of the line shook the foundations of the wall on the left side, and the chasseurs set fire to a small mosque attached to the building, which contained the ammunition of the enemy. The powder soon caught fire; in the explosion twenty-five Arabs perished, the walls of the mansion were greatly damaged, and breaches were made. At one of these events, Eppler immediately collected his force, and, notwithstanding the desperate valour of the infuriate fanatics, who, with every kind of weapon they could use, defended the place, forced a passage through, and became master of the interior of the building; the enemy, who survived, were then panic struck, and endeavoured to conceal themselves in different parts of the building, but they were soon discovered and put to the sword. In this destructive engagement, the Yambodian Arabs had twelve hundred killed, besides a great number wounded. The French retook all their captured vessels, nine pieces of cannon, and two stand of colours. The Yambodian chief Hassen fell in the action. On the side of the French, about thirty were killed, and nearly the same number wounded! among the former was Bulliand, captain in the carabineers, a very respectable officer.

General Desaix had received no intelligence from Belliard from the time of his departure from Kouha until after the action at Benout; it appeared that the Yambodians Arabs had intercepted the dispatches. He had written that the chasseurs had no more than

twenty-five cartridges each; that he had not a single cannon ball, and but twelve rounds of grape, and that a speedy supply of ammunition was the more necessary, as the Mameloucs of Hassan and Osman Beys, and the Yambodian Arabs, were advancing towards him. In consequence of this communication, General Desaix collected immediately a considerable quantity of ammunition for the use of Belliard's forces, put it on board vessels in the Nile, and proceeded with a body of troops himself, in order to protect the convoy. The enemy were beaten, but not destroyed; with a view to effect the latter object, General Desaix adopted the system of moving his force by successive columns; by this means he thought he should compel the enemy to remain entirely in the desert; or at least to oblige them to take long and painful circuits in order to arrive at the cultivated country.

On the 30th March, General Desaix arrived at Keneh, supplied the troops of Belliard, and the 31st marched against the enemy, who, two days before, had taken a position at Kouha. At his approach they re-entered the desert, and separated. Hassan and Osman Beys proceeded to Kittah.* The Yambodian xerif descended towards Aboumanah, near which Osman Bey Cherkaoi sojourned; but six or seven hundred of the Arabs of Yambo and of Jedda abandoned him, and took the route to Cosseir. General Belliard was dispatched with the twentieth and twenty-first dragoons, to the village of Adjazi, at the entrance of the principal route to Kittah. And General Desaix repaired, with the two battalions of the sixty-first, the seventh hussars, and the eighteenth dragoons, to Birambar, the entrance of another route to Kittah, and where there is a good spring of water. By these means the enemy could not stir from the desert, without making a circuitous and painful route of four days. General Belliard was ordered to collect a sufficient number of camels to carry the water, and to proceed to Kittah, leaving a strong detachment at Adjazi. Hassan and Osman Beys had intelligence of these movements, on which they moved from Kittah. On the 1st of April, at eleven o'clock at night they arrived at a part of the desert nearly opposite the position of General Desaix; of this he was apprised by one of their deserters, who added, their intention was to rally and join

* A post of considerable importance. "In forming an establishment in Egypt it would be necessary to erect a tower, and maintain a garrison at Kittah, for the assurance of a free communication between Cosseir and the Nile, and confine the Arabs, to whom, on account of its permanent and inexhaustible springs of water, which alone would supply an enemy driven in the desert, it is a post which secures the mastery of a large tract of country." *Denon.*

the Yambodian Arabs. The general dispatched intelligence to General Belliard of these intended operations, who immediately sent a detachment of his brigade to observe them; while these traversed the desert, General Desaix marched on the 2d of April towards Keneh, where he had left but three hundred men.

After about an hour's march, one of the hussars, who was advanced in front, announced the appearance of a corps of Mameloucs; this was immediately communicated by the Adjutant-General Rabasse, who commanded the advanced guard, to General Davoust, who hurried to the front to reconnoitre the enemy, and the better to support the eclaireurs who were considerably advanced, and were at that moment charged by the enemy. The general in his zeal for the service, advancing too far in front, was attacked by some of the Mameloucs, he defended himself with great bravery and presence of mind, and though opposed to numbers, and his horse cut down, he got away without receiving any material injury. At this time General Desaix arrived at the field of action; the infantry were ordered to advance with all possible expedition, and the cavalry to take a position on a steep hill adjoining the ground, and hold itself in readiness to act as the occasion should require; but this, on account of the declivity of the eminence, could not be effected. The chief of brigade Duplesis displayed the greatest valour in this action; burning with impatience to signalize himself, his ardour rendered him negligent of his orders, and, in charging with his regiment, he rushed, at least, full fifteen paces before it, into the thickest of the enemy, where he evinced traits of the most determined courage, but his horse was killed under him, and, shortly after, he was himself cut down. The death of this brave man caused a temporary disorder, and General Davoust was obliged to call upon the first line of the dragoons to advance; these brave fellows, commanded by the *chef d'escadron* Bouvaquier, charged the Mameloucs so impetuously, that they soon retired in disorder, and abandoned the field of battle. The affair was at an end before either the infantry or the artillery could arrive, their progress through the sand was slow and painful. In this engagement the Mameloucs had twenty killed, and a great number wounded, among whom was Osman Bey Hassan. The French lost besides the intrepid Duplesis, the *chef d'escadron* Bouvaquier, and other officers; many soldiers were also killed and wounded.

After the action, the Mameloucs by a circuitous rout, fled to Kittah, leaving several wounded and unserviceable horses in their route through the desert. General Desaix dispatched orders to

Belliard to pursue them closely. He repaired the same day to Keneh, where he formed a flying column, consisting of a battalion of the sixty-first and the seventh hussars, which he placed under the orders of General Davoust, with special instructions to march against and exterminate the Yambodian Arabs; who, they heard were stationed near Abouhannah. At the same time, the commandant at Girgeh, was ordered to proceed to the rocks, on the right bank of the river, in front of that town, in order to intercept, and cut off the retreat of such as attempted to pass. The Yambodian Arabs, apprised of these movements, felt their situation to be critical; they determined not to wait the coming of General Davoust, and to cross the Nile above Bardis. The commandant of Girgeh proceeded to reconnoitre, and making his observations, marched with two hundred and fifty men of his garrison against them.

*Actions at Bardis and Girgeh.*—On the 5th, in the afternoon, the chief of brigade Morand, came within view of Bardis; immediately a corps of Yambodian Arabs and Mameloucs, together with a crowd of Arabs and peasants, advanced shouting from the village; Morand received them with a brisk fire of musquetry: they answered it, but after a few rounds were exchanged, they fell back. Morand, considering the great numbers of the enemy, and his own small force, did not advance, but remained in his then position, which was advantageous. In about half an hour, he was attacked again by the enemy, he received them with firmness, and with so well directed a fire, that numbers of them were killed; at length they fled, and favoured by the approaching darkness, made good their retreat; Morand retired to Girgeh. The next day the Yambodian Arabs marched to Girgeh, which they entered, and immediately began to plunder; while they were engaged in rifling the market place, Morand collected the force in the town, divided it into two columns, one of which was stationed just without the town; in this manner, he attacked the enemy with such vigour and effect, that the greater part of them were cut off, the rest fled with precipitation towards the desert. In the two engagements, the Yambodian Arabs had about two hundred killed; the French force under Morand had several wounded. The chief of battalion Ravier distinguished himself highly in these actions, and proved himself a zealous and intelligent officer. General Davoust, who had heard of the first defeat of the Yambodian Arabs, crossed the Nile, but did not arrive at Girgeh till after the second action, when they were completely routed!

On the 3d, the Commandant Pinon, who was stationed at Siut, to govern that district, dispatched orders to Lasalle to repair to Siut, while he should himself proceed to chastise the Arabs who infested the vicinity of Melaoui; Lasalle, who, with his regiment, was quartered at Tahta, immediately repaired to Siut. Pinon returned from his expedition on the 8th, and the same day received intelligence, that a corps of Yambodian Arabs, partly composed of those who were routed at Girgeh, was laying waste the environs of Tahta, and that their chief was endeavouring to raise an insurrection in that quarter.

*Battle of Gehemi.*—On the 9th of April Lasalle marched to attack the enemy, with a battalion of the eighty-eighth, the twenty-second, and one field-piece. On the 10th, at one o'clock in the afternoon, Lasalle arrived at Gehemi, a large village of which the Yambodian Arabs were then in possession; he ordered the chasseurs to surround the village, while he led the infantry strait against the enemy. The Arabs, who had stationed themselves in an enclosure, with double walls, constructed with loop-holes and embattled, received him with a volley of musketry, and the battle began; notwithstanding the heavy fire from the French soldiers, assisted by that from the field-piece, the Arabs retained their post several hours. At length the enclosure was forced, and such as could not escape from the place by flight were put to the sword, many were afterwards cut down by the chasseurs, and not more than two hundred ultimately effected their retreat to the desert. The Yambodian Arabs lost in this action about three hundred killed, besides a great number of wounded; among the former was the Xerif who succeeded Hassan in the command.

After the affair of Biramba, on the 2d of April, General Desaix repaired to Keneh to organize the intended expedition against Cosseir; several merchants of that port and of Jedda came thither to solicit his friendship and protection; the general received them in the most favourable manner. Shortly after he made a treaty of peace with the cheiks of Cosseir, and also with a Yambodian cheik who acted as consul for his province at Cosseir. He gave orders to General Belliard to accelerate the preparations for the expedition, to erect a fort at Keneh, and appointed him commandant in the province of Thebes, the administrative concerns of which were just organized. After these dispositions, General Desaix proceeded to Girgeh, the command of which he confided to Morand; he then departed for Siut, where he arrived on the 15th of May.

In the meantime General Davoust harassed and drove the Yambodian Arabs before him in different quarters, but after their signal defeat by Lasalle their power seemed to be entirely broken, the general therefore returned to Siut. However, he had not long been there, before he received intelligence, that they had rallied, and appeared in force at Beneadi, a large and well built town, the inhabitants of which were reputed the bravest men in Egypt, and joined by a number of Mameloucs, Arabs, and attendants of the Darfourian caravans, who came from the interior of Africa. It was added, that Murad Bey had come from the Oases, for the purpose of heading the Mameloucs. General Davoust immediately prepared to march against Beneadi, he reinforced his own column with a battalion of the eighty-eighth, and the fifteenth dragoons, and he appointed the chief of brigade Silly to the command in the district of Siut, provisionally, in the room of Pinon, who accompanied him.

*Battle of Beneadi.*—On the 18th of April, General Davoust arrived near Beneadi, which was full of troops; the flank of the village towards the desert was covered by a great number of cavalry, Mameloucs, Arabs, and peasants. The general formed his infantry into two columns, the one for attacking the town in front, the other for turning it; the latter was preceded by the cavalry under the command of the chief of brigade Pinon, an officer distinguished by his talents, but was soon after unhappily killed by a musket-shot; the Adjutant-General Rabasse was immediately appointed to replace him. The cavalry perceived the corps of the Mameloucs on the verge of the desert, and one of the columns of infantry was ordered to march against them; but the advanced guard of Murad Bey, whose dreary prospects had induced him to quit the Oases, fled, and convinced him it was more prudent again to seek his retreat. The Arabs, and mounted peasants, followed their example; and the operations of the French force were wholly directed against the town; it was immediately invested, the infantry forced their entrance, and, notwithstanding a galling fire from the houses on all sides, soon became masters of it. Nearly two thousand Yambodian Arabs, Darfourians, Maugrabins, dismounted Mameloucs, and inhabitants of the town, were killed, and the town itself was burned to the ground. An immense booty, among which were several chests of specie, was found in the place.

While General Davoust was thus engaged, the Arabs of Gemea and El Bacoutchi were preparing to attack Miniet; a number of villages in that quarter were in a state of insurrection, and thither flocked the remains of the motley force that escaped destruction

at Beneadi. The chief of brigade, who commanded in that quarter, having but a small force, dispatched an account to General Davoust of his situation, and desired assistance: the general marched towards Miniet, with an adequate force; but previously to his arrival, Detree made a vigorous and successful effort against the enemy, who were obliged to retire. Intelligence was received, that numbers of the Yambodians, who had again collected, were marching towards Benesuef, and that the inhabitants of that district were in a state of insurrection. In consequence, General Davoust proceeded thither with all possible expedition. Reports were industriously propagated in those parts by the enemy, that the force with which the general descended were the remains of an army which had been nearly destroyed; great numbers in consequence took arms, and the supposed fugitives were on all sides either harassed or attacked. In this desultory warfare, several of the French troops were massacred and pillaged, and great exertions were made towards depriving them of the means of subsistence. In such a predicament was general Davoust at one time nearly placed. Approaching the town of Aba-Girge, his Coptic attendant went on before in order to procure provisions. The cheik to whom he applied said he had no provisions for the French, that they were all destroyed above, and that if he, the applicant, did not speedily withdraw, he should be soundly cudgelled. The Copt was proceeding to convince him of such an injurious deception, when he was pushed off his horse, which the cheik took possession of: the man with difficulty escaped. General Davoust, on being informed of this outrage, summoned the town to return to its obedience, and assured the inhabitants of his pacific intentions. To this no attention being paid, the general caused the town to be attacked by his troops, and ordered that fire and sword should be carried into every part of it; more than a thousand inhabitants paid the forfeit of their lives, and the town was nearly destroyed. The general pursued his march to Benesuef; the enemy, notwithstanding their numbers, and various local advantages, could make no impression upon his forces; the main body crossed the river, and General Davoust was making dispositions for pursuing them, when he received an order from General Dugua to repair to Cairo.

When the Beys, Hassan Jeddaoi and Osman Hassan, set out from Kittah, in order to ascend the country towards Syene, General Belliard closely pursued, and constrained them to retire beyond the cataracts. He afterwards placed a garrison of five hundred men at Esneh, under the command of that brave officer the chief of brigade Eppler; he was ordered to retain the country in its

obedience, to levy contributions, and above all, to prevent a return of the Mameloucs down the country. The general then repaired to Keneh, to superintend the erection of the fort, but more particularly the expedition to Cosseir.

About the 9th of May, Eppler received intelligence that the Mameloucs had taken possession of Syene, where they lived in tranquil plenty, refreshed from their fatigues, and augmenting their strength. This excellent officer felt the importance of driving them from that station; he accordingly dispatched orders to Captain Renaud, who, a few days previously, he had sent with a corps of two hundred men to march forthwith against the Mameloucs, and to force them to return beyond the cataracts.

*Action at Syene.*—On the 16th of May, at two in the afternoon, Captain Renaud arived within a league of Syene, when he was informed of the intention of the enemy to attack him. He had scarcely made his dispositions, when the enemy advanced against him at full speed; their attack was received with coolness and intrepidity. The charge was made with the greatest impetuosity, and fifteen Mameloucs fell dead among the ranks: Hassan Bey Jeddaoi was severely wounded by a bayonet, and his horse killed under him. Osman Bey Hassan received two musket-shot wounds, and ten Mameloucs were killed by the fire from the field piece: twenty-five others died afterwards of their wounds at Syene. This action afforded a striking example of desperation on the one side, and cool deliberate courage on the othe other; it cost the enemy fifty men killed, and more than sixty wounded, and they were a third time compelled to retire to the barren and inhospitable region above the cataracts, where accumulated evils surrounded them. The corps under Captain Renaud had four killed and fifteen wounded.

The first care of General Desaix on his arrival at Siut was to collect a number of camels, and to provide the necessary articles for the expedition across the desert to Cosseir; he was also anxious to hasten the preparations for an expedition against Murad Bey, at Elwah,* which he wished should proceed at the same

* A few traits of the character of this extraordinary man, and a brief notice of his fate, will not, we think, be uninteresting to the reader. "Collected under misfortune, this Egyptian Fabius, who knew how to join patient courage with the resources of political activity, had calculated his strength, he had estimated the use he could make of it, in the midst of the events of a disastrous war, though he had to struggle at once with a foreign enemy, and with all the rivalries of jealous compeers, he maintained himself immoveably, the chief of those whose privations, flight and reverses, he shared; he continued their only

time with that of Cosseir. But the appearance of an English force off the latter place, turned all his attention to it. About this time, General Belliard, who was to have commanded the expedition, being violently affected with a disorder in his eyes, Desaix sent his adjutant-general, Douzelot, to replace him, or to proceed as second in command. However, both officers set out from Keneh on the 26th of May, with five hundred men of the twenty-first. On the 29th General Belliard took possession of Cosseir, and of its fort,* which with some repairs and additional works, may be rendered of considerable importance.

rallying point, he was master of their fate; he regulated their movements, and was their commander, not less now than in the day of his prosperity. * * * * Murad shewed himself worthy of being the adversary of Desaix, and that it is become doubtful, which most to admire, the ingenious and repeated attacks of the one, or, the calm and circumspect resistance of the other." *Denon.*

"Murad Bey had fought for his independence, as long as there was prospect of success, but deserted by the Turks, and pressed by General Desaix, he had no other alternative than to be driven from the whole of his government, or compromise for a part; and he judiciously chose the moment to treat, when his means still made his alliance desirable to the French, but he was never in heart reconciled to them; his religion and pride forbad their friendship, independent of other motives.

"* * * * he had been seized with the plague, three days before his decease, whilst gradually descending the Nile, to join the English, (then in Egypt,) and expired on the 22d of April, 1801. In a letter to Sir W. S. Smith, written not long previously, he said, 'How can I be attached to the French? Have they not driven me out of my sovereignty, my honour and revenue? But it is on the English faith alone I can depend. The Turks have no right to my confidence.' Alluding to the hostility of the Turks against him, and the unnatural inveteracy of people, who professed the same faith, he beautifully expressed himself." 'Melancholy it is to reflect, that the arrow which has stuck in the eagle's wing is tipped with the eagle's feather!'

*Sir R. T. Wilson, K. M. T.*

* The best and most frequented port of Egypt, on the Red Sea. Its fort or castle, is thus described by M. Denon, "an Arabian edifice, built in the times of the Califs, in the stile of the fortifications of Alexandria, forming a square of four curtains, flanked by four bastions, without ditches; but, by adding a counterscarpe, to what is already in existence, it might be rendered a fort capable of resisting floating batteries, and forces debarked at the bottom of the Red Sea." Its distance across the desert to Keneh, (on the nearest part of the Nile,) in Upper Egypt, is about one hundred and twenty miles.

## BATTLE AND SIEGE OF ABOUKIR.

Such was the situation of Upper Egypt, and of the army of General Desaix, when Bonaparte arrived at Cairo, from his expedition to Syria. His first care was to organize his army, and to fill up the corps, that it might speedily be in a state to fight new battles. He had frustrated but one part of the general plan of attack, combined between the Porte and England, and he expected he should soon have to oppose the other dangers he had foreseen. In fact, he was soon informed by General Desaix, that the Mameloucs in Upper Egypt had divided their forces; a party had gone to the Oasis of Sebabiar, with the design of joining Ibrahim Bey, who had returned to Gaza, while the other, with Murad Bey, had descended through the Fayum, to gain the Oasis of the lakes of Natron, in order to form a junction with a body of Arabs assembled in that quarter, and which General Destaing had received orders to disperse with the flying column under his command. This march of Murad Bey, combined with the movements of the Arabs, indicated a design of protecting a descent, either at Aboukir, or at the tower of the Arabs.

On the 10th of July, General Legrange set out from Cairo with a flying column; at Sababiar he surprised the Mameloucs in their camp; they had time only to escape into the desert, leaving all their baggage, and seven hundred camels. Osman Bey, several kiachefs, and a number of Mameloucs, were killed; fifty horses fell into the hands of the brave men whom General Legrange commanded. General Murat received orders to proceed at the head of a flying column, to the lakes of Natron, to co-operate with General Destaing, disperse the Arabs, and cut off the communication between them and Murad Bey. This officer arrived at the Natron lakes, after making prisoners in his way a kiachef and thirty Mameloucs, who were flying from General Destaing. Murad Bey learning, near the lakes of Natron, the proximity of the French, immediately made a retrograde movement, and halted on the 13th July, near the pyramids of Gizah, on the verge of the desert.

Bonaparte, being informed of these movements, set out from Cairo, on the 14th, with the cavalry and infantry guides, the grenadiers of the eighteenth and thirty-second, the eclaireurs, and two pieces of cannon, and advanced towards the pyramids of Gizah, where he ordered General Murat to join him. Arrived at the pyramids, his advanced guard pursued the Arabs that were in the rear of Murad Bey, who, that morning, began to ascend towards

Fayum; a few men were killed in this pursuit, and several camels taken. General Murat, who had joined the general in chief, pursued Murad Bey, on his route, for the space of five leagues. Bonaparte, who had designed to halt two or three days at the pyramids of Gizah, received intelligence from Alexandria, that a Turkish fleet of one hundred sail had anchored off Aboukir, on the 11th July, and manifested hostile designs on Alexandria. He instantly departed for Gizah, where he passed the night in making his dispositions; he ordered General Murat to proceed to Rahmanieh with his cavalry, the grenadiers of the sixty-ninth, those of the eighteenth and thirty-second, the eclaireurs, and a battalion which was with him of the thirteenth. A part of the division of General Lannes was ordered to cross the Nile, in the night, and to repair to Rahmanieh; as were also a part of General Rampon's division. The artillery destined for the march was also put in motion, and during the night all the necessary orders and instructions were forwarded to the different provinces.

Bonaparte recommended to General Desaix* to order General Friant to fall into the route of Murad Bey, and follow him with his flying column wherever he went; to supply the fortress of Keneh in Upper Egypt, and that of Cosseir upon the Red Sea, amply with ammunition and provisions; to leave an hundred men in each place, to observe Cairo closely during the expedition against the Turks at Aboukir, to concert measures with General Dugua, commandant at Cairo, for the security of the French interests in that quarter; and finally, to send a moiety of his cavalry to the main body of the army. He reinstructed General Dugua to keep, as far as was practicable, the flying columns in the districts lying round Cairo, to confer occasionally with Generals Desaix and Regnier; to keep the forts and citadel of Cairo well supplied, and to retire thereto in case of extremity. He sent orders to General Regnier to superintend the provisioning the forts of El-Arish, Cathieh, Salehieh, and Belbeis; to oppose as much as possible, with the eighty-fifth, and the corps of cavalry under his command, all movements, whether of the Fellahs, the revolted Arabs, the

* The following brief reference to the fate of this brave, active, and intelligent young officer, may not be deemed uninteresting:—"Made prisoner by the English; he was released by the convention of El-Arish; made prisoner again by a cruiser under the command of Lord Keith, he was confined in the Lazaretto of Leghorn; released and commissioned by Bonaparte, on the descent of the Alps by the latter; he fell at the battle of Marengo. It is said it was the valour and conduct of General Desaix which turned the scale of victory on that day."

adherents of Ibrahim Bey, or of the troops of Dgezzar; finally, in case of the approach of a very superior force, to order the garrisons to defend their respective fortresses to the last, and to retire himself with his force to Cairo.

General Kleber was directed to advance towards Rosetta; previously leaving a sufficient number of troops for the security of Damietta, and the province. General Menou, who was gone, with a flying column, to the lakes of Natron, was ordered to place two hundred Greeks, with a piece of cannon, as garrisons in the convents, which are built in such a manner as to make excellent places of defence; the design of this measure was to prevent Murad Bey, or the Arabs, from occupying that Oasis; the general was then to join the force at Rahmanieh with the rest of his column. The general in chief, with the head-quarters, left Gizah on the 16th of July, lay that night at Ouardan; the 17th at Teraneh; the 18th at Shabur, and arrived on the 19th at Rahmanieh, where the army collected on the 20th and 21st. Generals Lannes, Robin, and Fugieres, who were employed in the districts of Menuf and Garbieh, in enforcing the payment of the Miri, joined the army on those days.

Bonaparte received intelligence that the Turkish ships, which had anchored in the road of Aboukir on the 12th July, had landed near the fort about three thousand men with artillery, and, on the 15th, attacked the advanced redoubt, which was taken by storm; that the garrison in the fort of Aboukir, the commandant of which had been killed, had, by one of those acts of cowardice which merit exemplary punishment, surrendered the same day. The fort was defended by a fosse twenty feet wide, with a counterscarp cut in the rock, the lining of the bastions was in good condition, and the place was capable of holding out till relief arrived. At Rosetta, the Adjutant-General Julien behaved with equal wisdom and bravery; he secured his provisions, ammunition, and all the sick, within the castle; but he remained in the town with about two hundred men, whom he had under his command; by his vigilant and spirited conduct he overawed the agents of the enemy, and maintained public confidence and tranquillity in the province. General Marmont, (who commanded at Alexandria,) dispatched intelligence to the general in chief, that Aboukir had surrendered on capitulation; that they were employed in landing their artillery; that he had destroyed the pontoons which the French had constructed over the strait which joins the lake Madie with the road of Aboukir; that he was informed by his agents, that the enemy designed to besiege Alexandria, and that the Turks were about fifteen thousand strong.

In consequence of the information he received, Bonaparte dispatched General Menou to Rosetta, with a reinforcement of troops, with orders to observe the motions of the enemy, and to defend the entrance of the Nile. It was expected that the enemy, elated by the capture of Aboukir, would become enterprising, and proceed either against Alexandria or Rosetta: but the general in chief learned that, on the contrary, they were forming a post, and intrenching themselves in the peninsula of Aboukir; that they were forming magazines in the fort, and organizing the Arabs, and that they waited for the co-operation of Murad Bey and his Mameloucs, before they advanced. It was obvious that the enemy, in his then situation, would daily increase their strength: it was therefore important to take a position, whence they might be attacked with equal advantage, whether he proceeded against Rosetta, or invested Alexandria; such a position, whence, if the enemy remained at Aboukir, they might be attacked, deprived of their artillery, driven into the sea, or bombarded in, and compelled to surrender the fortress.

Bonaparte immediately put the army in motion, and repaired himself to Alexandria, which place he quitted on the evening of the 24th of July, to take up a position at the wells of Birkit; it is situated at the point of one of the angles of the lake Madie, and from which he could march with equal facility to Etko, Rosetta, Aboukir, or Alexandria. This point became the rendezvous of the army.

The 25th July, at day break, the army began to move; the advanced guard was commanded by General Murat, who had under his orders four hundred cavalry, together with General Destaing, and three battalions, with two field pieces. The division of General Lannes formed the right wing, and that of General Lanusse the left. The division of General Kleber, expected to arrive in the course of the day, was to form the reserve. The train of artillery, escorted by a squadron of horse, followed the main body of the army. The general of brigade Davoust, with two squadrons of horse, and a hundred dromedaries, was directed to take a position between Alexandria and the army, as well to oppose the Arabs and Murad Bey, whose arrival was hourly expected, as to secure the communication with Alexandria. Orders were dispatched to General Menou, who had advanced to Rosetta, to proceed at day break and take a position, at the extremity of the neck of land at the entrance of lake Madie, on the side of Aboukir, in order to cannonade, and keep at a distance any vessels of the

enemy that might be on the lake, and attempt to harass the army on that side.

Mustapha Pacha had drawn up his first line, half a league in front of Aboukir; about one thousand men occupied an intrenched sand hill on his right, close to the sea, this was supported by a village, at the distance of three hundred toises, occupied by twelve hundred men, with four pieces of cannon. The left wing, which consisted of about two thousand men, with six pieces of cannon, was upon a detached sand hill, about six hundred toises in front of the first line; this position, which was ill fortified, was chosen to protect the wells that are most abundant near Aboukir. Some gun-boats appeared to be stationed, with a view to protect the space between this position and the second line. The enemy's second position was about three hundred toises in the rear of the village; his centre in, and near the redoubt, which he had taken at the first landing: the right of this position was behind an intrenchment extended from the redoubt to the sea, for the space of an hundred and fifty toises; his left, stretching from the redoubt towards the shore on the other side, occupied some low sand hills, on the verge of the sea, where it was covered by the fire, both of the redoubt and of the gun-boats; in the second position were nearly seven thousand men, with twelve pieces of cannon. An hundred and fifty toises to the rear of the redoubt, was situate the village of Aboukir, and close to it the fort, these were occupied by about fifteen hundred men. Eighty horsemen formed the suite of the Pacha, who had the chief command, and the Turkish squadron was at anchor in the road at the distance of half a league.

After a march of two hours, the advanced guard came within sight of the enemy, and the tirailleurs commenced a discharge of musketry. Bonaparte ordered the columns to halt, and made his dispositions for the attack. The general of brigade Destaing, with his three battalions, was ordered to carry the height on the right of the enemy, which was occupied by about a thousand men; at the same time a picquet of cavalry was sent to cut off the retreat of this body to the village. The division of General Lannes was to advance against the detached sand hill, on the left of the enemy's first line, where two thousand men and six pieces of cannon were stationed: two squadrons of horse were dispatched, to observe the motions of this corps, and to endeavour to cut off its retreat. The rest of the cavalry were to advance against the centre, and the division of General Lanusse was to remain in the second line.

General Destaing, with the force under his orders, charged the enemy with the bayonet; they abandoned their intrenchments, and retreated towards the village, but the greater part of the fugitives were cut down by the cavalry. The corps against which the division of General Lannes advanced seeing that stationed on the right give way, and that the cavalry was about to turn its position, attempted to retire, after discharging a few cannon shot: but the two squadrons of cavalry and a platoon of guides, cut off its retreat, and either killed or precipitated the whole corps into the sea, not a man escaped in this affair. Hercule, commander of the horse guides, was wounded. General Destaing's force then marched against the village, which was nearly in front of the centre of the enemy's second line, this post he turned while the thirty-second demi-brigade attacked it in front. The enemy here made a spirited resistance: a considerable number of men were detached from the left of the second line, to the relief of the village; but the reinforcement was charged and routed by the cavalry, who drove the greater part of the fugitives into the sea. The village was then speedily carried, and its defenders pursued as far as the redoubt, which was in the centre of the second position. This post was a very strong one, the redoubt was flanked by a work which covered the peninsula, on the right, as far as the sea: another work of similar construction, extended to the left, but to a small distance from the redoubt; the rest of the space was occupied by the enemy, who were posted on the sand hills, and among groves of palm trees.

While the troops took breath, several pieces of artillery were planted at the village, and along the shore, and a fire was opened on the enemy's right, and on the redoubt; General Destaing's battalions, drawn up near the village they had carried, formed the centre of the line of attack, and fronted the redoubt; they were ordered to advance. General Fugieres received orders to form the eighteenth demi-brigade in column, and march along the shore, in order to force, by the bayonet, the right wing of the enemy. The thirty-second, which occupied the left of the village, had orders to hold the enemy in check, and to support the eighteenth. The cavalry, which was placed on the right of the army, attacked the enemy's left, charging it several times with great impetuosity; it cut down, or drove into the sea all before it, but they could not penetrate beyond the redoubt without being placed between its fire and that of the gun boats. Impelled, however, by their ardour into this terrible situation, they were obliged to fall back, while the thinned ranks of the enemy were supplied by fresh troops.

This resistance, and these obstacles, only irritated the boldness, and stimulated the courage of the cavalry to new attacks; at each charge they rushed forward to the very fosse of the redoubt; in this attempt the chief of brigade Duvivier was killed. The Adjutant-General Roize, who directed their movements with equal coolness and talent, Bessieres, chief of brigade of the cavalry guides, and Adjutant-General Le Turq, were at the head of the charges. The horse artillery and that of the guides, took a position in face of the enemy's musketry, whence, by a brisk discharge of grape-shot, they powerfully contributed to the success of the battle. The Adjutant-General Le Turq judged that a reinforcement of infantry was necessary; he represented this to the general in chief, who sent him with a battalion of the seventy-fifth; he rejoined the cavalry, but his horse being soon killed, he put himself at the head of the infantry. With this view he flew to the centre of the left to join the eighteenth demi-brigade, which he saw advancing to attack the intrenchments of the enemy's right. The eighteenth continued to advance; the enemy at the same time made a sortie from their position on the right, and engaged the fronts of the columns man to man; the Turks endeavoured to wrest the bayonets from the French,—weapons found so destructive; in despair they flung their own muskets behind them, and fought with the sabre and pistol. At length the eighteenth reached the intrenchments, but the fire of the redoubt, which every where flanked the trenches, behind which the enemy had again rallied, stopped the column. General Fugieres, and the Adjutant-General Le Turq, displayed prodigies of valour; the former received a wound in the head; he continued, nevertheless, to fight; soon after, a ball carried away his left arm, and he was constrained to follow the movements of the eighteenth, which in the greatest order, and maintaining a brisk fire, retreated to the village. The Adjutant-General Le Turq, having vainly exerted himself to determine the column to throw itself in the enemy's intrenchments, leaped into them himself—but he was alone, and soon met a glorious death! The chief of brigade Morangie was previously wounded. Twenty brave fellows of the eighteenth were killed upon the spot. The Turks, in face of the heavy fire from the village, darted from their intrenchments, in order to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded, that they might obtain the silver aigrette, which their government bestows on every soldier who brings the head of an enemy.

The General in chief had ordered a battalion of the twenty-second light infantry, and another of the sixty-ninth, to advance

upon the left of the enemy; General Lannes, who was at their head, seized the moment in which the Turks had imprudently quitted their intrenchments, to storm the redoubt; he attacked it with the greatest vigour on the left flank, and on its gorge; the twenty-second, the sixty-ninth, and a battalion of the seventy-fifth, leaped into the ditch, were soon upon the parapet, and within the redoubt; at the same time the eighteenth charged the right of the enemy with the bayonet. General Murat, who then commanded the advanced guard, and who accompanied all the movements of the tirailleurs, took advantage of the moment in which General Lannes stormed the redoubt, to order the cavalry to charge, and to break through all the positions of the enemy, to the very ditches of the fort. This operation was executed so opportunely, and with such vigour and effect, that, at the moment the redoubt was forced, the cavalry were on the spot to cut off the enemy's retreat to the fort. Their rout was therefore complete. The enemy, confused and terror-struck, beheld death on every side; the infantry charged them with the bayonet; the cavalry cut them down with the sabre: no alternative but the sea remained. To this sad resource the routed enemy fled, as a last refuge. Ten thousand men committed themselves to the waves; showers of musketry and grape shot followed them;—never did so terrible a sight present itself: not one man survived! the ships were two leagues distant in the road of Aboukir. Mustapha Pacha the commander in chief of the Turkish army, and two hundred men, were made prisoners; about two thousand were killed on the field of battle. All the tents and baggage, twenty pieces of cannon, of which two had been given to the Grand Seignior by the Court of London, fell into the hands of the French. Two English boats saved themselves by flight. The fort of Aboukir did not fire a shot; all within were panic-struck. A flag of truce was sent out, by which it appeared that the fort was defended by twelve hundred men; it was proposed to them to surrender; some were inclined to agree, while others refused; the day was spent in parleying; at length a position was taken, and the wounded were removed.

This glorious day cost the French army an hundred and fifty men killed, and about seven hundred wounded; among the latter was General Murat, who had so brilliant a share in the victory. The chief of brigade Cretin, of the engineers, an officer of great merit, and Guibert, aid-de-camp to the General in chief, died of their wounds. In the night the enemy's squadrons communicated with the fort; the garrison were re-organised and defended the fort; accordingly batteries of cannon and mortars were erected for

its reduction. During these operations, Bonaparte repaired to Alexandria, the condition of which he examined. The conduct of General Marmont, with respect to the fortifications, and the state of every branch of the military service, cannot be too highly praised; in a word, it fully justified the confidence placed in him by Bonaparte, when he conferred on him the command of so important a place.

On the 26th July, the fort of Aboukir was summoned to surrender. The son of the Pacha, his kiaya, and the officers were willing to capitulate, but the soldiers refused. On the 27th the bombardment was continued. On the 28th July, several batteries were erected on the right and left of the isthmus, some gun-boats were sunk, and a frigate was dismasted and forced to put to sea. The same day the besieged, who began to want provisions, got into some houses of the village which joined the works; General Lannes approached to attack them, but was severely wounded in the leg; General Menou succeeded him in the command of the siege. On the 30th July, General Davoust forced the trenches, and those houses wherein the enemy were lodged, and after some slaughter, drove them into the fort. The twenty-second demi-brigade of light infantry, and the chief of brigade, Magny, who was slightly wounded, behaved admirably; the success of this day, which hastened the reduction of the fort, is to be ascribed to the conduct and resolution of General Davoust.

On the 2d August, General Robin made himself master of the trenches; batteries were raised on the counterscarp, and the mortars played with vigour; the fort was little more than a heap of stones. The besieged had no communication with the squadron, and were in extreme want of provisions, yet they did not capitulate, (these people never do,) but they threw down their arms, and came in a crowd to embrace the knees of the victor. The son of the Pacha, the kiaya, and two thousand men were made prisoners. In the fort were found three hundred wounded, and eighteen hundred dead; some of the bombs had killed as many as six men each. Within four and twenty hours after the garrison surrendered, more than four hundred of the prisoners died through excessive eating and drinking. Thus the actions at Aboukir cost the Port eighteen thousand men, and a great quantity of cannon.

The commandant of the artillery, Faultrier, and the engineer officers, Bertrand and Liedot, distinguished themselves highly on the recent occasions. Order and tranquillity reigned throughout the country, during the fifteen days which the expedition to Abou-

kir lasted. An operation which terminated the glorious exploits of Bonaparte in Egypt!

## CONTINUATION,

BY AN OFFICER OF THE FRENCH COMMISSARIAT.

*Bonaparte returns to France.—Convention of El-Arish.—Desaix departs for France.*

It may be remarked, that it is to the retreat of the 18th of the line that is owing the success of this day. Had not this regiment on their retreat left behind them their wounded on the field of battle; or the Turks, already persuaded of their victory, rushed forth from their intrenchments to decapitate them, the charge by the divisions of Generals Lannes and Murat would not have had the happy and extraordinary effect which it produced in rendering us masters of the trench which their blind confidence had abandoned.

This circumstance, however, does not in the least diminish the glory of so brilliant a success; for it certainly required no less ability than resolution to know how to profit of the faults of an enemy, and to turn his momentary triumph into a shameful defeat. General Murat was promoted to the rank of General of Division, and Bonaparte ordered, that the names of Murat, Roize, and the numbers of the regiments of cavalry present at the battle of Aboukir should be engraved upon the pieces of brass cannon, which the Court of London had presented to the Grand Signor. A well merited and noble recompence.

With what transports the intelligence of the fortunate result of this battle was received at Cairo; we embraced, we congratulated each other, our joy was unanimous and sincere. Every passion, every interest was absorbed in the splendour of this memorable victory, which had avenged the affront which our navy had received on this same shore!

Mustapha Pacha, and the Turkish prisoners were sent to Cairo. They were the pledge of the prosperity of our arms. Nothing less than their presence was necessary to convince the incredulous Egyptians that we did not deceive them with regard to the extent of the loss of the Ottomans.

The Turks wounded at the battle of Aboukir, and who had escaped the carnage of that day, where sent to Patrona-Bey, the commander of the Turkish fleet. The transport of these prisoners established frequent communications and relations with the English and Turkish ships. One of our officers procured the English gazettes and those of Frankfort up to the 10th of June. They

contained the intelligence of our reverses in Italy. The situation of affairs, without doubt, confirmed Bonaparte in his project of returning to France. He saw France, menaced abroad, disturbed at home, and lulled by chimerical hopes, look anxiously towards Egypt, to recal thence by her wishes the only man whom she deemed capable of repulsing her victorious enemies, of restoring calm, of appeasing discords, and of assuring, by an honourable peace, her greatness and glory. In fine, Bonaparte concluded France to be in the most favourable disposition for the accomplishment of his ambitious views. But whatever were his intentions, the fact is, that before he quitted Alexandria he gave the most pressing orders to Admiral Gantheaume to prepare the two Venetian frigates, which were in that port.

The General in chief slept at Rahmanieh on the 6th of August, and on the 22d he arrived a Cairo. On the 30th he received a letter from Admiral Gantheaume, which announced to him that the English and Turkish fleets had sailed. A journey into the Delta was immediately spoken of at head-quarters. The object of Bonaparte, they said, in this absence, which would be only for a few days, was to visit this fertile island, and to promote the re-establishment of the canals, which had been so long neglected.

He wrote to the Divan: "To morrow I set out to repair to Menouf, from whence I shall make different excursions into the Delta, to the end that I may myself witness the injustice which is committed, and acquire a knowledge of the men of the country.

"I recommend it to you to maintain confidence among the people; remind them frequently of my love for Mussulmen, and that my purpose is to confer happiness upon them. Acquaint them that I have two great means to conduct men;—persuasion and force; with the one I gain friends, and with the other I destroy my enemies.

"Let me hear from you as often as possible, and inform me of the situation of things."

Bonaparte had long been aware of the necessity of acting promptly to insure the success of any project. He caused Denon, Monge, and Berthollet, to be informed of his intent the same evening. Preparations for so sudden a departure could not be kept so secret as to prevent our divining the true cause. At first it was only in whispers and with precaution that we dared to communicate our thoughts to each other respecting this intended voyage, however, on the 18th August, in the morning, we learnt that Bonaparte no longer remained in Cairo;—we no longer restrained ourselves, and the loudest murmurs arose on all sides.

Whether General Dugua was in the confidence of Bonaparte, or unwilling to persuade himself of the truth of conjectures drawn from so many circumstances, he affected the greatest discontent, and declared that he would punish whoever should advance that Bonaparte was set out for France. These menaces, however, were ineffectual, or rather produced the contrary effect. Our opinions suppressed for some time, acquired by this measure a degree of violence which burst forth in the most abusive terms.

Bonaparte had appointed a meeting with General Kleber and Menou, he saw, however, only the latter, to whom he confided the command of Alexandria. On the 23d of August, Bonaparte, accompanied by the Generals Berthier, Murat, Lannes, and Marmont, embarked on board the frigates La Muiron and La Carere, leaving the following proclamation to his army.

"Soldiers,

"The affairs of Europe recal me to France. I leave the command of the army to General Kleber. The army shall soon have intelligence of me. It is painful to me to leave soldiers to whom I am so much attached; but it shall not be for long. The General whom I have left with them possesses both my confidence and that of government."

When Bonaparte embarked, an English cutter was in sight of the two frigates, the officers who accompanied him drew the saddest presages from this circumstance, and said that it would be difficult to escape the vigilance of the enemy. "True!" exclaimed Bonaparte, "but we shall arrive—Fortune has never abandoned us; we shall arrive in despite of the English." They set sail in the night, and Gantheaume, perfect master of his manœuvres, ranged along the coast of Africa, choosing a longer but more certain route of navigation.

On the 30th of September, 1799, the two frigates entered the gulf of Ajaccio. On the 8th of October, being in sight of the coast of France, they perceived an English fleet of from eight to ten sail; Admiral Gantheaume was desirous immediately to tack about and return to Corsica; "No, no," said Buonaparte, "that manœuvre would conduct us to England,—and my will is to arrive in France." This was the first time since he left Egypt that he had expressed a will of his own; and this was the means of their safety.

October 9th, Buonaparte disembarked at Frejus, after a surprising voyage of forty-one days, and upon a sea covered with the enemies' ships.

We learned at Cairo, at one and the same time, the arrival of the General in Chief at Alexandria, his embarkation, and his departure. This news plunged us all into consternation. It had become habitual to each of us, to repose upon the head of this chief, the favourite of fortune, and commander as it were of events, our individual destinies. We ourselves could perceive no means of quitting Egypt, but were persuaded that Buonaparte possessed a thousand. Our confidence in him was such, that we believed ourselves destined to die in Africa, when we learned that he had sailed from Alexandria. Such was the first impression which the departure of the General in chief made upon the army. Universal ill-humour succeeded to our regrets. On one side they recalled to remembrance what he had said when he learned the loss of our fleet, and reproached him with having separated his fate from that of the soldiers who had done all for his glory; on the other, they endeavoured to excuse him, by assigning powerful motives for so secret and precipitate a departure,—the greatest interests alone could have determined him to leave Egypt,—he was gone to save France; some few, more penetrating, attributed it to his ambitious views; but all, by a return to our own situation, accused him of ingratitude and of bad faith. Such is the progress of the human mind, that after having exhausted all the most unfavourable conjectures, all the probabilities of an afflicting futurity, it eagerly attaches itself to the smallest ray of hope, though often deceitful; thus, the hope a salutary change in France, and the still more flattering hope of an approaching and glorious peace, insensibly calmed the agitation of our minds. Buonaparte had promised us speedy succours, we depended upon them, by calculating upon the importance which he ought to attach to the preservation of his conquest. The name of Kleber, however, succeeded in tranquillising the most alarmed; he possessed both the esteem and the confidence of the troops, and he deserved them.

Kleber was almost six feet high, of a prodigious strength and a stern countenance. His look was fiery and proud, his appearance majestic, and his manners cold. His genius and courage were equal to his loyalty and love of discipline. He was uncommonly plain and soldier-like in his dress. His conversation announced a well-informed man, profound and knowing well the human heart. From some remarks of his on Bonaparte, it would appear that he judged differently of that general from many others; Kleber, indeed, was little susceptible of enthusiasm. It appeared that the campaign in Syria had not answered, as he viewed it, to the idea which he had formed of the military talents of Bonaparte. He did justice to

his extraordinary activity; but he blamed throughout all that impatience which never respects the fatigues and life of the soldier. I well remember the following words of his on this subject. "To go is nothing, we should be able to return. To take is nothing, we should know how to keep." Kleber, possessed the qualities of a great general; and what is rare enough, he knew how to obey like a soldier.

The defeat of the Ottomans at Aboukir, in assuring our tranquillity, at least for some time, increased our preponderance in Egypt with all the greatness of a success which deprived the Mameloucs of their last hope. Murad Bey, not having been able to second the descent of the Turks, once more re-ascended the Nile, and again removed from the city so dear to his remembrance. He returned into those distant provinces which Desaix had been obliged to abandon, where he established himself, in the expection of a more favourable conjuncture, which was not long in offering itself.

Kleber, on his part, not having any more enemies to repulse in the interior, occupied himself with all that could contribute to the well-being of the army. He extended his cares to different branches of the administration, particularly to the hospitals. He proceeded actively in the completion of the clothing of the troops, and he assigned them cantonments which were contiguous to each other, where they reposed in the expectation of new combats.

He likewise ordered that, in future, the inhabitants of the country should render him those honours which they had decreed to the Beys and the Pachas. Bonaparte did not display any great retinue when in Cairo, unless on occasions of ceremony. He was usually attended by his aides-de-camp, and some guides. To conform to the usages of the country he had taken only two Egyptian domestics, who bore jerides or pikes; they ran by the side of his horse, one holding the bridle, and the other the stirrup when he dismounted.

Kleber caused himself to be preceded, in the manner of the country, by two rows of staffsmen, who, striking the ground with their long staves, cried before him in Arabic; "Behold the General-in-chief, Mussulmen, prostrate yourselves;" I believe this was the formula. The inhabitants made way for him; those on asses or mules dismounted, and all bowing themselves and crossing their arms on their breasts, made the customary reverence. He was frequently accompanied by the Aga of the Janissaries, the Cheiks of the city, or the members of the Divan. The Turks reverenced him because they are fond of representation, and I remember that

they found Bonaparte deficient in height. The Turks judge freely enough of men from their figure and bodily magnitude; this, however unreasonable, is the peculiarity of the country. They said that Kleber was a real Sultan, and the more he required their homage, the readier were they to accord him their admiration.

After the departure of General Murat with Bonaparte, General Davoust took the command of the cavalry, which occupied Bulak. I here resided in a house which was absolutely washed by the Nile from its foundation, and on raising myself a little in my bed, I was able on awaking to contemplate the majestic pyramids of Gizeh.

This tranquillity, on which we had reckoned so much, was soon disturbed by the intelligence that new parties were forming in Syria. This, however, in great part originated with the Arabs, and at least appeared much exaggerated, if not entirely without foundation. It demanded vigilance but not hostile dispositions.

During this momentary repose we celebrated with great pomp, in the plain belonging to Ibraham Bey, the 23d of September, 1799. Kleber delivered on this occasion an extempore discourse. By firing of vollies, the rising of a balloon, which burnt over the city, and the discharge of some rockets, we marked the first day of a year so remarkable in the records of our revolution.

Whilst I resided at Bulak, I came almost every day to Cairo to divert the gloomy ideas which continually oppressed me. After having visited the citadel, the wells of Joseph, the aqueduct of Old Cairo, the Mekias, and the Cities of the Tombs, I visited the different bazaars, and stopped with pleasure before each little shop, whose merchants sit squatted, smoking their pipes and drinking coffee.

Desirous of instructing myself, I with some of my comrades, visited the bazaar of women. Introduced as purchasers, they proceeded to shew us their merchandise. We were ushered into some dirty and disgusting apartments, at the bottom of which was the fire-place. Some small vessels ranged around contained the simple food of these slaves. They are all black, some with frizzly and others with curly hair, according to their country. They arose on our approach, and on the order of their master, without hesitation, divested themselves of the miserable rags with which they were covered. With the same complaisance they turned themselves that we might examine their persons. We might even have handled them, but their oiled skins, greasy and shining, so much disgusted me that I dared not touch them. I did not remark in the whole number a single interesting figure. These

women truly resemble animals. Neither their looks nor the sound of their voice possessed anything agreeable. What could be done with such companions, who did not redeem by any graces of form the repulsing colour of their skins. It is unnecessary to say, that the merchant did no business with us, and that he retired as much dissatisfied as ourselves. I have, however, seen a handsome negress, but she was not so absolutely black as those of which I have just been speaking. Her eyes possessed a remarkable sweetness; her features were delicate, and her figure might have served for a model in painting. At the period in which we were in Cairo there were not held any bazaars of white women; but, as already observed, all those whom the Mameloucs had abandoned were at our pleasure, at a very moderate price.

I frequently visited the baths; and although there have already been given many descriptions of the Turkish baths, I wish also to give mine, as there may be different views of one object.

The bathers at first enter into a large hall, which is encircled with alcoves, the ascent to which is by staircases in the four corners. Mattresses and pillows are placed under arches of painted wood, which are elevated upon the alcoves. Here you undress, and the waiters in attendance immediately wrap a napkin about your loins; they likewise envelope your head, and present to you a pair of wooden sandals. Thus equipped, you proceed through the corridor to the vapour-room. The first impression received in this corridor, where the air is already considerably rarified, was such that I was obliged to seat myself for some minutes, scarcely able to breathe. When used to this atmosphere, which thickens as you proceed, you enter a first hall, low and vaulted, where you are surrounded with clouds of vapours. Respiration here becomes so exceedingly painful, that it seems impossible to support the oppression. An abundant prespiration already covers every part. You remain here as long as you deem necessary, and when you have strength enough to proceed, you arrive at a second hall, where you with difficulty distinguish objects. Here the waiters proceed to wash you in a manner that seems rather singular to Europeans. He who takes charge of your person seats you upon a kind of stool of stone or marble: he at first takes your arms, and rubbing them with a glove of thick serge, frees your skin of the dirt with which all your pores were filled. He proceeds in the same manner with all the other parts of the body. Afterwards, extending you upon the floor, if you have patience to undergo the whole of the operation, he inundates you with water and soap from head to foot. After having well washed and purified you in a

manner very different from the practice of Europeans, he takes your limbs, and with infinite address makes all the joints crack. Placing his knee upon your loins, he causes, without pain but not without surprise, the joints of the spine to crack, with inconceivable dexterity, and always without danger. He next takes your head, which he turns with rapidity in its joints. At last, putting a napkin over your forehead, he bites or pinches up the skin with it to give it, as he pretends, more elasticity, and to prevent the headache. This is not all, but what remains, I do not know whether any Frenchman ever attempted it; as for myself, I confess, that I never dared to undertake it. There is a third hall, in the middle of which is a basin filled with water heated to such a degree that I could not bear my hand in it. The basin is about five feet in depth; the descent into it is by a flight of steps. The Turks plunge themselves into it to finish their bathing, and leave it as red as boiled lobsters. Some remain therein during several minutes.

When you are well cleansed, by the perspiration, by the rubbing, and by the water with which you are rinced, you return to the first hall; before leaving which, however, they wrap you up in linen, which is always very proper for this purpose. Arrived at your bed, you extend yourself deliciously upon it, and the young boys, who serve here, kneel before you to *mass* you, that is to say, to press your flesh by rubbing it with their hands. They scrape the soles of you feet with pumice-stone, and repeat again the cracking of the joints of the feet and the hands. This operation, which terminates the ceremony, is the most agreeable of all. Coffee and a pipe are afterwards served, and if you are surprised by sleep, no one awakes you to make you give place to another. The expence of these baths is very moderate, for the poor as well as the rich use the same baths. It is also in these baths that the operation of shaving off the hair is performed, the Turks regarding it as slovenly to retain it.

The women have their fixed days; and on the days when they use the bath, a green curtain suffices to indicate to the men that they must not enter. This slight barrier is as much respected as a lady's gown is with us.

The administration of justice in Turkey has often been described; I have myself seen the Aga of justice and his retinue, and am about to relate in what manner he exercises his authority, from which there is no appeal. Mounted on horseback, he marches through all parts of the city, preceded by his staffsmen, who are immediately followed by persons bearing in their hands the stand-

ard balances and measures. The executioners of justice walk by the side, and are prepared, on the least signal, to fulfil the rigorous and irrevocable sentence of the Aga. Some are armed with the sinews of animals, for the purpose of giving the bastinado,—a very common and frequent punishment; others carry a strong piece of wood, to which is attached an iron chain, the purpose of which is to confine the legs of the culpirt. The lawyers, mounted on their mules or asses, follow immediately after the Aga. This they do to be ready to assist the Aga in the discussions which sometimes arise, and to establish the points on which he has to pronounce his judgment. In this dreadful pomp he traverses the streets of Cairo, taking cognizance of all offences, and proceeding on the spot, at his pleasure, to prove the weights and measures of the tradesmen.

As it was easy to deceive us, the Aga was attentive whenever he met with any Frenchmen carrying the articles which they had purchased to demand of them what they had paid. The proof was instantly made, and if the price were not equitable or the weight just, the Aga desired them to conduct him to the shop. The shopkeeper being called, and the cause very soon ascertained, sentence was speedily executed. The culprit, brutally thrown on the ground, having on the instant his legs bound with the iron chain already described, and the soles of his feet thus offered to the strokes of the executioner, receives, without power to move, the punishment prescribed by the Aga, whom neither the cries nor tears of the suffering wretch are able to soften.

There had long been pointed out to him some peasants, guilty of a concerted assassination. I was walking in the principal street of Cairo, when I met him in his customary parade. I had scarcely passed the cavalcade fifty paces, when I was struck with the most piercing cries, succeeded by a great uproar. I saw at the same time the Turks running precipitately to the side where the Aga had stopped. I followed the crowd, and making my way to the centre, I perceived upon the ground a headless corps. The Aga had just met with one of the assassins who had been indicated to him, and the little time it had taken me to walk fifty paces, had sufficed for the accomplishment of his justice. The culprit was identified, and decapitated.

The Egyptians are great thieves, particularly the Fellahs or peasants. They are uncommonly dexterous and intrepid. You imagine yourself in security in a bark anchored in the middle of the Nile, which is very broad, during the night, however, if you have not vigilant domestics, the thieves will swim to the bark with-

out noise, and despoil you of your effects. In the centre of our camps, even in our tents, the peasants have had the boldness to steal the portmanteaus from underneath our heads. You see the thief, you pursue him, you overtake him,—he however escapes: for he is completely naked, having moreover taken the precaution to grease himself all over, that there may be less hold of him, and you cannot stop him by the hair of his head, he having shaved it all off. They arm themselves with only a small knife, to cut the halters of the horses and camels, for which they are uncommonly eager. I have seen I know not how many instances of these singular and audacious thiefts.

I have profited of the momentary calm which the army enjoyed to give some idea of the manners and customs of the Egyptians, I now resume the course of events which preceded the convention of El-Arish.

The emperor Selim, roused by the English and the Russians to attend to his interests, at last determined to chase the French from his dominions. Whilst the Turkish fleet under the orders of Patrona-Bey debarked at Aboukir, the grand Vizir Youssef-Pacha advanced by the east with a considerable army, composed of a mass of individuals, who had flocked with many Pachas from the interior of Asia and from mount Caucasus.

Patrona-Bey, after being a useless witness of the disaster of his army, retired to the island of Cyprus, where he was massacred in a revolt of the Janissaries, October 18th. Seid Ali-Bey, who had arrived in the meantime from Constantinople with the second maritime expedition, assumed the command in chief. As soon as he had, by his firmness, suppresed the mutiny and re-established order in the army, he concerted with Sir Sidney Smith an attack upon Damietta, with the purpose of attracting the attention of Kleber to this point, and of enabling the Grand Vizir to advance with his army by the desert. In effect, the squadrons of Ali-Bey and Sir Sidney Smith appeared before Damietta at the end of October, but the slowness with which the Turks proceeded in their preparations, enabled General Verdier to put himself in a state to give the enemy a good reception, and to re-unite all his disposable forces. Kleber, who easily divined their purpose, was not much disturbed on hearing of this second attack. He confined himself simply to filing a body of troops upon Salehieh, to support Cathieh and observe the route of the desert.

On the 1st of November, the Turks, protected by the fire of the gun-boats, effected their descent near Damietta. Our troops immediately charged them with the bayonet. The Turks, with

no less resolution, waited till they were within ten paces, and then with dreadful cries, rushed upon them sword in hand. Our first line was obliged precipitately to give way. The victory seemed inclined in favour of the enemy, when Osman Aga, chief of the Janissaries, abandoning himself to his impetuosity, and causing the corps which he commanded to quit the post which had been assigned to them, rushed upon our line, which was about to reform itself under cover of the troops which General Verdier held in reserve. Whilst our troops advanced with firmness to the encounter of the Janissaries, the cavalry, by a bold movement, threw themselves upon the rear of the Turks, who sought their safety in an immediate flight. The enemy lost a great number of men in his rapid and embarrassed flight. Their artillery dared not play upon a crowd which was equally composed of their own troops and those of the French. The sea itself did not arrest the flight of these faithful allies of the English; they threw themselves into the waves to attain the barks, which were in attendence for them. The shore was covered with spoils and with turbans. It may be remarked, that the Turks owe their defeat at the battle of Damietta, as at that of Aboukir, to their impatience. General Verdier took nearly 1100 prisoners, for whose exchange he treated with Sir Sidney Smith. Sir Sidney, after this unsuccessful attempt, went to rejoin the Grand Vizir in Syria, who, he found, had made very little progress in his march.

The discussions between his Highness and the famous Djezzar were abandoned. This Pacha, whose power would have been annihilated by the French army, had he not been succoured and aided in his defence by Sir Sidney Smith, throwing off all fear, and jealous of preserving his independence, had turned his arms against his liberators. The Grand Vizir, the object of whose mission was the extermination of the French army in Egypt, was obliged to employ his forces to reduce an ungrateful and rebellious subject.

At the end of October, the army of the Grand Signor, 60,000 strong, took a position at the camp formed under Jaffa; and it was at this epocha that the correspondence commenced between Kleber and Sir Sidney Smith, the plenipotentiary of the British Government at the Sublime Port. Before I proceed to relate the negociations which led to the convention of El-Arish, it will not be improper to take a short retrospect of the situation of our army.

The French, in general weary of their long residence in Egypt, with the exception of a small number of individuals, strongly expressed their desire to return to France. By enumerating the

losses which we daily sustained, whether by the plague, which exercised its ravages at Alexandria; by the continual and partial engagements; or in fine, by the ordinary course of disease in the hospitals, it was easy to foresee the moment, perhaps little distant, when the army would be obliged to treat on honourable terms with the English for its evacuation; or that in which the frightful diminution of its forces would compel them at last to submit to the continually renewed efforts directed against them. It was certain, that Bonaparte, who was not ignorant of the true situation of the army, had, before his departure, entered into some negociation with the Grand Vizir. It would appear to Bonaparte, unable to reckon upon the cares of the directory, who undoubtedly were not over eager to send succours to Egypt, and from the destruction of our fleet and almost negative state of our navy at this period, that the establishment of the colony was an enterprise almost impossible. He had, consequently, secretly prescribed to Kleber the conduct he ought to pursue in case the reinforcements which had been promised to him should not arrive at the appointed time.

Kleber, without news from France; uncertain whether Bonaparte, deceiving the English cruisers, had been fortunate enough to reach any of our ports; and assured of pleasing the majority by leading back the army to France, was bound to hope, that the directory, in their present embarrassed situation, would see with pleasure the arrival of an army, brave and still strong enough to aid in repulsing the enemy which menaced our frontiers on the side of Italy.

In these sentiments he wrote to Paris, and as may be believed, represented in strong colours the true situation of the army. It was characteristic of Kleber to say the truth. The state of each division proved the considerable losses which each regiment had sustained, and represented the army as reduced to nearly half of what it was on its debarkation. A calculation pretty near the truth, indicated the number which we daily lost, or the necessary arms rendered useless, by the opthalmia, the plague, and other diseases. Kleber insisted upon the vain promise of succours which had not arrived, and upon the latitude which had been left him, in his particular instructions, to act as he should deem it expedient, when the period fixed for the arrival of the reinforcements should be passed. Moreover, it was certain, that he had never approved of the expedition to Egypt, the presumed results of which had never seduced him. Since the destruction of the fleet, he had affirmed, that sooner or later, this brilliant conquest would

be torn from an army left to itself, without the means of recruiting, and at more than five hundred leagues distance from the mother country. In fine, he rested particularly upon the general desire of the army to return to France the resolution which he had taken to treat for its return. This letter, although exact in its inferences, was certainly exaggerated in some of its details; for it was this weakened army, which under the orders of the same General, soon afterwards chased from Egypt a formidable army, and by treaty became master of the fortified places which defended the passage of the desert and the approach of Cairo. And this same army, further diminished by a memorable victory, would, without doubt, have repulsed Abercromby upon this too celebrated peninsula, had Kleber lived and preserved the command of these courageous troops, so confident in his talents. But at this deplorable epocha, the army, disturbed by its intestine dissentions, without having lost its courage, no longer possessed a chief capable of commanding it.

The vessel charged with the dispatches of Kleber, and of those who had profited of this favourable opportunity to send the most alarming intelligence to France, was met and taken by the English. The packet of letters, to which was attached a cannon-ball, was thrown overboard. The cord broke, the correspondence rose to the surface, and was seized by the enemy. The English captain transmitted these important pieces to Admiral Keith, commanding the British forces in the Mediterranean, who lost not an instant in communicating them to his court, to inform them of our real situation. It will afterwards be seen what were the effects of this event, which seemed at first to be little important even to Kleber.

Kleber, determining to negociate, and deeming the English only auxiliaries of the Sublime Port, addressed himself to the Grand Vizir. Independently of his desire to obtain an honourable retreat, Kleber hoped to draw some advantage from the time which would be occupied by the conferences. He might by prolonging the propositions abate the preparations of the Grand Vizir, and in the meantime perhaps profit of some favourable event, such as the arrival of the reinforcements which had been promised. The Grand Vizir, however, was not deceived, nor did he cease to accelerate the necessary means of transport to the grand army to traverse the desert.

Sir Sidney Smith, on receiving the overtures of Kleber, eagerly explained to him, that England was not an auxiliary as he appeared to believe, but rather the principal in the interests in question, and he proved, by declaring, that notwithstanding the intimate

union subsisting between the Port and the Cabinet of St. James's in case the Ottoman court should grant a free passage to the French army to evacuate Egypt, such an arrangement could not receive its accomplishment but with the consent of England. He moreover positively declared, that his government had in reality no other motive in interfering with the actual affairs than to guarantee the integrity of the Turkish empire. The late events in India, having placed the possessions of the subjects of Great Britain out of the reach of all insult and of all attempts at possession, even though the French should remain in Egypt. He concluded, by laying down as a principle, that peace could not be made so long as Egypt should not be restored to its legitimate sovereign, and that to treat for the evacuation these provinces would be the most likely means of accomplishing this great work.

Kleber, in his reply to these first explications, deduced the motives which had determined him to address himself exclusively to the Grand Vizir, observing, however, that in his relations with Mahomet *Rachdy*, Effendy, he had himself solicited the intervention of the plenipotentiary of Great Britain, persuaded that his intervention would be an important step towards a definitive peace. He then, after having drawn a brilliant picture of the state of his army (of course totally opposite from that which he had addressed to the Directory), he refuted a part of the observations which Sir Sidney Smith had made on the actual state of affairs in Europe, and of the change which a new war in Italy would make in the situation of France. Kleber concluded, by informing him that he was about to write to the Grand Vizir to engage him to appoint two plenipotentiaries to meet, at a place indicated, the two commissioners named to represent the General in chief of the French army. He, moreover, assured him, that he had not the slightest objection to the conferences being held even on board the ship of Sir Sidney Smith. The commissioners chosen by Kleber were General Desaix and M. Poussielgue, administrator general of finances. The commodore, in his answer, dated head-quarters at Jaffa, announced, that after having had an interview with His Highness in presence of the Russian agents, it had been decided by common consent, that the conferences should take place on board of his ship, and for this purpose he should repair without loss of time before Alexandria, that he might take on board the persons appointed to treat for the French army.

After some delay, occasioned by the unfavourable state of the weather, the two plenipotentiaries arrived on board the *Tiger*. The first propositions, the object of which was to neutralize the

alliance of the three united powers in case of the evacuation of Egypt, were regarded by Sir Sidney as incompatible with the powers with which he was invested; he let it be seen, however, that he would not be backward to consent to any modification or arrangements which might lead to a definitive agreement, and that none of his dispositions would be contrary to the treaty of the 5th of January, 1798. The counter-project presented by him to this effect, contained four principal articles, of which the three first established, that the Ottoman Port, far from being the aggressor, was not ambitious of aggrandisement, nor had, therefore, any desire to continue the war, and would have no pretention to renew it, from the moment that he should be restored to his possessions, by acquiring security to preserve them; that the French plenipotentiaries, having no mission to treat of peace, this important reconciliation, to which the occupation of Egypt was the only obstacle, should be discussed by ministers appointed for that purpose. The fourth article acknowledged, that the French army, although menaced on every side, was not beaten; that its bravery, its attitude, its reputation, evinced sufficiently that it still possessed powerful means of resistance, and that thus it was not in the case of an army obliged to capitulate; and that it should retain its arms and baggage. The same article provided for the means of transport of the French army to the ports of France, subject to the sole condition of a quarantine, demanded for the safety of Europe.

Whilst these negociations were proceeding to a termination, the Grand Vizir had advanced to Gaza, with the purpose of laying siege to El-Arish, and Kleber had proceeded with all his army upon Salehieh, to observe the movements of the enemy, and to support by his presence the representations of his commissioners in reply to the counter-project of Sir Sidney Smith. He wished to obtain, in compensation for the evacuation of Egypt, the restitution of the Venetian islands, Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia; the guarantee of the possession of Malta to France; the liberty of transporting his army on any point of his choice; and finally, the dissolution of the triple alliance between the Port, England, and Russia.

In the meantime the plenipotentiaries had signed an armistice approved by Kleber. The unfavourable state of the weather, however, prevented any vessel dispatched to Jaffa from approaching that coast to transmit the intelligence of it to the Grand Vizir. The Grand Vizir himself had left Gaza on the 10th of October, and was arrived in person at El-Arish to hasten the reduction of

that place. This delay occasioned the massacre of a part of the garrison of this fort. After a siege of seventy days, the French troops consented to capitulate, and hoisted upon their ramparts the English Major Douglas, for the purpose of entering into treaty. The Turks took advantage of this suspension of arms to rush with impetuosity upon the too confident garrison. They massacred three hundred men, in despite of all the efforts made by their chiefs and the English officers to prevent so frightful a butchery, which the Turks excused by reminding them of the horrible death of the prisoners at Jaffa. This new disaster, produced by an unforeseen circumstance, did not change any of the dispositions of the commanders of the two armies.

Sir Sidney, having considered the conditions required by Kleber, replied to him (Jan. 1st, 1800), by sending to him, as a proof of his sincere desire to do all that depended on himself, the copy of the treaty of the 3th of January. He engaged him to remark the freedom with which he had acted in this affair, and to judge himself by reading the treaty concluded between England and Turkey, [illegible] him, and of what he was empowered to [illegible]. He could not consequently acquiesce in the last propositions of Kleber by consenting to them, when he was certain that they would not be approved. This would have been to deceive the general in chief, and to compromise himself to no purpose. He added, in continuation, that the Venetian islands were not solely in the power of the Ottoman troops; that Malta was besieged conjointly by the English and Neapolitans; that evidently the cession and guarantee of that island was not at the disposition of the Sublime Porte; that the triple alliance being only defensive, its dissolution was not necessary; that it was impossible to consent to the transportation of the French army to any point from whence there was a possibility of their attacking new states; but that their return to France, with arms and baggage, as it had been promised, should be faitfully executed.

In the meantime, the plenipotentiaries had debarked at Jaffa, and repaired to the camp of the Grand Vizir at El-Arish, that they might avoid the delays which frequently occur in relations with the Turks. Kleber, now perceiving that he could not obtain more favourable terms, authorised General Desaix to agree to the definitive arrangement proper for the evacuation. I have already sufficiently indicated the motives which determined Kleber to enter into treaty; but still, however, the following observations may be made, and ought to be of some consequence.

The Ottoman army amounted to upwards of 60,000 men, of whom a great part were already before El-Arish. The remainder were encamped before Jaffa and Ramleh. The ships of the allies abundantly supplied with provisions this army so difficult to subsist. The Arabs, from different countries, had brought nearly 15,000 camels. The passage of the desert was no longer opposed but by the resistance which we were able to offer on that point. The disposable force which Kleber had to resist the enemy was only 10,000 men, divided amongst the important posts of Cathieh, Salehieh, and Belbeis, which he was equally obliged to guard with the utmost vigilance, to preserve his communications with Cairo, and to enable him to march wherever he should be menaced. He had about 1000 men at Lesbeh, to guarantee that side from insurrection: 1,800 at Aboukir, Rosetta, and some other places of the Delta; 1,200 at Cairo and Gizeh; and nearly 2,500 in Upper Egypt, to hold in check Murad Bey, always active, never beaten, and constantly harassing our troops by his continual appearances. Such was the situation of Kleber at the period when he concluded the convention of El-Arish; to this may be added, that the inhabitants, weary of our residence equally with the Turks, were desirous of our departure.

The following is the Convention which was signed at El-Arish on the 24th of January, 1800.

## CONVENTION

*For the Evacuation of Egypt, between* DESAIX, *General of Division, and* POUSSIELGUE, *Administrator of Finances, Plenipotentiaries of the General in Chief; and their Excellencies,* MOUSTTAFA-RACHYD, EFFENDI DEFTERDAR, *and* MOUSTTAFA-RASCHEH, EFFENDI REYS-UL-KUTTAB, *Ministers Plenipotentiary of His Highness the Supreme Vizir.*

The French army in Egypt, wishing to give a proof of its desire to stop the effusion of blood, and to see the termination of the unhappy difference which has arisen between the French Republic and the Sublime Port, consent to evacuate Egypt agreeably to the dispositions of the present convention, trusting that this concession will lead to the general pacification of Europe.

ART. I. The French army shall retire with arms, baggage, and effects, upon Alexandria, Rosetta, and Aboukir, to be from thence embarked and transported to France, in their own vessels and in those which shall be necessary of the Sublime Port; and, that the said vessels may be speedily prepared, it is agreed, that in one month after the ratification of the present, there shall be sent a commissioner and fifty persons, on the part of the Sublime Port.

II. There shall be an armistice of three months in Egypt, to take place from the day of the signature of the present convention; but notwithstanding, in case that the truce expire before the said vessels to be furnished by the Sublime Port shall be prepared, the said truce shall be prolonged until the period when the embarkation shall be completely effected, it being well understood, on both sides, that all possible means shall be employed that the tranquillity of the army and of the inhabitants, being the object of the truce, be not disturbed.

III. The transportation of the French army shall take place according to the regulations of the commissioner named for that purpose by the Sublime Port, and by the General in Chief Kleber, and if on embarkation any discussions should arise between the said commissioners upon this subject, there shall be named one on the part of the Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, who shall decide the difference agreeably to the maritime regulations of England.

IV. The places of Cathieh and Salehieh shall be evacuated by the French troops on the eighth day, or at farthest, on the tenth day after the ratification of the present convention; the town of Mansourah shall be evacuated on the fifteenth day, Damietta and Belbeis on the twentieth day; Suez shall be evacuated six days before Cairo, the other places situated upon the eastern bank of the Nile shall be evacuated on the tenth day; the Delta shall be evacuated five days after the evacuation of Cairo. The western bank of the Nile and its dependencies shall remain in the hands of the French until the evacuation of Cairo; and, notwithstanding, as they must be occupied by the French army till all the troops shall be descended from Upper Egypt, the said western bank and its dependencies need not be evacuated but on the expiration of the truce, if it be impossible to evacuate it sooner. The places evacuated by the army shall be delivered up to the Sublime Port in the state in which they may actually be found.

V. The city of Cairo shall be evacuated in the space of forty days, if possible, and at the latest in forty-five days, to be reckoned from the day of the ratification of the present.

VI. It is expressly agreed that the Sublime Port shall use every precaution, that the French troops of the different places on the western bank of the Nile, who shall fall back with arms and baggage towards their head-quarters, be not molested during their route, neither in their persons, property, nor honour, whether by the inhabitants of Egypt, or the troops of the Imperial Ottoman army.

VII. In consequence of the above article, and to prevent all dissention, measures shall be taken that the Turkish troops be always separated at a sufficient distance from the French troops.

VIII. Immediately after the ratification of the present convention, all the Turks and other nations, without distinction, subjects of the Sublime Port, detained in France, or in the power of the French in Egypt, shall be set at liberty; and reciprocally all the French detained in all the cities and ports of the Ottoman Empire, together with all persons of whatever nation, attached to the French legations and consulate, shall be set at liberty.

IX. The restitution of the goods and property of the inhabitants, and of the subjects on both sides, or the reimboursement of their full value to the proprietors, shall commence immediately after the evacuation of Egypt, and shall be regulated by commissioners named respectively for this purpose.

X. No inhabitant of Egypt, of whatsoever religion, shall be disturbed either in his person or property, for the connections which he may have had with the French during their occupation of Egypt.

XI. There shall be delivered to the French army, equally on the parts of the Sublime Port and of the Courts her allies, that is to say, those of Great Britain and Russia, passports, safe-conducts, and the convoys necessary to insure their return to France.

XII. When the French army shall be embarked, the Sublime Port, and the Courts her allies, promise, that until their return to the continent of France they shall be in no manner disturbed; and the General in Chief Kleber and the French army, on their side, promise not to commit any hostility during the said time, neither against the fleets nor against the countries of the Sublime Port and her allies, and that the vessels which shall transport the said army shall not touch at any other coast than that of France, unless from absolute necessity.

XIII. In consequence of the truce of three months above stipulated with the French army, for the evacuation of Egypt, the contracting parties agree that if, in the interval of the said truce, any vessels of France, unknown to the commanders of the allied fleets, should enter the port of Alexandria, they shall depart after after having taken in water and necessary provisions, and shall return to France furnished with passports by the allied courts, and in case any of the said vessels should need repair, those only shall be permitted to remain until the said repairs be completed, and shall immediately depart for France, like the preceding, with the first favourable wind.

XIV. The General in Chief Kleber shall be permitted to send immediately to France a messenger, to whom shall be granted the necessary safe-guards, that the said messenger may inform the French government of the evacuation of Egypt.

XV. It being known that the French army will have need of subsistence during the three months in which they have to evacuate Egypt, and during three other months from the day of their embarkation, it is provided that they shall be furnished with the necessary quantities of wheat, flesh, rice, barley and straw, according to the statement now delivered by the French plenipotentiaries, as well for their residence as for their voyage. The quantities of the said articles which the army shall draw from the magazines, after the ratification of the present, shall be deducted from those furnished by the Sublime Port.

XVI. From the day of the ratification of the present convention the French army shall not raise any contributions whatever in Egypt, but on the contrary, shall abandon to the Sublime Port, the contributions usually required, which may remain to be raised at their departure, together with the camels, dromedaries, ammunition, cannon, and other objects which belong to them, which they shall not deem expedient to take away, as well as the magazines of grain arising from the contributions already levied, and finally, the magazines of provisions; the different articles shall be valued by commissioners sent to Egypt for that purpose by the Sublime Port and the commander of the British forces, conjointly with those appointed by the General in chief Kleber, and received by the former on account of the expence of the evacuation so made to the amount of three thousand purses, which the French army will require to accelerate its movements and its embarkation; and if the above mentioned articles do not produce this sum the deficiency to be advanced by the Sublime Port, as a loan, to be repaid by the French government upon the bills of the commissioners appointed by the General in chief Kleber to receive the said sum.

XVII. For the expence of the evacuation of Egypt the French army shall receive, after the ratification of the present convention, the undermentioned stipulated sum, in the following order; that is to say: on the fifteenth day, 500 purses; the thirteenth day, 500 purses; the fortieth day, 300 purses; the fiftieth day, 300 purses; the sixtieth day, 300 purses; the seventieth day, 300 purses; the eightieth day, 300 purses; and finally the ninetieth day, 500 purses. The said purses of 500 and 300 Turkish piastres each shall be received as a loan from the persons commissioned

for that purpose by the Sublime Port; and to facilitate the execution of the said dispositions, the Sublime Port, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, shall send commissioners to the city of Cairo and the other places occupied by the army.

XVIII. The contributions which the French may have gathered in after the date of the ratification, and before the notification of the present convention, in the different points of Egypt, shall be deducted from the amount of the three thousand purses above stipulated.

XIX. To facilitate and expedite the evacuation of the places, the navigation of the French transports, which shall be found in the ports of Egypt, shall be free during the three months of the truce from Damietta and Rosetta to Alexandria, and from Alexandria to Rosetta and Damietta.

XX. The safety of Europe requiring the greatest precaution to prevent the introduction of the plague, no person sick or supposed to be attacked by this disease shall be embarked, but the sick of the plague, or any other disease which will not permit their departure in the time provided for the evacuation shall remain in the hospitals, under the protection of His Highness the Supreme Vizir, and shall be attended by French officers of health, who shall remain with them until their cure permit them to depart, which shall take place as soon as possible; and the articles XI and XII of this convention shall apply equally to them as to the rest of the army. The commander in chief of the French army engages to give the strictest orders to the officers commanding the troops embarked not to permit the vessels to debark in any other ports than those which may be indicated by the officers of health, as affording the greatest convenience for the necessary and usual quarantine.

XXI. If any unforeseen difficulty should arise it shall be amicably adjusted between commissioners appointed for that purpose by His Highness the Supreme Vizir and the General in chief Kleber, in such a manner as to facilitate and expedite the evacuation.

XXII. The present shall be of none effect till after the respective ratifications, which ought to be exchanged in the space of eight days, after which ratification the convention shall be religiously observed on both sides.

Done, signed, and sealed with our respective seals at the camp near El-Arish, the 24th of January, 1800, and the 28th of the moon of Chaaban, in the year of the Hegira, 1214.

(Signed) Desaix, General of Division,
Poussielgue, Citizen,
Mousttafa-Rachyd, Effendy Defterdar,
Mousttafa-Raschieh, Reys-ul-Kuttab.

(Copy conformable to the French dispatch transmitted to the Turkish ministers in return for their dispatch in the Turkish language.)

(Signed) DESAIX.
POUSSIELGUE.

RATIFICATION *of the General in Chief, affixed to the Turkish Copy in the Hands of the Grand Vizir.*

I, the undersigned, General in chief, commander of the French army in Egypt, approve and ratify the conditions of the above treaty, that they may be executed according to their form and meaning; being bound to believe that the twenty-two articles contained therein are conformable to the French translation signed by the plenipotentiaries of the Grand Vizir, and ratified by his Highness; but should there be any variations in the translation which may occasion difficulties, in that case the sense only shall be followed.

(Signed) KLEBER.

Head-quarters at Salehieh, 28th January, 1800.

(True Copy)

(Signed) DAMAS, General of Division, and Chef de l'Etat Major-General.

The convention being signed and ratified, Commodore Sir Sidney Smith dispatched it to his court.

The French and Italian journals which our plenipotentiaries procured for us gave us no intelligence of the arrival of Bonaparte; the news of our armies was not at all satisfactory.

The prospect of soon departing for France cheered our spirits; and joy smiled in every countenance. No sooner had we terminated our discussions than we formed a thousand projects for our departure. I was not the last to figure to myself the happiness of once more seeing my family and all that I daily regretted.

As soon as Kleber was informed of the ratification of Youssef-Pacha, and had taken all the dispositions necessary to insure the execution of the treaty, he put himself in route for Cairo. Desaix was appointed to convey the dispatches of the General in chief to the Directory, and to explain to them the motives which had determined him to evacuate Egypt; a commissary in ordinary, and two commissaries of war, were charged to accompany him to make the necessary preparations in France for the reception of the army on its debarkation. The commissary in chief named me to this service, a favour which I shall never forget.

The news of the treaty with the Grand Vizir soon spread throughout Egypt. The officers sold their horses; every one endeavoured to procure a little money, to furnish themselves with the things

indispensible for the route. If Kleber had exceeded his powers in treating for the evacuation of Egypt, he was sufficiently excused by the transports of joy manifested by the whole army. Alas, many of those who flattered themselves with the happiness of again seeing their homes, have bedewed with their blood that land which they believed they were so soon to leave.

Generals Dugua and Davoust demanded and obtained permission to return to France.

The articles stipulated in the convention of El-Arish were faithfully executed. Our troops had successively evacuated Cathieh, and Salehieh. The commissioners of the Grand Vizir had arrived at Cairo. And the contracting parties equally shewed a desire to fulfil their engagements. It may be imagined, that during this time the Court of London had examined the intercepted dispatches of the General in chief. Concluding, without doubt, from their contents, that our situation was desperate, they dispatched new instructions to Lord Keith. The substance of which was, that our army being so much reduced the evacuation ought not to be consented to, as our critical situation would compel us to surrender prisoners of war. Commodore Sir Sidney Smith better appreciated the advantage of permitting us so easily to abandon our conquest, as he was convinced that had the French army so determined, it might, commanded by an able general, have maintained itself a long time in Egypt. The fatal effects of this change in the cabinet of St. James's were soon perceived; a change which appeared even to the English themselves an act of bad faith, and by which the British government refused to give its assent to a convention entirely in its own interests, and by which it would have expelled from Egypt an army whose stay in Africa was regarded as an alarming attempt upon the absolute empire of the English over the commerce of the world.

On the 20th of February I left Bulak with Generals Desaix, Davoust, and Dugua. We embarked on several dgerms. We had with us nearly two hundred wounded and mained soldiers of the different corps of the army. They at the same time sailed for France and served as garrison on board. On their return home, their simple narrations in some measure discovered the truth. If they evinced in their sincerity a satisfaction to relate the dangers they had encountered, they destroyed, by the representation of their sufferings, and the privations which they had endured, the alluring and deceitful cunning with which it had been attempted to cover the conquest of Egypt.

I know not why silence at first reigned amongst us. Nothing attached us to Cairo, but, notwithstanding, we did not lose sight of the high minarets of Bulak, without feeling a sensation of sadness. I soon lost the view of my house, to which I bade a last farewel.

Desaix was born at Ayat, in Auvergne, and was now in his thirty-third year; his name had already been long celebrated among the French, and respected and esteemed by the Austrians. It were impossible to unite more modesty to greater abilities, meekness to firmness of character, or to possess more coolness in the greatest dangers. An instructed observer, nothing escaped his attention; he liked to converse with artificers and peasants whenever he met with them. His countenance was prepossessing, his eyes expressive and spirited, and his conversation always animated, often brilliant, evinced a memory furnished with the best stores of literature, and a solid and profound judgment.

From some he had received the surname of *Bayard*, and he was worthy of this name of the chevalier without fear and without reproach, for he was both. He was easy of access, and his reception was always obliging. He passionately loved glory, for which he abandoned all things. His admiration of Bonaparte was real, and his only fear, in the midst of the numerous obstacles which retarded our arrival in France, was that this General would not leave him any thing to do. Alas! that the blood of Desaix should bedew the laurels of Marengo!

The pleasure of returning to France, and the assurance of performing our voyage without molestation, being, in execution of the 14th article of the convention, furnished with passports by the Grand Vizir and Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, who for our greater security had permitted an English officer to accompany us, gave birth to the liveliest gaiety among us, and pleasantries, jests, and the most laughable discussions, evinced the sincerity of our joy.

We arrived at Rosetta without accident, and encamped upon the small island which separates the two branches of the Nile. Here Desaix left us to proceed by land to Alexandria, our mariners having assured us that the contrary winds would last two days longer. The sea, moreover, was too rough; and we dared not expose ourselves to the passage of the Boghaze, which is always dangerous when the waves rise upon the sands which obstruct the mouth of the Nile.

Two days after our arrival at Rosetta we happily left the river. We rowed towards Alexandria, passed by the rocks of Aboukir, and very soon came in sight of the Theseus, which was still cruis-

ing before the port, but which did not interrupt the communications re-established by the convention. We were only ten leagues from the port, when the wind shifted to the west and freshened considerably. The dgerms have no decks, we were therefore obliged to tack about and put into Aboukir. We here found several barks, which had likewise been obliged to shelter. They were those of General Dugua. We immediately landed.

We were scarcely arrived, when we perceived a vessel running under its lower sails, not daring to approach too near the fort. After a manœuvre which shewed its indecision, it anchored at a distance from us in the road. Our colours waved at the stern of our dgerms, and the Osiris, assured, hoisted hers. They then launched the long boat, which, filled with sailors, made towards us to gain intelligence of the English. We awaited the boat with impatience; at length it arrived. A Provençal sailor leaped on land, exclaiming in his dialect, "Bonaparte is first Consul of France.

It was at Aboukir, upon the field still covered with the carcases and the spoils of the Ottomans,—upon that field where Bonaparte had a second time conquered Egypt, that we learned the news of the memorable events of the revolution of the 10th November.

We overwhelmed the sailors with a thousand questions at once; they replied, that Bonaparte had saved France; that he had made peace; that he had beaten the Austrians; that he was about to send us succours; that there was no longer any Directory; but that we had now a Tribunate and a Senate.

General Dugua interrogated the boatswain, who informed him the Osiris had on board Colonel Latour, charged with dispatches for the General in chief. General Dugua afterwards ordered the boats to return to the vessel and fetch this officer. Colonel Latour soon arrived, with the packets and journals. He entered the tent of General Dugua: we surrounded him with the greatest silence, while he informed us, to our great astonishment, of the revolution of the 10th November.

Bonaparte, by overthrowing the Directory, had justified the fears which these weak Five Hundreders had conceived of his rising glories and popular influence. The French constitution, that prostituted idol to which were renewed without ceasing the most frivolous oaths, was once more about to be fixed on an invariable basis, which the slightest caprice might soon change again. We had now three Consuls, a Senate, a Tribunate, a Legislative body.—The French, in recovering from anarchy, imagined that they had at length reached the object of which they had so long and so vainly been in search. Berthier was minister of war,

and I saw with delight that my brother, of whose fate I had been ignorant for ten years, had been recalled from Holland to Paris, and that he was secretary-general of the minister of war. In great changes men are glad to find any circumstances which flatter their individual interests. I of course was well satisfied with these events.

Bonaparte, from the commencement of his consulate, at once occupied himself to heal the still bleeding wounds of our intestine divisions, and to recal victory to the standards of our army, repulsed on almost every point. His return to France had no less surprised us than the rest of Europe, and counteracted the English. We received the first benefits of it, since scarcely was he at the head of the government, when he proceeded to encourage the army of Egypt, and to send them reinforcements. In effect, Colonel Latour announced to us that Bonaparte was preparing a maritime expedition.

Such good tidings would have occasioned me an agreeable sleep, had not the insects, which devoured the dried carcases of the Ottomans on the fields of Aboukir, repeatedly disturbed my repose. The sun rose, I traversed the peninsula; I visited the positions of the two armies. That of the Turks seemed impregnable. The redoubt behind their retrenchment still remained; it was on this redoubt that General Murat was wounded in the cheek on escalading it at the head of his cavalry. Every thing remained as on the day of battle; around the village, in front of the trenches, and near the fort, the eye saw only dispersed limbs. Here I saw an arm starting out of the ground, there feet, heads, and legs, intermixed with long robes, cartouche-boxes, muskets, rusty sabres, turbans, and spoils of every kind. The shore above all was remarkable from the innumerable quantity of bones which the sea had thrown up. What reflections were occasioned by these images! unhappy shores! unfortunate fleet of Brueys! glorious day of the 25th July! Aboukir, thy name is engraven in futurity. What though thy shores received the wrecks of our ships, they are concealed by the dried remains of the Ottomans. Alas! their angry manes were soon to be avenged on this same peninsula, already bedewed with so much blood. I left with pleasure this too famous spot.

We departed from Aboukir in the evening, and in a few hours arrived at Alexandria. The Theseus no longer appeared, but, however, did not delay to return to resume the blockade.

Desaix wished to take advantage of the calm to pass the Boghaze of the port of Alexandria; the Ragusian merchant brig, the Santa Maria delle Grazie, and the Packet L'Etoile, accordingly set sail

on the 3d of March. I was embarked on the first of these together with General Desaix and Messieurs Savary, Rapp and Clement.

The Etoile, commanded by captain Roustan, accompanied us as a flag of truce, and had on board General Davoust. We were steered through the pass by Turkish pilots, and soon spreading our sails to the wind we gained the main sea.

Farewel Egypt! Mussulmans farewel! We bear from your country, with the lasting remembrance of the superb monuments with which it is decorated, the painful remembrance of your deserts, your dreary dwellings,—a remembrance to which is attached the many griefs and privations by which we have so dearly bought the glory of having disturbed your repose and stained with blood your shores.

Frenchmen, of whom the manes repose in the plains of Embaba, of Salehieh, of Sedyman, under the overturned walls of St. John of Acre, you are dead to your relations—to your friends;—but you shall live for ever in the records of our history. Can France cease to remember that it is to your valour she owes the greatness of her successes,—by the sacrifice of your lives that you have purchased the brilliant splendour of her arms!

The wind from the west blew with force. On the 7th of March we perceived land a-head. We concluded it to be the island of Candia, which we vainly endeavoured to double, and on the 8th of March we discovered an error which could only be accounted for from the rapidity of the currents and the smallness of our vessels, which drew but little water. The land was the island of Rhodes. The drive which we had made appeared inconceivable to us. It was, perhaps, owing to this surprising and involuntary course that we were not met by the ships of the English which bore the order of Lord Keith to re-establish the blockade with increased vigilance, and to re-commence hostilities.

As we passed the city of Rhodes, we easily distinguished the tower and the palace formerly occupied by the knights of Malta, and which they had defended against Soliman, as also the two moles which had, without doubt, supported the celebrated colossus of antiquity.

We turned the island, which appears to be about seven leagues long, and three broad.

Near the islands of Carchi and Piscopi we were surprised by a disquieting calm. The horizon became suddenly obscured,—the passage between the two islands seemed closed up by black clouds, which were streaked by the vivid flashes of the lightning. These latitudes are extremely dangerous; on all sides are steep rocks;

those on the southern coast of Natolia present only the most frightful breakers to vessels driven by storms. We did not proceed a single league during all the night, which, cheating our fears, passed in tranquillity. The wind arose with the dawn, and we soon passed beyond the two islands of Carchi and Piscopi.

On the 11th of March, we continued our way, leaving the small islands of Nausio *(Anape)* and Santorini *(Thera)* on our right. The latter of these is only remarkable on account of its vicinity to a small island which in 1707 arose suddenly from the bosom of the sea. The north wind blew with such violence during this passage that we were obliged to navigate under our lower sails. We were absolutely compelled to proceed, otherwise we exposed ourselves to be thrown upon the coasts of Candia, which were directly under the wind. Every thing was in disorder on board; Desaix, in continual convulsions, was unable to articulate a word, and the greater part of the passengers were in such a state of suffering as rendered death desirable. We resolved, even at the risk of oversetting, to force the sails in despite of the fury of the wind, to avoid being wrecked on the steep shores of Candia. In the midst of this extreme danger, the sailors declared that there was a considerable leak in the hold; we now believed ourselves lost. Our fowls, our ducks, and many pieces of timber were carried away by the waves, which every moment swept the deck; but these losses were nothing compared with the pressing dangers that menaced us.

After having passed a part of the day in the most cruel suspence, the fog with which we were surrounded not permitting us to ascertain whether we were cast upon the island of Candia, and apprehending from the violence of the tempest, that our vessel, battered by the force of the waves, would divide in two, we descried another island to the windward, which we knew to be Cerico *(Cythera)*. Sheltered by this island, our navigation was less tormenting, and hope returned with the calm.

The increase of water in the hold was alarming; we were obliged to pump incessantly. It became indispensible to repair promptly this accident, too dangerous to weather the remainder of our passage. We discerned cape Matapan, and mount Teget, which is always covered with snow. Desaix was exhausted by the convulsions and continual efforts of the sea-sickness; we resolved to put into Coronna. We entered the bay which bears its name; some barks put off on the sight of our flag of truce to observe us. We announced that peace was concluded between the Grand Signor and the army of Egypt, and demanded permission to land

during the time necessary to repair our hold. The Greeks who had interrogated us returned immediately to learn the orders of the Bey.

We examined the position of the city; it is strong, well-built, and surrounded with good walls. Three hundred Turks formerly defended it against two thousand Russians, who were unable to take it.

The next day, they permitted us to land: and three Janissaries were appointed to prevent the inhabitants from communicating with us. We here found a Mr. Sauvaise, a native of France, who eagerly offered to General Desaix every that might be agreeable to him. Desaix desired a salade of lettuce, of which we partook.

The 14th of March, the Bey desired an interview with us; it took place on the sea-shore. Mustapha was aged, his dress was very rich; Desaix and he conversed for a few moments on peace and war, and both equally expressed a desire to see the ancient intelligence re-established between the Turks and the French.

On the 16th, after having renewed our provisions, we took leave of the Bey. The Greeks had sold to us different articles, among which were some sacks of almonds, into which they had put about one-fourth in leaden bullets to augment the weight—the Greeks.

We steered for Malta. On this day our commissary of provisions, who had been sick for some time, died, and we threw him overboard, together with his mattress, blankets, and clothes. Fortunately he had not the plague.

The wind favoured us. We had already passed the island of Malta, without perceiving it, when it shifted to the west, and arose with such violence, that we were obliged to put into the bay, that we might not lose the way we had already made. In this situation we remained two days. The sufferings of the passengers were inexpressible. On the third day we came in sight of the coasts of Sicily, so fatal to those unhappy Frenchmen, who flattering themselves that they would there find hospitality and succour, received only their death. Desaix was oppressed, a little repose would relieve him; the person in confidence of Mr. Hamelin, embarked with us, had, he said, friends at Sciacca, a little town upon the south coast, we there found a road, and provisions, he proposed to anchor there. I confess, that the recent example of the horrible end of the ordonnateur Sucy made me fear to anchor here, but the majority was against me, and ridiculed my terrors.

Scarcely had we cast anchor before the city of Sciacca, when the batteries fired upon us, although they might easily have dis-

tinguished our flag of truce. This was an unfavourable reception, and every one feared the effects of the irritation of the Sicilians at the bare sight of our three-coloured flag; for myself, I felt inwardly a sort of content on witnessing the Sicilians about to realize my suspicions. So strange are sometimes the sentiments of men.

We eagerly proceeded to throw out the boats from the two vessels, and to dispatch them to the land. The Ragusian captain returned afterwards to inform us that he had been well received,—had left Hamelin's man to procure fresh provisions, and that we should have all that we stood in need of. They still laughed at me.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, Hamelin, not seeing the return of the second boat, which had been ashore since the morning, wished to go himself to ascertain what had detained it; I embarked with him, from curiosity to know Sciacca, and to be able to say, I have been in Sicily.

We arrived near a bad mole, which stretched into the sea; it was covered with guards, whose figures and costume resembled those brigands whose crimes and vindictive spirits are so well described in the romances of Mrs. Radcliff. The people were mounted upon the roofs of the houses, and covered all the shore. From far we had imagined that this assemblage of the people had no other motive than what arose from the novelty of the circumstance. When we were near the shore, the most frightful fellow of a corporal that I ever saw, roared out to us, "Land, Sirs, land." "This is a very encouraging reception!" said I to Hamelin. "Can we not, if we choose, remain in the boat," I demanded of the corporal in Italian. "No, Sirs, no; land! such are my orders," replied the ruffian; we were accordingly obliged to land on the mole, where we found Hamelin's man in the greatest uneasiness for the event. He had not seen his friends, of whom he had so much boasted; they had been forbidden to approach him.

Our situation was becoming extremely embarrassing, when the magistrates of Sciacca arrived; their appearance in no respect belied that of the national guard. The president or mayor instantly demanded our passports. Hamelin eagerly informed him, that we were come from Egypt; that we had quitted it conformably to a convention made at El-Arish with the Grand Vizir; that, in fine, we were accompanied by an English officer, to insure us the respect of the ships of his government, as well as of those of the allies. "Your passports," demanded the amiable president. Hamelin engaged me return for them, and to inform General Desaix of what had passed. I caused the boat to return as speedily

as possible, for I had remarked that the good people on the tops of the houses threw stones at us from time to time, every time approaching nearer to us.

They were at dinner when I returned on board. I related all that had passed. Colbert, an aid-de-camp of Murat, spoke English, he and the English officer returned to Hamelin. Night approached,—no person returned. Desaix was enraged, and had already decided how to act in case they did not return the same night. He gave orders to the maimed men, who formed the garrison of our two vessels, which kept together, to clean their arms, and to hold themselves in readiness in case of need. Every soldier evinced a zeal which could only be accounted for from the hatred inspired by the Sicilians, and the desire to save Desaix. The flag of truce drew its guns from the hold and placed them upon deck.

Whilst we were forming different resolutions the boats returned. The Ragusian captain had been hit on the head with a stone, and the English officer himself had been insulted. He menaced them so properly that they were truly alarmed, and at length consented to let us proceed, on receiving a compensation of ninety piastres for some lettuces and bunches of carrots. My comrades no longer ridiculed me. Had it not been for the interference of the English officer, the inhabitants of Sciacca, perhaps, incited by the hopes of a rich booty, would have repeated the massacre of the French as at *Augusta*.

The next morning at break of day we set sail, and soon lost sight of Sicily and its inhospitable shores. After again passing Pantalaria, and afterwards the capes of Sardinia, we proceeded by the western coast of this island and that of Corsica. We did not meet a single vessel, and we arrived in the night, after so long a passage, in sight of the loved coasts of France. A thick fog enveloped us during the day, so that we could not distinguish objects at more than a quarter of a league distant. This weather was certainly favourable to the French, who wished to deceive the vigilance of the cruisers. At the moment when we were anticipating the pleasure of entering into Toulon, we were encountered by an English frigate. On account of the weather, to see it and be upon it was the affair of an instant. It fired for us to lay to. We imitated its manœuvres. It rained, but the pleasure of seeing an English frigate without fearing to meet it caused the sick to forget their pains, and Desaix mounted on deck although the sea was rough, and our vessel so much agitated that we were unable manage it.

The frigate dispatched a boat to us; our English officer announced to them by virtue of what convention we were returning to France. The officer of the boat hastily gave us intelligence, that the vessel which had stopped us was the Dorothy, that the Queen Charlotte, a vessel of three decks, mounted by Admiral Keith, had lately blown up near the island of Gorgona; that we were beaten on all points in Italy, and that General Massena was shut up in Genoa. After this discourse, it was agreed between the two English officers, that if the captain of the Dorothy permitted us to continue our route, they would take down the colours from the stern.

The boat departed, and the officer gave an account of the motives of our voyage. A few minutes afterwards they took down the colours, and we, believing it to be the signal of our liberty, spread our sails. Our joy was short, the frigate again hoisted its colours, and arrested us by firing a gun. We again lay to, and the English proceeded to board us.

The captain informed us that the English cruisers had been commissioned by Admiral Keith to stop all French vessels returning from Egypt, and that he should conduct us to Leghorn, to the Admiral, which would enable us with more facility to enter into an explanation with him.

In thirty-five hours we were at Leghorn. When the English, who conducted and manœuvred our vessel had assured us that the Admiral still remained in the port, we conceived some hope, founded upon the confidence which his rank and the powers with which he was invested inspired.

We anchored in the midst of our enemies. The number of merchant vessels which enter and leave this port is inconceiveable. There certainly arrives more than a hundred sail a day into the port of Leghorn.

We had scarcely anchored, when Desaix wrote to Admiral Keith. He remained three days without receiving an answer. In the meantime, the news of our arrival had spread throughout Leghorn. The garrison of it were Austrians, and the name of Desaix had signalised many combats on the banks of the Rhine. On hearing this feared, but respected name, the officers of the Austrian garrison came in barks to enquire of the health of General Desaix; they expressed their regret at not being able to come on board to communicate with him, but nevertheless offered him every thing that might soften his disagreeable situation. Desaix thanked the Austrian officers with that dignity and urbanity which were natural to him. The Austrians, after having equally inquired

after General Kleber, departed. Their free and noble conduct was directly opposite to that of Admiral Keith, who submitted us to the most degrading humiliation.

Admiral Lord Keith set sail to repair to the coasts of Genoa. Desaix became furious on receiving no answer and on not being treated with the respect due to his rank and his distinguished name. General Davoust suggested to him the idea of escaping to Corsica in the long boat. This counsel, although of difficult execution, flattered the imagination of Desaix, and for a moment he believed himself free. At a certain hour of the night we were to surprise the English on board our vessel, menace them with instant death on their making the least alarm, and make them descend to the bottom of the hold; afterwards Desaix was to embark in the boat, which would not contain more than nine persons including six sailors to row it, and thus to escape. Although we were in the midst of the English fleet, they took the unnecessary precaution to make continual rounds about us. This obstacle did not impede Desaix, but he could not take all his aides-de-camp with him, and not one of them was willing to remain. We strongly represented to him how much he would expose us to the ill-treatment of the English, and particularly after having outraged those who had been placed on board us. Our situation was critical; however, these different observations at length determined Desaix to abandon a project which had at first seduced him, but which, on reflection, was impracticable.

After the departure of Admiral Keith, Desaix received a letter from him. It announced that it was agreeably with the precise orders of the cabinet of St. James's that we were arrested; that a courier was dispatched to the Court of London, and that in awaiting his return, we should perform our quarantine at Leghorn. The Admiral added, that he should be eager to communicate to General Desaix the instructions which he might receive respecting the fate of the French belonging to the army of Egypt.

The next day we were debarked at the third Lazarretto, where we were shut up during twenty-nine days. The captain who commanded the establishment, informed General Desaix, on his descent, that the English consul had granted him twenty sols per day, without distinction of rank, and conformably to our system of *equality*.

Desaix, in anger, charged me to answer the captain of the Lazarretto, that he had only to repeat to the English consul, "that his proposition was the extreme of insolence: that if he was in want of money, we would give him some, and that he had only

to occupy himself with the subsistence of our soldiers." It would be difficult to find more refinement in humiliation.

When we were accustomed to our new residence we sought to amuse ourselves. I was the youngest of the society; on our passage Desaix had named me *Officer of the Signals*, at the Lazarretto I was *Edile of the Sports of the Prison*. I renewed all the pleasures of college. In fine, we repeated all the games of our youth. Sometimes we performed sieges, and we broke our doors and windows. Desaix commanded one corps, and Davoust another. In the evening, before night, we were shut up in our chambers. Our hammocs were placed on the ground, and were the only ornaments of our apartments. Often, before going to sleep, our General made us put out the lights, and each of us in turn related stories of robbers and ghosts. We were much diverted by them, and the most horrible caused the most entertainment. Sometimes the conversation turned on different points of morality, of history, and the sciences, and Desaix evinced that he was as well instructed as he was a good soldier. We thus endeavoured to dissemble the irksomness of our captivity, and the impatience which devoured us. At last, on the twenty-ninth day of our detention, we were astonished by the arrival of the Adjutant-General Cambyse and M. Poussielgue. They were returning from Egypt, and informed us of what had passed since our departure.

Desaix was scarcely departed from Alexandria, when the Theseus, under the orders of Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, resumed the blockade of the port and closed all the communications. This measure was in consequence of the dispositions taken by the Court of London after reading the intercepted dispatches of Kleber. They believed that they ought not to consent to the evacuation of Egypt, but on condition of the army surrendering prisoners of war. Admiral Lord Keith was charged to inform Sir Sidney Smith of this strange resolution, and he in consequence addressed a letter to General Kleber. The answer of the general in chief to this revolting proposition will soon be seen. Sir Sidney would see with regret the fruits of an able and fortunate negociation, which would affix his name in history to an important political transaction, annihilated in an instant.

Although the instructions dispatched by Admiral Keith, destroyed or at least suspended the effect of the convention of El-Arish, the Grand Vizir and Kleber remained agreed, persuaded that the Court of London would not persevere in its determinations. They concerted together different provisionary measures, but difficulties arose even from the effect of their mutual dispos-

tions. During these discussions, the object of which was to put off a rupture which would have been fatal to both armies, Kleber decided, to remove his uncertainty, to dispatch the Adjutant-General Cambyse and M. Poussielgue to Admiral Lord Keith. They were charged to procure an open and precise explication of the vaccillation of the British government; they embarked, with the permission of Sir Sidney Smith, upon the frigate which had brought the last dispatches from Lord Keith. They found him before Genoa, occupied in seconding by sea the efforts of the Austrians to sieze upon this place, so valiantly defended by Massena. Lord Keith, to their great surprise, so far from entering into any explication with them, positively announced that the evacuation of Egypt was about to take place without any obstacle on his part, and that, on the contrary, he was about to expedite fresh instructions to Sir Sidney Smith to accelerate the evacuation by all imaginable means. The times had changed,—the army of Youssef-Pacha was conquered.

This unexpected change in the decisions of the English government was undoubtedly the effect of the correspondence of Lord Elgin, at that time at Constantinople, and the positive information which the cabinet of London had acquired by that of Sir Sidney Smith, who had without the least delay dispatched to them the convention signed at El-Arish. Thus, at length, the French army, in virtue of this tardy ratification, might quit Egypt, and it was permitted to us to return to France.

During these contradictory and successive resolutions, the Grand Vizir, master of Cathieh, of Salehieh, of Belbeis, of Damietta, of a part of the Delta, and of Upper Egypt, evacuated in pursuance of the treaty, wished to oblige the French to quit Cairo, of which he was anxious to take possession. Kleber, who had committed himself to the discretion of the Turks by his dangerous compliance with the convention, refused to give up the only fortified point which remained after Alexandria. This refusal was notified to Youssef-Pacha, with the determination of recommencing hostilities in preference, should he persist in the performance of the obligation. The Vizir, presuming that the French were unable to resist the superiority of his forces, was obstinate in his pretensions. Kleber instantly decided to act, and placing the letter of Lord Keith to the order of the day, he added only the following words, which I believe I have faithfully retained; "Soldiers, we can answer such indignity only by victory; it is at the end of our bayonets; let us march." The drum soon assembled to their colours our animated soldiers, outraged in their honour, preferring

a noble death to infamy. The plain of Lacoubbe once more witnessed the forming of our battalions, which, though weak in point of numbers, were still formidabe for their valour. Every thing was prepared for a great action which would decide the fate of Egypt.

However, to appreciate the battle of Heliopolis, it may be remarked, that Kleber, confident of the execution of a convention which ought to guarantee the advantages resulting from it, had himself opened Egypt to those who pretended to chase him from it; that the enemy was at the gates of the capital; that, one day later and he had no other resource than to retire upon Alexandria. Although his surprise was great,—although he saw in an instant how critical was his situation, his mind remained calm in the midst of the dangers which threatened him. There was only one path indicated by honour; he did not hesitate to take it. Every sentiment united to increase the courage of our soldiers threefold; hope disappointed; bad faith to punish; an insult to avenge, and at the side of these powerful stings, the prospect of a grievous and dishonourable captivity. Kleber, elevated by the attraction of a difficult victory, speedily communicated to the whole army the ardour which inflamed himself. He recalled to mind the battle of Mount Tabor, and how ineffectually that number of irresolute enemies had besieged his weak division, which was, moreover, in want of ammunition. He reflected, that a small number of brave men, accustomed to the dangers of war, and proved by so many combats, might again disperse this cloud of barbarians, who knew not how to manœuvre or to employ their means. Moreover, if ever Frenchman ought to follow this device, *To conquer or to die*, it was in this juncture that it ought to receive its full application. Conquered, the army was no more; and the Turks, without doubt, agreeably to those sentiments of vengeance which they believed lawful, would reserve for it the most dreadful end.

Kleber, after taking all the precautions suggested by his prudence, to protect the French who could not follow the army from the fury of the inhabitants of Cairo, set out at the break of day from Lacoubbe, March 20th. As an able and resolute general, he felt that he ought not to suffer the enemy to anticipate him, and that he ought in time to direct the first impulse,—that first spring upon the enemy so formidable with our soldiers. By leaving the Turks to approach under the walls of Cairo he would expose himself to be disturbed in his rear by the population of that capital, at present restrained by fear, but who would declare against him the moment he should be attacked in front by the Ottomans. He

marched, therefore, directly against the enemy. His army was about twelve or thirteen thousand men strong; that of the Grand Vizir, encamped near El Hanka, was more than forty thousand, among which was a numerous cavalry. The immense equipages of this army, happily inexperienced, covered the borders of the desert. As soon as Youssef-Pacha had intelligence of the movement of Kleber, he quitted his camp and marched upon Matarieh, a village situated near the ruins of the antient Heliopolis. Here the two unequal armies came to an engagement. The Turkish cavalry at first attempted, but in vain, to break our infantry and arrest its march. A terrible fire of musketry kept it in awe, and obliged it to recede. After this first success our infantry charged the enemy's lines, already broken by the artillery. The affair was quickly decided. The Grand Vizir wished to fall back upon his camp, but seeing that the French army by a flank movement was about to cut him off from the inhabited country, and throw him into the desert, he determined to make a retrograde movement. This retreat was a complete and bloody rout. The whole of their artillery and the greater part of their equipages fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss was very inconsiderable compared with that of the enemy. The Turks on the contrary lost, on this day so fatal to their arms, eight thousand men killed or wounded, without reckoning those who perished in the desert from fatigue and want.

Murad Bey, posted with 600 Mameloucs, upon a height which over-looked the field of battle, was witness of the defeat of the Osmanlis. He had informed the General in chief that he should not take part in the action, and he kept his word. This Bey, of whom the Ottoman court complained, had cause to fear the re-establishment of the authority of the Grand Signor in Egypt. He did not dissemble, that the Sublime Port had more than one infidelity to punish, and more than one usurped right to reclaim. The battle of Heliopolis, in proving to Murad-Bey the immense superiority of the French army, made him feel, on the other side, how chimerical was the hope of his struggling against it. This reflection determined him, as was afterwards seen, to propose an arrangement to Kleber, which was agreed.

Whilst Kleber was chasing before him the terrified cohorts of the Grand Vizir, Nazouf-Pacha, who had been separated in the battle with a body of about 6000 or 8000 men, threw himself between Bulak and Cairo. The Turks made a horrible massacre of all the French whom they met, together with a great number of Cophts and Greeks accused of having shewn an attachment to

our army. This movement, inspired by danger, determined the inhabitants of Cairo to rise, and terrified the weak garrison that remained in the surrounding forts. They believed the army to be totally destroyed, and the joy which they evinced on the return of Kleber can only be compared to that which is felt on passing from the most imminent danger to the most perfect security.

Kleber, after having reconquered Egypt by this splendid and complete success, gave no repose to the Ottoman army, which had not yet passed the desert of Cathieh. Youssef-Pacha did not stop till he arrived at Gaza, where he profited of the respite which was permitted him, to occupy himself with the re-orginisation of his army. The French army, at last relieved of the mob of barbarians which they had expelled, returned conquerors upon the capital of Egypt. The army was pressed by famine during many days of its march, and the General in chief, still more disquieted on account of what might have passed during his absence, burned with impatience to re-enter Cairo.

What was his astonishment on his arrival before the city (March 27th,) to see upwards of twenty thousand men, composed equally of Turks under the orders of Nasouf-Pacha, of Arabs, of Fellahs, and of the revolted inhabitants, defending Cairo and Bulak. His situation was critical, it did not, however, destroy the constancy of Kleber. He at first caused Bulak to be carried by main force by General Belliard. Soon after he ordered an attack upon the intrenchments which closed the entrances of Cairo; this second effort, however, was unsuccessful, and cost us a number of men. He at last decided to devote the time necessary to form a regular siege. Batteries and mortars were established, which did such damage to the city that the inhabitants determined to capitulate. On the 21st of April, more than a month after the battle of Heliopolis, Kleber re-entered Cairo, after having granted to the detachments of the Ottoman army which remained in the city a free passage into Syria. By this submission of the inhabitants, which terminated the laborious exploits of the army, Kleber again became peaceable master of Egypt, with the exception of a province ceded by treaty to Murad-Bey, who, in exchange, bound himself to observe a faithful peace, and to pay an annual tribute. But to return.

As soon as Desaix had received his passports from Lord Keith, he re-embarked on his former vessel. We quitted Leghorn with unspeakable joy; nothing now would oppose our return to France.

We approached the coast near Frejus, when, at the break of day, we were chased by three vessels. Two, being good sailers, soon joined us. They flashed their guns; we lay by, and soon

found ourselves between two Barbary corsairs. We felt not a little uneasiness at the sight of their flags. Our passports and safe-conducts no longer appeared sufficiently powerful. The equipment of the crew was horrible; the sailors performed their different manœuvres holding their sabres in their teeth. The men were at their guns waiting for the signal to thunder upon us. The Ragusian captain went on board; he wished not to go on deck, that we might avoid a second quarantine (the least inconvenience in our minds), by their menaces, however, they induced him speedily to determine; he entered the cabin of the commander and shewed him his passport. The Bey, having read it, said that it was of no importance, and that when they should arrive at Tunis, the French who were returning from Egypt might explain themselves with the Regency. Such was the frightful interview, as related by our captain. Were we then to be taken a second time in sight of the coast of France, and to be led into slavery, perhaps for life. The prospect was dreadful. What we suffered at the moment cannot be described. The universal silence which reigned on board sufficiently expressed the anguish which tormented us.

The captain of the packet in his turn mounted on board the xebeck. They compelled him likewise to go on deck. We awaited his return with extreme agitation. At length, using a speaking trumpet, he called out to us these admirable words: "The captain is my friend—I am taking chocolate with him—we shall proceed on our voyage." We leapt for joy, smiles took place of our sorrowful air, and babel succeeded our silence. We committed a thousand extravagancies, and such was our continual mistrust, that not reckoning upon the justice of our cause, we esteemed ourselves happy to be permitted to do what was our right. Captain Roustant informed us, that having formerly made war upon the coast of Barbary, he had formed an acquaintance with the commander of the two Turkish xebecks, and that he had even rendered him some services, in consideration of which he had consented to permit our departure, especially after learning the details of the convention of El-Arish.

Scarcely had we got rid of the two pirates, when a large English brig of war, which had joined us during our stay, seeing us set our sails, fired a gun at us. We now believed truly that we should never arrive in France.

The commander of the English brig, after reading the passports of Lord Keith, declared to us, that he knew us at a great distance, and that, fearing the pirate would take us, he had sunk a small French vessel taken by him the evening before, to come to our

aid. He had, moreover, hoisted his largest flag on the main mast, that distinguishing more plainly his colours, we might be induced to hold out some minutes to enable him to come up to our assistance. At length, after all these delays, we entered the road of Toulon (April 24th), having been absent two years wanting twenty-six days.

We passed twenty-five days at the Lazerretto to perform our quarantine. During this tedious time we received many visits and letters from our friends. Desaix received one from Bonaparte. He was much affected by it. The First Consul described the miseries that accompany greatness, and engaged him to repair to him immediately. Desaix, seduced by the sad and moving tone of this letter, said to us, "*He is covered with glory but he is not happy.*" Afterwards, reading in the journals the march of the army of reserve, he exclaimed, "*He will leave us nothing to do,*"

On the 19th of May, we finished our quarantine. Two days afterwards we were at Marseilles. Desaix set out from thence for Italy, where, by the sacrifice of his life, he sealed the peace with Austria. Every one took the route to his own home. In less than eight days I arrived at Paris, and had the happiness to find my family in good health. They had believed me dead, they had mourned for me,—they again wept, but these tears were sweet, —they were the tears of that pure joy which is felt on again seeing a child imagined to be lost for ever.

END OF THE CAMPAIGN OF BONAPARTE IN EGYPT AND SYRIA.

# JOURNAL

IN

# Upper and Lower Egypt,

IN COMPANY WITH SEVERAL

## *DIVISIONS OF THE FRENCH ARMY,*

During the Campaigns of

## GENERAL BONAPARTE

IN THAT COUNTRY;

AND PUBLISHED UNDER HIS IMMEDIATE PATRONAGE,

BY

VIVANT DENON.

VOL. I. No. I.

# DEDICATION.

## *TO BONAPARTE.*

YOUR Expedition, General, has united the Glorious Annals of our Own Time with the History of the Heroic Age; and has reanimated the Dust of Sesostris and Menes.

Europe will receive my Journal with interest, because it is the Journal of the Warrior whom I accompanied. I have neglected nothing to render it worthy of the Hero, to whom I thus address it.

VIVANT DENON.

# PREFACE.

IT is necessary for an Author to give a brief account of his aim in writing. I will execute this purpose by inserting the Discourse, which I had intended to read to the Institute of Cairo.

"The Institute expects of me, Gentlemen, an account of my travels in Upper Egypt. I am about, Gentlemen, to digest my Journal. I was engaged in travelling through a country known to Europe by name only: it therefore became important to describe every thing. I have no fear, therefore, that on such a topic I have been too minute. My zeal has been powerfully seconded by the Commander in chief, whose grand conceptions suffer none of the details to escape him. Being aware that the object of my travels was a visit to the monuments of Upper Egypt, he sent me with the division which was to achieve the conquest of that territory. In General Desaix I found an inquisitive philosopher, and a friend of the arts, from whom I received all the attentions which circumstances would allow. From General Belliard I experienced friendship, and unwearied assiduities; from the officers politeness; and the utmost civility from all the soldiers of the twenty-first half-brigade. In short, I made so truly a part of the battalion which it formed, and within which I had in a manner taken up my abode, that I was frequently in the heat of action without recollecting that warwas foreign from my avocations."

"As our troops were engaged in the pursuit of an enemy constantly mounted, the movements of the division were invariably both unforeseen and multiplied. I was therefore sometimes obliged to pass rapidly over the most interesting monuments; and at other times to stop where there was nothing to observe. If, however, I have felt the fatigue of unproductive marches, I have also experienced that it is often advantageous to take a summary view of important objects previously to an entry into their details; that, if at first sight they dazzle by their number, they have afterwards become classed in the mind by reflection; and that, if it be necessary studiously to preserve the first impressions, it is only during the absence of the object which has given rise to them, that these impressions can be carefully examined and analyzed. I have most fre-

quently had my paper on my knee, or standing, or even on horseback. It is in this way that I have collected what I have the honour to present to this Institute. It is in this way that I have described in mass the Pyramids of Saccara, the site of which I crossed on a gallop in my way to fix myself for a month in the mud houses of Benesuef. This interval of time was spent in my Journal and Portfeuille, and in studying the character of the different nations which now inhabit Egypt.

"I saw at length the portico of Hermopolis, the huge masses of the ruins of which gave me the earliest idea of the splendour that characterizes the colossal architecture of the Egyptians. On each of the blocks of which this edifice was composed, I fancied that I saw engraven the words *posterity, eternity.*

"Shortly after, Denderah (Tentyris) taught me that it was not in the doric, ionic, and corinthian orders alone, that the beauties of architecture were to be sought: wherever a harmony of parts exists, there also dwells beauty. I had approached these edifices in the morning; in the evening I was snatched away from them, agitated rather than satisfied. I had seen a hundred things, while a thousand others had escaped me; and had, for the first time, found access to the archives of the arts and sciences. I had the presentiment that I should meet with nothing finer in Egypt; and, after having made twenty journies to Denderah, I am confirmed in this opinion. The sciences and arts, in union with good taste, have decorated the temple of Isis: there astronomy, morals, and metaphysics, assume shape and figure, and these figures and shapes decorate the ceilings, friezes, and bases, with at least as much taste and grace as our slight and insignificant paintings *in fresco* ornament the modern cabinets.

"We continued to advance. I must confess that I trembled a thousand times, lest Mourad-Bey, wearied with shunning us, should either surrender, or try the chance of a battle. I was of opinion, that the one which was fought near Samanhut would wind up this great drama: in the midst, however, of the combat, it struck Mourad-Bey that the desert would be more fatal to us than his arms. Desaix was thus again deprived of an opportunity of destroying him; while, for my part, I cherished the hope of pursuing him beyond the tropic.

"We marched towards Thebes, the name alone of which fills the imagination with vast recollections. We passed through it so rapidly, that scarcely was a monument discovered, when it was necessary to abandon it.

"There a colossal statue presented itself which I was only able to measure by the eye, still influenced by the sensation of surprise which the view of it occasioned. To the right were seen mountains excavated and sculptured; to the left, temples, which, viewed at a distance, appeared like so many rocks. Next came palaces, and other temples, which I was obliged to quit precipitately. I returned, to seek mechanically the hundred gates of which Homer poetically speaks to express by a single word this splendid city, the weight of the porticoes of which oppressed the earth, while the breadth of Egypt scarcely

surpassed for its compass and extent. Seven subsequent journies thither have not satisfied the curiosity with which this first visit inspired me. It was not until the fourth that I was enabled to cross to the opposite side of the river.

"Farther on, I should have regarded Hermontis as superb, if that city had not been placed so near to the gates of Thebes. The temple of Esneh, the ancient Latopolis, appeared to me to be the perfection of art among the Egyptians, and one of the finest productions of antiquity. That of Edfu, or Apollinopolis Magna, is one of the largest, best preserved, and most advantageously situated of the monuments of Egypt. In its present state it still appears like a fortress which commands the surrounding country.

"It was there that the destination of my travels was decided on: we set out on our march for Syené (Assuan) under the most positive instructions. In this passage through the desert, I felt for the first time in my life the weight of years, on which I had not reckoned when I engaged in the expedition. On this occasion I derived greater support from my spirit than from my strength. At Syené I quitted the army, to remain with the half-brigade which was to keep Mourad-Bey in check in the desert. Proud at finding my country in possession of the very boundaries which had once belonged to the Roman empire, I inhabited with exultation the quarters which three Roman cohorts had anciently occupied for the defence of these limits. During the twenty-two days which I spent on this celebrated spot, I took possession of whatever was to be found in its vicinity. I extended my conquests as far as Nubia, on the other side of Philoé, that delightful island, where it was necessary to snatch by force from the inhabitants the curiosities with which it abounded; and the temples of which were not opened to me until after five days of siege and six separate journies. Feeling all the importance of making you acquainted with the spot that I inhabited, and with all the interesting objects which it contained, I have not omitted even the rocks, the quarries of granite whence have been drawn those colossal statues, those obelisks even more than colossal, and those blocks covered with hieroglyphics so celebrated in history. I could have wished to bring back with me the specimens which would have interested you the most powerfully. I have described, you will see, very fully the entrance of the Nile into Egypt, together with views of that river running over beds of granite, which seem to have marked the boundaries between Ethiopia and a country more fertile and temperate. Quitting for ever the former rude territory, I approached the verdant Elephantis, the garden of the tropic. I sought and measured all the monuments it contains, and quitted with regret that tranquil abode, where the pleasing occupations in which I had been engaged had re-established my health, and given me a new vigour.

"On the right bank of the Nile I visited Ombos, the city of the crocodile, the Coptos dedicated to Juno Lucina, where I was obliged to protect, from the fanaticism of the Meccans, the riches that I had brought away with me.

"After making some stay at Kénèh, I accompanied the party which had to cross the desert, and to proceed to Kosèir, to check the new emigrations from Arabia. I saw what may be denominated the cupola of the chain of mountains of Mokatam, and the steril banks of the Red Sea. I there learned to revere that patient animal, which nature seems to have placed in those regions to atone for the error she had committed in creating a desert. I now returned to Kénèh, whence I set out at different intervals to visit Edfù, Esneh, Hermontis, Thebes, and Denderah, neglecting no opportunity to repair to Edfu and to Thebes, whenever a detachment was ordered to either of these places; and indeed, accompanying the detachments wherever they were sent. If a fondness for antiquities has frequently made me a soldier, on the other hand, the kindness of the soldiers, in aiding me in my researches, has often made antiquaries of them. In these latter journies I visited the tombs of the kings, in order that in these secret depositories I might form an idea of the art of painting among the Egyptians, of their utensils, arms, furniture, musical instruments, ceremonies, and triumphs. It was also on these occasions that I assured myself, that the hieroglyphics sculptured on the walls were not the only books of that learned nation. After having discovered on the bas-reliefs the representations of persons in the act of writing, I made the additional discovery of that roll of papyrus, of that unique manuscript which has already engaged your attention. This fragile rival of the pyramids, this invaluable pledge of a preservatory climate, this monument which time as spared, is the most ancient of all books, and boasts the duration of forty centuries.

"I sought, in the course of these latter excursions, to complete by approximations the voluminous collection of hieroglyphical paintings which I have formed. In thinking of you, Gentlemen, and of the learned of Europe, I felt the resolution to omit nothing.

"Now that I am returned, I have forgotten the labour which my Journal and Portfeuille have cost me, from the persuasion that, being completed under your inspection, and with the help of your counsel, they may hereafter become useful to my country, and be worthy of being presented to you."

# ORIGINAL JOURNALS

OF THE

# Campaigns

OF

# *THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.*

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## JOURNAL IN UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, 1798-9.

I HAD from my infancy wished to make a voyage to Egypt; but time, which softens every impression, had weakened this desire. When the expedition, which was to render us masters of that territory, was on foot, the possibility of executing my old project awakened the wish to undertake it. In a word, the hero who commanded the expedition decided on my departure: he promised to take me with him; and I had no anxiety about my return. As soon as I had made the necessary provision for those whose existence depended on my own, I became tranquil with regard to the past, and devoted myself wholly to the future. Being fully persuaded that he who is in the constant pursuit of any object acquires thence the command of success, I no longer reflected on the obstacles which were in my way, or at least I felt within myself all that was necessary to surmount them. My heart palpitated, without my being able to explain whether this emotion arose from joy or from sorrow. Shunning all social intercourse, I wandered about, and became agitated, witout having any object in view, and without foreseeing or providing any part of what might be of use to me in a country where few resources were to be found. The brave and unfortunate Du Falga permitted my nephew to accompany me, an indulgence for which I felt every gratitude. In quitting all that was dear to me, to have the society

of an amiable relative was the means of preventing the chain of my affections from being broken; it kept my mind in the exercise of its sensibility; and marked the delicacy of that good and enlightened man.

I shall say but little of my journey from Paris to the port where we were to embark. We arrived at Lyons without having quitted our carriage; and we there embarked on the Rhone to proceed to Avignon. On viewing the fine banks of the Saone, and the picturesque scenes of the Rhone, it struck me, that, without enjoying what he possesses at home, man seeks in distant climes food for his insatiable curiosity. I had seen the Neva, I had viewed the Tiber, and I was now in search of the Nile: I had, however, when in Italy, seen no antiquities superior to those of Nismes, Orange, Beauvaise, St. Remy, and Aix. I mention the latter place, because we staid an hour there, which gave me an opportunity of bathing in the apartment, and in the very bath in which, since the time of the Proconsul Sextus, nothing except the cock had been changed.

We spent a day at Marseilles, whence we set out on the 13th of May, 1798, for Toulon. On the following day I embarked on board the frigate La Junon, which, in company with two other frigates, was to reconnoitre ahead of the fleet.

The wind was foul, and we quitted the port with some difficulty. We fell aboard two other vessels, an unlucky omen, which would have induced a Roman to return into port. He would, however, have been to blame, seeing that chance, which in almost all cases helps us more effectually than we can help ourselves, by not allowing me to do what I wished, and by conducting me implicitly to what I was to do, placed me from that moment with the advance-guard, which I was not to quit during the expedition.

On the 15th, our manœuvres were confined to standing off and on the port.

Towards the evening of the 16th, we discovered four sail, which manœuvred in order of battle to leeward of us. The hammocks were ordered on deck; a terrible command, of which no idea can be formed by those who have not been at sea. Silence, terror, the preparatives for slaughter, and those still more dreadful to meet, its consequences, all display themselves at once. The manœuvres and the guns are the only objects of solicitude: the crew, form but a secondary consideration.

Night came, but did not restore our tranquillity: we passed it at our posts. At day-break we found we had taken every advantage of the wind. The vessels in sight of us were so distant,

that we could not judge whether they were ships of the line or frigates. They were four to our three; and our lower rigging was embarrassed by trains of artillery. In the afternoon the commodore ordered us to form the line of battle, hoisting his colours, and firing a gun. The ships in view of us now hoisted Spanish colours. At night we were allowed to sleep; but at three in the morning were awakened by the order to prepare for action.

I was not sorry that the expedition should begin by something brilliant: I was not, however, without my apprehensions of exchanging the Nile for the Thames. We were within gun-shot of the strange ships, when our commodore sent his boat on board them. After an hour's absence the boat returned with the intelligence that we had caused an uneasiness equal to our own to four Spanish frigates, which certainly did not come to seek a quarrel with us.

On the 19th, at day-break, the wind shifted to the north-west. The ships of the line and the convoy quitted the port, and by noon the sea was covered with vessels. How grand a spectacle! Never can any national display give a more sublime idea of the splendor of France, of her strength, and of her means. Is it possible to reflect without admiration on the facility and promptitude with which this great and memorable expedition was got ready? Thousands of persons belonging to all the classes of society repaired to the ports, almost the whole of them ignorant of what was to be their destination. They deserted wives, children, friends and fortune, to follow Bonaparte, and for this reason only that Bonaparte was to be their guide.

On the 20th, the Orient at length quitted the port, and we put to sea with a fair wind, each vessel taking her station in order of sailing. Our squadron of frigates was ahead. Next came the commander in chief, with his advice boats, and the line of battle ships. The convoy kept within shore, between the islands of Hieres and the main land. In the evening the breeze freshened; the Franklin carried away her mizen-top-sail. Two frigates belonging to our division were dispatched to give notice to the convoy at Genoa to join us; and on the 22d in the morning, we were off St. Fiorenzo, in the island of Corsica.

We directed our course towards Cape Corso, steering to the east, and leaving to the left Genoa, and the shore of Liguria. Our line of battle ships extended for a league; and the half circle formed by the convoy was at least six leagues in extent. I counted an hundred and sixty vessels, without being able to reckon the whole.

On the 23d in the morning, the frigates had weathered Cape Corso. The line of battle ships were off the Cape, and the island of Capraia. The convoy followed in good order; but being to leeward of the Cape, and not being able to double it in the course of the day, we were obliged to lie to at the distance of a league from the land.

On the morning of the 24th, the frigates were off the eastern coast of Corsica, opposite Bastia, the road and port of which I could distinguish very clearly. The city appeared to me to be well built, and the country about it less rude in its aspect than the rest of the island.

The island of Elba is a rock of ferruginous earth, the crystallized portions of which present all the colours of the prism. This rock is divided among three sovereigns. The lordship and mines belong to the prince of Piombino; Porto Ferraio, to the left, belongs to the grand duke of Tuscany; and, to the right, Porto Longone is the property of the king of Naples.

The south-west part of the island of Capraia, which was within our view, is no other than a steep and inaccessible rock. This island belongs to the Genoese, who have, at the eastern part, a fortress and an anchorage ground.

At five in the afternoon the island of Pianose was to the east of us. Its flat surface is a league in extent; and as it is elevated a few feet only above the surface of the sea, it is extremely dangerous in the night to pilots who are unacquainted with the coast. It is situated between the island of Elba and Monte Christo, an uncultivated rock, abandoned to wild goats. To the west of the latter island the wind died away, and our sluggish convoy ceased to make any progress.

When a calm ensues, sloth develops all the passions of the crew of a vessel, giving birth to each superfluous want, and to the disputes which arise to procure it. The seamen wanted double allowance, and vented their complaints. The most greedy among them sold their effects, or disposed of them by way of lottery: while others, with a strong propensity to gamble, played, and lost more in a quarter of an hour than they could pay in their life-time. Those who had lost their money staked their watches, six or eight of which I have seen depending on the chance of a die. When night put a stop to these turbulent enjoyments, a bad fiddle, or a worse singer, charmed a numerous auditory on the deck; while, at a little distance from these, an energetic story-teller drew the attention of a group of seamen, who never failed to manifest their resentment against any one who should attempt to interrupt the

recital of the prodigies of valour and marvellous adventures of *Tranche-Montagne.** The hero of these tales being invariably a warrior, each of the adventures was as probable as it was interesting to the auditors. In the mean time our provisions diminished daily, while we remained in a manner stationary.

On the 25th, we were still off Monte Christo, and the eastern coast of Corsica. This part of the island appeared to me to be more agreeable and better cultivated than the others.

On the 26th, at day-break, we were off the strait of Bonifacio; and, our convoy being collected, should have made a considerable progress, had we not been obliged to lie to, and to wait for the divisions of Ajaccio and Civita Vecchia. The Diane and an advice-boat had been dispatched to them; while the frigates had received orders to cruise ahead and to hail and reconnoitre vessels.

On the morning of the 27th, we had entirely lost sight of land. The following day was spent in a state of perfect stagnation. In a sea cruise a calm resembles the sleep which opium procures in a raging sever: the evil is suspended, but the malady is not subdued.

On the 29th, we stood on, having been joined by the Ajaccio convoy; that of Civita Vecchia had not made so much speed. The island of Corsica was no longer in view; and we were abreast of the island of Talara.

The island of Sardinia is not so elevated as Corsica. These two islands, one situated at the extremity of the other, appear like a prolongation of the chain of the Alps, which terminates at the gulf of Genoa, as do also the chains of the Apennines and Vosges mountains, together with all those secondary chains, which are no other than so many branches diverging from the same point. At noon the signal was made for a written order. We were so much in need of events, that this circumstance diffused gladness in every breast. The purport of the order was, that we were to proceed to Cagliari, and, on our arrival off that port, were to return to Porto Vecchia, if we had been anticipated by an enemy of superior force.

On the 30th and 31st, we were prevented from taking advantage of the wind, the ships of the line and convoy doing nothing but standing off and on. In the evening we were joined by the Badine, which brought the intelligence that we might be almost certain of reaching Cagliari point without molestation. Nothing new occurred until the 4th of June. Our provisions were nearly expended,

* A story similar to that of Jack the giant-killer

and our water had became so fetid as to be scarcely drinkable. The useful animals had disappeared, while those that fed on us were multiplied an hundred fold.

On the following day, the 5th, we received orders to form the line afresh, which led us to think that we were to prosecute our expedition without delay, and for that purpose to cross over to the opposite shore. The Diane led. We repeated her signals to the Alceste, which transmitted them to the Spartiate, whence, by the medium of the Aquilon, they were conveyed to the ship of the commander in chief. By eight o'clock we were in the order I have just described. In case the Diane should chace an enemy's vessel, the other ships composing the flying squadron were to crowd sail to come up with her and her chace. We saw several small dolphins play before the head of the ship! but to our great mortification, they disappeared while we were preparing to harpoon them. I had a close view of them. Their progress resembles the pitching of a vessel. They leap out of the water, and dart forward twenty feet. They are elegantly shaped, and their rapid movements rather resemble a sportive gaiety, than announce the voracity of an animal in quest of its prey. In the evening the wind freshened, and, shifting round from the east to the west, collected the convoy in such a way, that I fancied I saw Venice floating on the waves. At sun-set we descried Martimo; and received orders to rally the convoy, in the midst of which we were to pass the night, as in a floating city.

On the 6th, we kept in the same order of sailing. We were still in sight of Martimo, a rock which resembles a mole, at the western point of Sicily. It is one of the rallying points of the Mediterranean, where we might have fallen in with the English. The wind freshened, and we went at the rate of two leagues an hour. Under such circumstances as these, the inconveniences of a sea-life are forgotten, and nothing felt but the advantage of having such an agent as the sea for the transport and conveyance of forty thousand men, as in our case, without halt or relay. At one o'clock, being off Martimo, at one league's distance, we descried Favagnana, another rock, situated in front of Trapano, and mount Erix, which overlooks that city, celebrated for a temple of Venus, and for the way in which sacrifices were there made to that goddess. I had formerly visited mount Erix, where I had sought the temple, and the city renowned for the beauty of its female inhabitants: in spite, however, of my youth, and of a fervid imagination, I could discover nothing but a paltry village, and some foundations of a temple.

The coast of Sicily, a country agreeable, productive, and well cultivated, made us amends for the rude aspect of the coasts of Corsica, and the adjacent rocks. To me it had another charm, that of remembrance. I had figured to myself Sicily as an ancient property. I could preceive, through the vapours of the atmosphere, Marsala, formerly Lilibæum, whence the Greeks and Romans descried the fleets which came out from Carthage to attack them. At a more remote distance, I had a glimpse of the verdant and flourishing plains of Mazzarra, and of the city of Motala, celebrated for the combat between the Carthaginians and Syracusans. My imagination, following the coast, figured to itself the aspect of Selinuns, its temples and its upright columns still resembling towers. At a still greater distance, I fancied that I could perceive the hospitable Agrigentum. We made a progress of three leagues an hour; and the picture which my imagination had drawn was about to be realized, when a signal was made to call in the frigates.

The night was fine; we spent it in the midst of the fleet. I had requested to be waked if the land should be in sight at day-break. At half after three I was on deck; and as soon as the day dawned, I perceived that the fleet and convoy had put out to sea, and were steering towards Malta. Sicily soon disappeared. To the south-west I perceived, or rather I fancied that I could distinguish, the island of Pantaleria, in the midst of the thick clouds in which it is constantly enveloped. Thither it was that the Romans exiled the illustrious characters whom they proscribed; and there the Neapolitan state-prisoners are at this time confined.

On the 7th we had a clear sky; but the wind having died away, we made but little progress. Having been obliged to give chace to a strange sail, we were separated from the fleet, which we could not join afterwards. We saw a fish about eighty feet in length.

The night was calm; and on the 8th, at day-break, we were precisely in the situation in which we had been on the preceding evening at sun-set. To the north-east we descried Etna towering above the horizon. I could see its figure very distinctly. The smoke issued from the eastern side, and denoted an eruption from an accidental aperture. Notwithstanding it was fifty leagues distant from us, it appeared larger than the mountains to the south, which were distant only twelve leagues. When the sun had attained a certain degree of elevation, it disappeared, together with the shadow by which its circumference was marked.

At six in the evening we descried Gozo, which, at the distance of seven leagues, I very clearly distinguished, reddening in the horizon. We lay to all night to wait for the convoy. On the following morning, at day-break, I had another view of Etna, the smoke of which spread itself in the air to a distance of more than twenty leagues, like a long sheet of vapours. We were then fifty-three leagues distant from the island.

The men of war all passed under the stern of the commander in chief. We had not as yet approached the Orient since our departure; and this evolution was so awful and majestic, that, notwithstanding the pleasure we had at seeing each other again, we did not add a single phrase to the *good day* which we pronounced with a low voice in passing.

We steered towards the north side of Gozo. It is an elevated rock in form of a peak, and without anchorage. We afterwards coasted along the western part, within half gun-shot. On that side, which at first sight appears as barren as the other, cotton is however cultivated. All the little vallies resemble so many gardens. In the middle of the island there is a large village, and on the most elevated part a fortress with casemates, very well built.

At eight in the morning a signal was made for several strange sails, thirty of which could be distinguished. Was this the enemy's fleet? On reconnoitring, it was found to be the Civita Vecchia convoy, having on board General Desaix's division. This convoy had kept within shore along the Italian coast, had passed through the strait of Messina, and was off Malta some days before us.

As an impetuous torrent, which has increased its bulk in passing over mountains covered with snow, threatens in its course, accelerated by its mass, to sweep away forests and cities: so our fleet, now become immense, unquestionably spread terror and dismay wherever it was descried. Corsica, warned of our approach, felt no other emotion than that which is inspired by so grand a spectacle: Sicily was appalled; and Malta in a state of stupid consternation. We will not, however, anticipate events.

## CHAPTER II.

*Arrival of the Fleet at Malta—Attack on the Town and Capitulation—The Fleet pursue their Voyage—Accident at Sea—Discover the British Fleet near Candia—Make the Coast of Egypt—Barren Appearance of the Land—Tower of the Arabs—View of Alexandria from Sea—The Army disembark and carry Fort Marabou.*

AT five in the afternoon we were off Cumino and Cuminotto, two islets which lie between Gozo and Malta, and which, together with these islands, constitute the whole of the sovereignty of the Grand Master. There are several small fortresses to protect these islets from the Barbary pirates, and to prevent them from establishing themselves there when the Maltese gallies are no longer at sea. One of our barks approached, but a landing was refused: she sent her small boat to sound the anchoring grounds. At six o'clock we descried Malta, the aspect of which delighted me as much as when I first saw it. Two paltry barks came out to offer us tobacco. The evening closed, and not a light was to be discovered in the city. Our frigate was off the entrance of the port, within less than a gun shot of fort St. Elmo. Orders were given to prepare for landing the troops. At nine o'clock a signal was made for the ships to take their stations: there was little or no wind: the ships of the line made night signals relative to these movements, and to those of the convoy. Rockets were let off, and guns fired, in consequence of which all the lights were extinguished in the port. Our captain went on board the flag-ship, but on his return concealed from us the orders that he had received.

On the 10th, at four in the morning, having been carried away by the strength of the currents, we were to leeward of the island, the eastern part of which was in sight: it was still calm. I made a drawing of the whole of the island of Gozo, and of the two islets, to give an idea of the general form of this group, and of its surface on the horizontal line of the sea.

A gentle breeze sprung up, and advantage was taken of it to form a semi-circular line, one of the extremities of which terminated at St. Catharine's point, and the other a league to the left of the city, blocking the port. The centre was stationed off forts St. Elmo and St. Angelo; and the convoy at anchor between Cumino and Gozo. Immediately after, a shot was fired from fort St. Catharine, levelled at the barks which approached the shore, and at the troops for landing under the command of General Desaix.

Instantly another shot was fired from the fortress which commands the city, and on this fortress the standard of the Order was displayed, at the same time that, at the other extremity of the line of our vessels, our boats were employed in landing troops and field-pieces. Scarcely were they formed on the beach, when they proceeded to the attack of two posts, the garrisons of which retreated after a momentary resistance. The batteries of all the forts now commenced a fire on the ships and debarkations. This fire they kept up till the evening, with an imprudent precipitation, which betrayed their fears and confusion. At ten o'clock we saw our troops ascend the nearest height, and march to the rear of Valetta, to oppose a *sortie* made by the besieged, who were driven within the walls, and under the batteries. The firing was kept up until night. This attempt on the part of the knights, aided by the peasants, was fatal to them. During their absence there had been tumults in the city, where the populace massacred several of them on their return.

The wind dying away, we took advantage of the little that remained to join the ships of the line, from an apprehension of being becalmed, and of being thus exposed to the fire of two Maltese gallies which had anchored off the entrance of the port. I was constantly on deck, and, with a spying glass in hand, could have kept a journal of all that passed in the city, and have noted in a manner the degree of activity of the passions by which the movements were guided. The first day all was in martial array, the knights in full uniform, and a constant communication kept up between the city and the forts, into which provisions and ammunition of every kind were thrown. Every thing, in short, indicated hostility. On the second day the movements resembled those of an agitated state. A part only of the knights were in uniform: they disputed with each other, but had ceased to act.

On the 11th, at day break, the state of things was pretty much the same as on the preceding evening. A slow and insignificant fire was kept up by the besieged. Bonaparte had returned on board; and General Regnier, who had made himself master of Gozo, had sent off several prisoners, Frenchmen. After having questioned them, Bonaparte said to them with a stern voice "Since you have taken up arms against your country, you should have known how to die. I will not accept such prisoners: you may therefore return to Malta, which is not yet in my possession."

A bark left the port: we sent a small boat to hail her, and to conduct her to the commander in chief. When I saw this small bark carry at her stern the standard of the Order sailing humbly be-

neath the ramparts, which had for two years victoriously resisted all the forces of the east, commanded by the terrible Dragut; when I figured to myself this accumulated glory, acquired and preserved during several ages, melt away when opposed to the fortune of Bonaparte, I thought I heard the ghosts of Lisle-Adam and Lavalette vent their dismal lamentations, and I fancied that I saw Time make to Philospohy the illustrious sacrifice of the most venerable of all illusions.

At eleven o'clock another bark came off with a flag of truce. It had on board several knights who had quitted Malta, and who did not wish to be comprehended among those by whom resistance had been made. It was easy to collect from their conversation that the Maltese had but few resources left. At four in the afternoon the Junon was within half gun-shot of the island: I had a distinct view of the forts, in which I could perceive fewer men than guns.

The gates of the forts were shut, and there was no longer any communication between them and the city; a circumstance which manifested a distrust between the inhabitants and the knights. Junot, an aid-de-camp, was sent with the general's ultimatum. A few minutes after, a deputation of twelve Maltese commissaries went on board the Orient. We were stationed exactly opposite the city, which runs from north to south, and which we could see from the one extremity to the other, the streets being in a right line. They were as well lighted as they were obscure on the night of our arrival.

On the 12th, in the morning, we were informed that the general's aid-de-camp had been very favourably received by the inhabitants. I could distinguish, with the help of my glass, that the palisade by which fort St. Elmo is enclosed was assailed by a multitude of persons. Those who were withinside were seated on the walls of the batteries, in an attitude which denoted anxious expectation. At half after eleven, the bark which had brought the flag of truce, and which had remained under the stern of the Orient during the night, returned to the city. We received at the same time orders to hoist our colours, and, a moment after, the signal was made that Malta was in our possession.

This island became an intermediate station between our country and the one we were about to subdue. It completed the conquest of the Mediterranean; and never had France attained so great a degree of power. At five o'clock our troops entered and took possession of the forts: they were saluted by the fleet with five hundred guns.

We had been the first in quitting Toulon, and we were the last in entering the harbour of Malta. We did not land until the 13th

in the morning. I was no stranger to this surprising city; and was not less struck, on this second occasion, than on my first visit, with the formidable aspect by which it is characterized.

Geographers are not decided whether Malta should be annexed to Europe or to Africa. The persons of the Maltese, their moral character, complexion and language, ought to determine the question in savour of Africa.

Both the French and Maltese were very much surprised at finding themselves on the same ground. On our side it was enthusiasm; on theirs, stupefaction.

All the Turkish and Arabian slaves were set free; and never was there a stronger expression of joy than that which they manifested. When they met the French, gratitude was expressed in their countenances in so affecting a way, that I repeatedly shed tears. It was to me a true feast of the soul. To convey an idea of their extreme satisfaction on this occasion, it is necessay to state, that their governments never either bought or exchanged them. Their slavery was not alleviated by any hope; and they could not even dream of the termination of their sufferings.

I went out in quest of my old acquaintances, and viewed with a new delight the fine paintings in fresco of Calabreze, with which the roof of the church of St. John is decorated, and the magnificent picture of Michael Angelo de Caravagio, in the sacristy of the same church. I next visited the library, where I saw an Etruscan vase found at Gozo, of the greatest beauty, both with respect to the earth and the painting. I likewise inspected a very large glass vase, a lamp also found at Gozo, and a kind of votive disk in stone, with a bas-relief, representing on one of the sides, a sphinx, with a paw placed on the head of a ram. The style of this latter object sufficiently denotes its antiquity. The other curiosities in the library are to be found in the description of the cabinet of Malta, and in that which I have given in my picturesque travels in Italy. A few months before our arrival, a tomb had been found near Malta, at a place named Farbaceo.

On the fourth day after our landing, the commander in chief gave a supper, to which the members of the newly constituted authorites were invited. They saw with equal surprise and admiration the martial elegance of our generals and the assemblage of officers, on whose countenances beamed health and vigour, glory and hope. They were struck by the noble physiognomy of the commander in chief, the expression of which seemed to augment his stature.

The commotions which had taken place in the city on our arrival, had occasioned the shutting up of the coffee-houses, and other places of public amusement. The more respectable inhabitants, not yet recovered from their astonishment at the events which had taken place, kept themselves within doors; while our soldiers, heated by wine and by the climate, inspired such terror among the tradespeople and the lower classes, that they shut up their shops, and hid their females. This fine city, where we saw no one but ourselves, appeared dull to us. The forts, bastions, and strong fortifications, seemed to announce to the army that nothing could impede its progress, that it had only to march to victory; and the soldiers returned on board with pleasure. The wind, however, prevented our getting out of harbour. During the whole of the 18th, we stood off and on before the port.

On the morning of the 19th, the Orient came out of harbour. Four thousand men, commanded by General Vaubois, were left on the island, together with two officers of engineers and artillery, a civil commissary, and, in short, all those who, impelled by their curiosity, and a rambling inclination, had embarked without sufficient reflection, and who through fickleness, or a false mode of reasoning, were become disgusted on the way, representing as so many injuries which, according to them, they were made to suffer, the inconveniences inseparable from a sea voyage. There were among them those who, perfectly insensible to the beauties Malta, the conveniences of its ports, and its advantageous positions, were surprised that a rock beneath the burning clime of Africa should not be as verdant as the vale of Montmorency; as if each country had not received from nature its peculiar gifts! To travel, is to enjoy these gifts, which are destroyed by an endeavour to draw a comparison between them.

If the aspect of Malta is barren, one cannot but admire that the smallest hill, which contains an inconsiderable portion of earth, should be converted into a garden equally delightful and abundant, in which all the plants of Asia and of Africa might be inured to the climate, and made to flourish. This species of primary hothouse might serve to supply another at Toulon; and these productions might thus be brought by degrees to Paris, without having been exposed to those rude checks which are occasioned by a sudden and extreme difference of climate. It is probable that a great part of the exotic plants which we cultivate annually at a great expence in our green-houses, where they languish the second year, and perish the third, might be naturalized here. The experiments made on animals seem to support this system of gradation,

The whole of this day, the 19th, was employed in collecting the fleet of line of battle ships, the squadron of frigates, and the convoy. At six in the evening a signal was made to observe the order of sailing. The movement was general in every direction, and was productive of some confusion.

Being obliged to give way to the admiral's ship, we perceived a little too late that the Leoben was on the point of running foul of us. The officer of the watch pretended that the Leoben was in fault, and confined himself strictly to his tactics. Our captain, more intent to save the frigate against the rules of seamanship than to injure the Leoben, ordered a manœuvre: the officer of the watch gave orders for another: a moment of inaction ensued; and it became too late for exertion. I was aware of our danger from the distortions I observed in every part of our captain's countenance and person. We shall fall aboard! we are running foul! we are aboard! were the three sentences pronounced in succession; and time for the utterance of them was sufficient to decide on our fate. The frigates approached each other, and the rigging became entangled. The Leoben, by a slight manœuvre, fell alongside us; and this shock was deadened by the carriages of the field-pieces fastened to her side, and which were broken. The cries of four hundred persons, with uplifted hands, made me believe for a moment that the Leoben was the victim of this first encounter. In endeavouring by a manœuvre to avoid or diminish the second, we perceived on our starboard the Artemise bearing down on us, in an opposite direction; and again, ahead of us, the prow of a ship of seventy-four guns, which we had perceived for the first time. Our terror was extreme: we were become a point at which every danger was at one and the same time concentrated. The Leoben, by another manœuvre, presented to us her bow; and her fore-yard fell on our deck. This accident, which might have been fatal to many of the crew, was advantageous to us. The seamen, and more particularly the Turks by whom we had been joined, surrounded the yard, and made such efforts to force it back, that the shock, which received no support from the wind, was deadened: and for this time we escaped at the expense of a hole made in our upper planks by the Leoben's anchor. The Artemise had passed under our stern; and the ship of the line had shot ahead; insomuch that all these dangers, which had gathered about us like clouds in a storm, were still more speedily dissipated. Nothing remained but the anger of the officer of the watch, who would gladly have seen us all perish, sooner than not convince his captain that he was in the right. We were indebted for our safety to the seamanness

of the wind, and to the carriages of the field-pieces, by which the first shock was deadened. Two merchantmen, in falling aboard each other, may do themselves some mischief, but are not likely to founder. With men of war it is different; it rarely happens that one or the other is not lost, and frequently both.

On the 20th, it was calm during the whole of the day; and we had to encounter the intense heat of the sun in such a season, in thirty-five degrees of latitude. In the course of the night a breeze sprang up: the order of sailing was changed.

On the 21st, the convoy was stationed ahead, the ships of the line in the rear, and the frigates to the left.

On the two following days we had fine weather, and a fair wind, which would have enabled us to reach the island of Candia, provided we had not had a convoy with us, for which we were obliged to wait every moment.

During the months of June, July, August, the north and north-east winds are the trade winds of the Mediterranean; a circumstance which renders the navigation delightful in that season, in sailing to the south and to the west, but which at the same time, makes the return very uncertain, it being necessary to enter on it during the inclement season.

On the 24th, we made forty-eight leagues with a breeze which bordered on a gale of wind. On the following morning, at eleven o'clock, our signal was made to go ahead and look out for land. At four in the afternoon we discovered the west part of the island of Candia. At the distance of twenty leagues I could distinguish mount Ida, the birth-place of Jupiter, and the country of almost all the gods. I had the greatest wish possible to visit the kingdom of Minos, and to seek some remains of the labyrinth. What I had foreseen, however, happened: our favourable breeze prevented us from approaching the island.

On the 26th, at five in the morning, I found that we had steered in the direction of the eastern coast, without drawing towards it. The gale had been so strong during the night, that the whole of the convoy was dispersed. We spent all the morning in collecting the transports, and in shortening sail for their coming up. During this manœuvre, chance discovered to us, through a thick fog, the English fleet, which was six leagues distant from us, steering to the west, and proceeding in quest of us towards the northern coast.

On the evening of the 27th, our signal was made to pass under the stern of the Orient. It would be difficult to convey a precise idea of the sensations we felt on approaching this sanctuary

of power, dictating its decrees amidst three hundred sail of vessels in the still silence of the night. The moon afforded to this picture just as much light as was necessary to the enjoyment of it. Five hundred persons were on our deck; and the flapping of a bee's wings might have been heard; the very respiration was suspended. Our captain was ordered to repair on board the flag-ship; and I cannot describe the joy I felt on his return, when he informed us that we were detached from the fleet, and were to proceed without delay to Alexandria, where we were to concert measures with our consul, and to learn from him whether the inhabitants were apprised of our coming, and how they were disposed towards us. He added, that it was our destiny to land the first in Africa, there to collect together our countrymen, and to shelter them from the earliest movements of the inhabitants on the approach of the fleet. From that moment we set every sail we could carry, to accomplish as speedily as possible the sixty leagues we had still to run. The wind, however, fell during the night: for a few hours we had a gentle breeze; but, during the rest of the time, the way we made was entirely owing to the impulsion given to the sea, and to the currents, which carried us towards the point of our destination.

Our orders, after having warned our countrymen to be on their guard, were to return to the fleet, which was to cruise and to wait for us at the distance of six leagues from Cape Brulé. On the 28th at noon, we were within thirty leagues of Alexandria; and at four in the afternoon, our seamen at the mast-head cried out, "*land.*" At six o'clock we saw it from the deck.

The breeze continued during the night; and on the 29th at day break, I saw the coast to the west, stretching like a white ribbon over the blue horizon of the sea. Not a tree, not a habitation was to be discovered; it was not merely nature in her saddest array, but the destruction of nature. It did not, however, affect the gaiety of our seamen: one of them, pointing to the desert, said to his comrade, "*Look, there are six acres which have been decreed you.*" The general burst of laughter which this pleasantry occasioned, may serve to shew that courage is disinterested, or at least that it springs from a nobler sentiment than that of interest.

This part of the coast is dangerous in stormy weather, and during the fogs of winter, when the low, flat land disappears, and is perceived only when it is too late to shun it. Our good fortune, however, allowed us to work in the direction of Cape Durazzo, which we sought by steering to the east a quarter south.

Ten leagues from the Cape, and five from Alexandria, we saw a ruin which is named the Arabian Tower. It appeared to me to be a bastioned square, at some distance from which there is a round tower. I could have wished to have been able to distinguish the details better, so as to have judged whether it is an Arabian building, or of antique construction, and to what date of antiquity it belongs; whether it is the Taposiris of the ancients, which Procopius describes as the tomb of Osiris, or the Chersonesus of Strabo; or, lastly, Plinthine, whence the gulph derived its name. Since that time the garrison of Alexandria has detached reconnoitring parties to this post. The reports of these parties having, however, been entirely confined to their military operations, I have not been able to collect any information relative to the origin of these ruins; and the inquiries I have made, have merely tended to augment the curiosity with which their bulk and extent have inspired me. In general, the whole of this western coast, comprehending the great and small shoals of Cyrenaica, formerly well inhabited, and containing republicks and other forms of government, is at this time one of the most neglected countries in the universe, and is brought to our recollection by the fine medals alone with which it has supplied us.

To the right and left of us our promised land appeared still more steril than that of the Jews. It is true, that thus far it had not cost us so dear; that, if it had not rained on us quails ready roasted, our manna was not corrupted; that we had not been tormented by raging colics; and that we had, notwithstanding, preserved all that had fallen to the share of the children of Israel. The Bedouin Arabs, however, who are dispersed over this country, might have inflicted on us sufferings equal to theirs, and have been equally disastrous to us. It is notwithstanding said, that, during the last twenty years, they have been true to their engagement entered into with the factory of Alexandria, by which, after exacting certain duties, they restore those who have been shipwrecked, at the rate of twenty dollars per head, instead of killing them, as was formerly their custom.

At one o'clock a lieutenant was sent on shore. He had scarcely stepped into the boat when we looked for his return, and counted the minutes as they passed. At three leagues distance I made a view of Alexandria.

By the help of our glasses we saw the tri-coloured flag displayed over our consul's house. I figured to myself the surprise he was about to feel, and that which we were preparing against the following day for the sheik of Alexandria.

When the shadows of the evening delineated the outline of the city; when I could distinguish on our approach the two ports; the thick walls, flanked by a great number of towers, which at present contain nothing but hillocks of sand, and a few gardens, in which the pale green hue of the palm-trees scarcely tempers the burning whiteness of the soil; the Turkish fortress, the mosques, their minarets or towers, and the celebrated pillar of Pompey, my imagination recurred to past ages. I saw art triumph over nature, and the genius of Alexander employ the active medium of commerce, to lay on a barren soil the foundations of a superb city, which he selected to be the depository of the trophies of the conquest of the universe. I saw the Ptolemies invite thither the arts and sciences, and form the library to destroy which the hand of barbarism was several years employed. It is there, said I to myself, reflecting on Cleopatra, Cæsar, and Antony, that the empire of glory yielded to the empire of voluptuousness. I next figured to myself stern ignorance fixing its seat on the ruins of the masterpieces of the arts, completing their destruction, but unable, notwithstanding, to disfigure utterly the fine characters by which they are distinguished, and which belong to the grand principles of their original plans. From this pre-occupation, from this happiness of meditating in view of great objects, I was roused by a gun fired from our frigate, to bring-to a vessel which had set all her sails to get into the port of Alexandria in spite of us, and without doubt to carry thither the tidings of the arrival of the fleet. The night coming on, we soon lost sight of her. Our uneasiness respecting the boat increased every moment, and was converted into terror. At midnight we heard the voices of persons terrified; and soon after our consul and his interpreter, who had escaped from the avenging sabre of the mussulman, and from the terror spread through the country, came on board. They informed us that an English fleet of fourteen ships of the line had quitted its anchorage off Alexandria the evening before; and that the English had declared they were in quest of us, to bring us to action. They had been taken for French; and the inhabitants of the country, already apprised of our projects, and of the taking of Malta, had instantly resorted to arms. The strong holds had been fortified, the militia incorporated with the regular troops, and an army of Bedouins collected. The latter are wandering Arabs, against whom the inhabitants wage war, but with whom they unite whenever a common enemy is to be encountered.

Our horizon was obscured by the presence of the English. When I recollected that only three days before we felt a regret at being

detained by the calms, and that unless for them we should have fallen into the midst of the enemy's fleet, to which we must have made a discovery of our own, I from that moment became a fatalist, and commended myself to the star of Bonaparte.

The sheik had consented to the departure of the consul, on no other condition than that he should be accompanied by several seamen belonging to Alexandria, by whom he was to be conveyed back. They spoke the *lingua-franca*, and understood Italian. I conversed with them; and they added to what the consul had told us, that the English had steered to the east to seek us at Cyprus, where they thought we had stopped.

We made sail in quest of our fleet, and at day-break discovered the first division of the convoy. At seven o'clock we were within hail of the Orient.

It fell to my lot to accompany the consul on board the flag-ship. We were to communicate to the general whatever might interest him most powerfully under such critical circumstances. The English had been seen; and they might come up with us every moment. It blew a fresh gale; and the convoy was blended with the fleet, in such confusion, that the most terrible defeat would have ensued had the enemy appeared. I watched the general's countenance, which did not change in the slightest degree. He made me repeat the statement he had just heard: and after a few minutes, ordered the troops to be landed.

The dispositions which were made, were to bring the convoy as near the land as the danger of getting aground at a time when the wind blew so strong would allow. The men of war formed a circle of defence on the outside; the sails were taken in, and the anchors let go. These arrangements were scarcely made, when we received orders to cruise off the port, as near as the wind would permit us, and to make false attacks by way of diversion.

The breeze still freshened, and the sea was so rough, that we endeavoured ineffectually, during the remainder of the day, to get up our anchor. At night it was too stormy to attempt this without a risk of our carrying away our masts, and of running foul of and sinking the boats with troops on board, which effected their landing with unprecedented difficulty and danger. The launches received one by one, and at random, those who came down the sides of the vessels. When they were filled, the waves threatened every moment to sink them, at the same time that, driven by the wind, they in many instances encountered, and fell on board each other. After having escaped these dangers, when they drew within shore, they knew not how to make their landing good without

being dashed to pieces by the breakers. During the night, a launch filled with troops, which had lost all steerage-way, came under our stern, and asked for assistance. The danger to which those who were on board her were exposed, caused in me an emotion which was augmented by my fancying that I knew the voices of all those who cried for help. We threw out a rope to these poor wretches; but scarcely had they laid hold of it, when it became necessary to cut it, the waves dashing the launch against the side of our vessel, which it threatened to stave in. The cries of these unfortunate men, when they found themselves abandoned to their fate, pierced to the inmost recesses of our souls; and the silence which succeeded filled us with the most melancholy reflections. Our terror was augmented by the darkness; and the operations for landing were as slow as they were disastrous. However by six o'clock the next morning, the first of July, a sufficient number of troops was landed to attack and carry a small fort, called Le Marabou. There the tri-coloured military flag was hoisted for the first time in Africa.

## CHAPTER III.

*Storming of Alexandria—General Aspect of the Town gloomy and deserted—Troublesomeness of the Dogs—Speech of Bonaparte to the Sheik of Alexandria—Pompey's Pillar—Gardens—Cleopatra's Needle—Principal Mosque, and other remarkable Buildings.*

On the 2d the sea was less ruffled. We got under way, and perceived that the beach was covered by our soldiers. By noon they were under the walls of Alexandria, the centre being stationed at Pompey's pillar, behind some small hillocks formed by the ruins of the ancient city. The old walls presented to the valour of our soldiery a succession of breaches. As soon as one of the columns was in motion, the others drew up in battle array, marched, and attacked at the same time. In approaching some old ditches, they discovered more walls than they had been able to see at a first view. A very heavy fire kept up by the besieged, surprised our troops for a moment, but did not check their impetuosity. The most practicable approach was sought under the fire of the enemy: it was found at the west angle, where was situated the ancient port of Kibotos. Our troops stormed: Kleber, Menou, and Lescale were wounded by the enemy's fire, and by the fall of the fragments of walls. Koraim, sheik of Alexandria, who was in every part of the battle, mistook Menou for the commander in chief mortally wounded. In this way the courage of the besieged was supported for a short time. Our adversaries maintained their

ground; and we were under the necessity of putting the whole of them to death at the breach, where two hundred of our soldiers fell.

Our frigate was ordered to protect the entry of the convoy into the old port; and I availed myself of this opportunity to go on shore. An old prophecy had said, that as soon as a French vessel should enter the old port, Alexandria would cease to be in possession of the Mussulmans. Our boat verified this prediction for the moment.

It would be impossible for me to describe what I felt on landing at Alexandria, where there was no one to receive us, or to prevent our going on shore. We could scarcely prevail on a group of beggars, leaning on their crutches, to point out to us the head-quarters. All the houses were shut; those who had not dared to fight had fled; and those who had not been killed in the combat, had concealed themselves, for fear of being put to death, according to the oriental custom. Every thing was new to our sensations; the soil, the form of the buildings, the persons, customs, and language of the inhabitants. The first prospect which presented itself to our view, was an extensive burying-ground, covered with innumerable tomb-stones of white marble, on a white soil. Among these monuments were seen wandering several meagre women, with long tattered garments, resembling so many ghosts. The silence was only interrupted by the screeching of the kites which hovered over this sanctuary of death. We passed thence into narrow and deserted streets. In crossing Alexandria, the description which Volney has given of that city was brought to my remembrance; form, colour, and sensation, every thing, in short, is represented by him with such a degree of truth that, on looking over his work some months after, I fancied that I was entering Alexandria once more. Had Volney described all Egypt in the same way, no one would ever have thought it necessary to undertake any other description, or to make any new drawings of that country.

During the whole of my progress through this long and melancholy city, Europe and its gaiety were brought to my recollection only by the chirping and activity of the sparrow. I could not recognise the dog, the friend of man, the faithful and generous companion, the gay and loyal courtier. Here this animal is a dull and selfish brute, a stranger to the master beneath whose roof he dwells, and, separated from the inmates without ceasing to be a slave, loses sight of him whose asylum he defends, and on whose bleeding carcass he feeds without abhorrence. The following anecdote will fully pourtray his character.

On the day of my landing, having neglected to bring ashore linen to shift myself, I was desirous to go on board the Junon frigate, which I thought was stationed off the entrance of the harbour. I hired a small Turkish bark, and we steered towards that point. Having reached the frigate we found that it was not the Junon; and another was pointed out to us in the road at half a league's distance. The sun was setting: I had already made two-thirds of my way; and it was still possible to sleep on board. We now sailed towards the frigate in the road, which was still not the Junon: she was cruising in the offing; we were therefore under the necessity of returning; but the breeze had freshened, and the swell so great, that it was with difficulty we could descry the land towards which we had to bend our course. My conductor gave me charge of the tiller, to bestow his whole attention on the sail.

It was not easy for me to find the direction in which I was to steer; and I now began to feel that it was in a manner devoting one's-self to destruction, to be at such a time of night at the mercy of the winds, on a rough sea, and without any other companion than one who, in common with all his countrymen, had every reason to hate the French, and to seek to avenge himself on any of that nation who might fall in his way. I put on a confidential air, and even affected to be gay: we at length reached the shore, the object of all my hopes and wishes: it was, however, eleven o'clock at night. I was half a league from the head-quarters; and I had to cross a city which had been taken by storm in the morning, with not one of the streets of which I was acquainted. I could not prevail on my boatman, by any offer of recompence, to leave his bark and accompany me. I set out alone, and, defying the ghosts of the dead, crossed the burying-ground, the road with which I was most familiar. As soon as I had reached the nearest habitations of the living, I was assailed by multitudes of ferocious curs, which attacked me from the doors, the streets, and the house-tops. Their yelping was continued from house to house, and from family to family. I could perceive, however, that the war which they waged against me was not a war of *coalition*, for as soon as I had passed the property of those by whom I had been attacked, they were driven back by those who came to receive me at the frontiers. Not knowing the abject state in which they live, I dared not strike them, from an apprehension of their howling, and thus kindling up the wrath of their masters against me. The darkness was diminished by the light of the stars only, and by the transparency which the light always has in this climate. To profit by this small portion of light, and to escape from the yelping of the curs, and take a road which

could not lead me astray, I quitted the streets, and resolved to walk along the beach. My passage was, however, barred by the walls and timber-yards, which extended to the sea-shore. At length, after wading through the sea to shun the curs, and scaling the walls to shun the sea when there was too great a depth, wet, covered with perspiration, and exhausted by terror and fatigue, I reached one of our out-posts at midnight, fully persuaded that curs are the sixth, and the most dreadful of the plagues of Egypt.

In the morning, on arriving at the head-quarters, I found Bonaparte surrounded by the grandees of the city, and by the members of the old government, from whom he received the oath of fidelity. He addressed himself in the following terms to the Sheik Koraim: "I have taken you in arms, and I might treat you as a prisoner: as you have, however, behaved with courage, and as I think bravery inseparable from honour, I give you back your arms, and I think that you will be as faithful to the republic as you have been to a bad government." I could distinguish in the countenance of this able, enterprising man, a dissimulation, shaken, but not subdued, by the generous conduct of the commander in chief. He was not yet acquainted with our resources, and entertained some doubt whether what had passed was not owing to a *coup-de-main!* But when he saw thirty thousand men, and the heavy ordnance and field-pieces landed, he endeavoured to captivate the good graces of Bonaparte, was never absent from head-quarters, and was in the anti-chamber before the commander in chief was out of bed, a circumstance very remarkable in a Mussulman.

The first drawing I made was a view of the new port, from the small sand-bank to the quarter of the Francs, which, in Cleopatra's time, was the delightful spot on which her palace was built, and where the theatre stood.

On the 4th, in the morning, I accompanied the commander in chief, who visited the forts, that is to say, a collection of clumsy buildings in a ruinous state, in which worn-out guns rested on stones that served them for carriages. The general's orders were to demolish whatever was unserviceable, and to repair only what might be useful, to prevent the approach of the Bedouins. He paid particular attention to the batteries for the defence of the harbours.

We passed near Pompey's pillar. This monument is in the predicament of almost every thing famous, which loses on a near scrutiny. It was named Pompey's pillar in the fifteenth century, when learning began to recover itself from the torpid state in which it had so long languished. At that epoch, men of science,

but not observers, bestowed names on all the monuments; and these names have been handed down by tradition, and without being disputed, from century to century. A monument had been raised to Pompey at Alexandria: it had disappeared, and was thought to be recovered in this pillar or column, which has since been converted into a trophy erected to the memory of Septimius Severus. It is however, placed on the ruins of the ancient city; and in the time of Septimius Severus, the city of the Ptolemies was in a ruinous state. To support this column by a solid foundation, an obelisk has been sunk in the earth, on which is placed a very clumsy pedestal, having a fine shaft, and surmounted by a corinthian capital of bad workmanship.

If the shaft of this column, separating it from the pedestal and the capital, once belonged to an ancient edifice, it is an evidence of its magnificence, and of the skill with which it was executed. It ought therefore to be said, that what is called Pompey's pillar, is a fine column, and not a fine monument; and that a fine column is not a monument. It should be said, that the column of St. Maria Maggiore, notwithstanding it is one of the finest in existence, has not the character of a monument; that it is merely a fragment; and that, if the columns of Trajan and Antoninus are not in the same predicament, it is because they appear as colossal cylinders, on which the history of the glorious expeditions of these two emperors is pompously displayed, and which, if reduced to their simple form and dimensions, would be nothing more than dull and heavy monuments.

The earth about the foundations of Pompey's pillar having been cleared away by time, two fragments of an obelisk of white marble, the only monument of that substance which I have seen in Egypt, have been added to the original base, to render it more solid.

Excavations made round the circumference of this column, would, no doubt, afford some information relative to its origin. The shaking of the earth, and the form it takes on treading on it, seem to attest these researches would not be fruitless. They would perhaps discover the base and *atrium* of the portico to which this column belonged, which has been the subject of dissertations made by literati who have seen the drawings only, or whose information has been limited to the descriptions of travellers. These travellers have neglected to apprize them, that fragments of columns of the same substance and diameter are found in the vicinity; and that the shaking of the earth indicates the destruction of great edifices buried beneath, the forms of which may be distinguished on the surface, such as a square of considerable size, and a large circus,

the principal dimensions of which may be measured, notwithstanding it is covered with sand and ruins.

After having observed that the column, entitled *Pompey's pillar*, is very chaste both in style and execution, that the pedestal and capital are not formed of the same granite as the shaft; that their workmanship is heavy, and appears to be merely a rough draught, and that the foundations, made up of fragments, indicate a modern construction; it may be concluded, that this monument is not antique, and that it may have been erected either in the time of the Greek emperors, or of the caliphs; since, if the capital and pedestal are well enough wrought to belong to the former of these periods, they are not so perfect but that art may have reached so far in the latter.

Subterranean researches made on this spot might also ascertain the site of the city in the time of the Ptolemies, when its commerce and splendour changed its original plan, and rendered it immense. That of the caliphs, which still exists, was but a diminutive of the ancient city, notwithstanding it comprehends within itself, at this time, plains and deserts. This circumvallation being built of ruins, the edifices bring unceasingly to the remembrance destruction and ravage. The jambs and lintels of the doors of the dwelling-houses and fortresses consist entirely of columns of granite, which the workmen have not taken the pains to shape to the use to which they have applied them. They appear to have been left there merely with a view to attest the grandeur and magnificence of the buildings, the ruins of which they are. In other places a great number of columns have been applied to the construction of the walls, to support and level them; and these columns having resisted the ravages of time, now resemble batteries. In short, these Arabian and Turkish buildings, the productions of the necessities of war, display in their construction a confusion of epochs, and of varied industry, more striking and more accumulated examples of which are no where else to be found. The Turks, more especially, adding absurdity to profanation, have not only blended with the granite, bricks and calcareous stones, but even logs and planks; and from these different elements, which have so little analogy to each other, and are so strangely united, have presented a monstrous assemblage of the splendour of human industry, and its degradation.

In returning from Pompey's pillar to the modern city, we passed through that of the Arabs, or rather the one which was circumpassed by their walls, for at this time it is merely a desert containing a few enclosures, which, during the months of the inunda-

tion, are gardens, and which at other times afford nourishment to a greater or smaller number of trees and vegetables, in proportion to the size of the cistern with which each is provided. The cistern is the source and principle of their existence: when it fails, the gardens are once more converted into sand and rubbish.

At the gate of each of these gardens are to be seen monuments of a benevolent and charitable feeling. These are reservoirs into which water is pumped as often as it is necessary, and which present to the way-worn traveller what is needful to satisfy his thirst, the most pressing want in this burning climate.

The conduits of the cisterns are to be seen every where, communicating with each other, and having their orifices covered by the base or capital of an ancient column, hollowed out in the centre, and answering the purpose of the stone which surrounds the mouth of a well.

For the construction of a new cistern, it is sufficient to dig and bank-in reservoirs of different depths, and afterwards to cut a drain, carrying it on until it meets with another excavation. In this way it receives the common benefits of the inundation, and the entire hollow is filled with the water. The great pool or conservatory of water at Alexandria, is one of the principal antiquities of the middle age of Egypt, and one of the finest monuments of that description, whether its size be considered, or the intelligence which its construction displays. Notwithstanding one part of it is in a very ruinous state, and the other in need of repairs, it contains a quantity of water which suffices for the consumption of men and animals during two years. We arrived at Alexandria in the month preceding that in which the water was to be renewed, and we found it very good and sweet.

Our attention was attracted by a ruin of a reddish hue, which the catholics call the house of St. Catharine the learned, relative to whom they have a tradition, that she was wedded to Jesus Christ four centuries after his death. This ruin is of Roman construction; and the conduits, covered by stalactites, imply that it was formerly a bath.

We came afterwards to the obelisk, named Cleopatra's needle: another obelisk thrown down at its side, indicates that both of them formerly decorated one of the entrances of the palace of the Ptolemies, the ruins of which are still to be seen at a little distance. An inspection into the present state of these obelisks, and the fissures which existed at the time even when they were fixed on this spot prove that they were merely fragments at that period, and that they had been brought from Memphis, or from Upper Egypt.

They might be conveyed to France without difficulty, and would there become a trophy of conquest, and a very characteristic one, as they are in themselves a monument, and as the hieroglyphics with which they are covered render them preferable to Pompey's pillar, which is merely a column, somewhat larger indeed than is everywhere to be found. On digging since round the base of this obelisk, it has been found that it was placed on a tablet of hard stone. The pedestals which have always been added in Europe to this species of monument, are an ornament which changes its character.

On examining the Saracen monument in the vicinity of Cleopatra's needle, I found that its foundations belonged to a Greek or Roman edifice. The capitals of connected columns, of the doric order, the shafts of which are sunk below the level of the sea, are still to be seen. Strabo has observed, that the base of the palace of Ptolemy was washed by the sea. These ruins may at one and the same time prove the veracity of Strabo's relation, and ascertain the site of that palace.

In returning to the lower part of the harbour by the sea-shore, ruins of edifices of different ages are to be found, having suffered alike from time and from the waves. Vestiges of baths may be there distinguished, several apartments of which still exist, having been posteriorly cut out of walls of more remote antiquity. These edifices appeared to me to be of Arabic construction; and for their preservation, a kind of pile work in columns has been made, which has now the resemblance of floating batteries. Their immense number evinces the magnificence of the palaces they once decorated. After having passed the extremity of the harbour, large Saracen edifices are met with, having an air of grandeur, and a mixture of style, by which the observer is perplexed. Friezes ornamented with doric triglyphs, and surmounted by arched vaults, would lead one to imagine that these edifices were constructed from antique fragments blended together by the Saracens into the general style of their architecture. The doors of these edifices may give an idea of the indestructible quality of the sycamore wood, which has remained unaltered, while the iron-work of the doors has yielded to time, and entirely disappeared. Behind this kind of fortress, are Arabian baths, most magnificently decorated. Our soldiers, who found them ready heated, had taken possession of them to wash their linen, so that no other use could then be made of them. I shall therefore defer my description of this kind of baths to another opportunity, and refer my readers, who wish to have an idea of the pleasure which they communicate, to the one which Savary has given.

Near these baths, one of the principal mosques, formerly a primitive church dedicated to Saint Athanasius, is situated. This edifice, in as ruinous a state as its style is magnificent, may give some idea of the carelessness of the Turks relative to the objects of which they are the most jealous. Before our arrival, they did not suffer a christian to approach this building, and chose rather to place a centinel over it than to repair the doors, which in the state we found them, would neither shut nor turn on their hinges.

In the middle of the court-yard of this mosque is a small octagonal temple, which contains a bowl of Egyptian black marble, with white and yellow spots, of incomparable beauty both on account of the substance of which it is formed, and of the innumerable hieroglyphical figures with which it is covered, both within and without. This monument, which is without doubt a sarcophagus of ancient Egypt, will perhaps be hereafter illustrated by volumes of dissertations. It may be considered as a very valuable antique, and as one of our most precious spoils in Egypt, with which it is to be wished that our national museum may be enriched. Dolomieu, who was with me when this valuable monument was discovered, partook of my enthusiasm.

The galleries of the minaret or tower of this mosque command a bird's-eye view of every part of the new harbour. Close to the mosque are three upright columns, which have not been noticed by any traveller. It would appear by the delicate workmanship of these columns, that they constituted a part of some antique monument: it would therefore be interesting to dig round their bases. The wide space, however, which they occupy, would lead to a conjecture, that they are not stationed where they were originally intended to be placed. Be this as it may, they are the remains of a large and magnificent edifice.

Thence we proceeded to the gate of Rosetta, which is fortified, and at which the Turks defended themselves on our arrival. Here a group of houses forms a kind of town, which leaves an unoccupied space of half a league between this part of the city and that which is in the vicinity of the ports. All the horrors of war still existed in this quarter, where I met with an incident which afforded me the strongest contrast possible. A young woman, fair and with a ruddy complexion, was seated, surrounded by the dead and by the rubbish, on a fragment of a ruin still covered with blood. She was the picture of the angel of the resurrection. When, attracted by a compassionate feeling, I testified my surprise at finding her in this forlorn state, she told me with a charming ingenu-

ousness, that she was waiting for her husband, with whom she was going to pass the night in the desert. To her this was no difficulty: she was about to repair thither to sleep with as little reluctance as if a down bed was to be her portion. From this anecdote some idea may be formed of the lot which awaited the women whom love had inspired with the courage to follow their husbands on this expedition.

The greater part of the divisions, after they were landed, had merely passed through Alexandria to encamp in the desert. I was also under the necessity of quitting this city, a place of great importance in history, where the monuments of every epoch, and the wrecks of the arts of so many nations, are heaped together confusedly; and where the ravages of wars, ages, and of a humid climate, impregnated with sea-salt, have been productive of greater changes, and have wrought more mischief than in any other part of Egypt.

## CHAPTER IV.

*March from Alexandria to the Interior of the Country—Pass Beda—Affecting Incident and fatal Effects of Jealousy—The March much harassed by the Arabs—Optical Deception in the Desert, giving the Appearance of Water—Reach the Nile at Rahmanieh—First Encounter with the Mamelukes under Murad-Bey—The Author's Voyage from Alexandria to Rosetta—Description of the latter Place—Character of the cultivating Arab, contrasted with the Bedouin—Battle of Salmie—Mameluke Feast and Entertainment.*

BONAPARTE, who had obtained possession of Alexandria with the same rapidity with which St. Louis had taken Damietta, was not guilty of the same blunder. Without giving the enemy time to rally, and without affording his troops an opportunity to view the penury of Alexandria and its barren territory, he marched off the divisions as soon as they landed, without allowing them time to collect any information relative to the places which they were going to occupy. Among others, an officer, on the eve of his departure, said to his detachment, "My friends, you are to sleep at Beda to-night: you understand; at Beda. This is all the difficulty you will have to encounter: let us march, my friends;" and the soldiers marched. It would certainly be difficult to cite a more striking trait of ingenuousness on the one hand, and of confidence on the other. It is with this heedless courage that enterprises are undertaken by some, which others would not have dared to project; and that what appears inconceivable is executed. They

reached Beda, which they fancied to be a village built and peopled like ours, more inquisitive to look about them than surprised. They could find nothing but a well choked up by stones, between the interstices of which a little brackish muddy water was found. This water was collected in goblets, and a small quantity of it distributed to them, as if it had been brandy. This was the first halt made by a part of our troops, in another quarter of the globe, separated from their country by seas covered with enemies, and by deserts a thousand times more formidable still. Their forlorn situation, however, neither abated their courage, nor diminished their gaiety.

If my reader be desirous to appreciate the domestic slavery of the eastern nations, and is prepared to shudder at the atrociousness of jealousy, when it is supported by a received prejudice, and when its transports are absolved by religion, let him read the following anecdote.

On the second day's march of our troops, after their departure from Alexandria, some of the soldiers, in passing near Beda, in the desert, met with a young woman whose face was covered with blood. In one of her arms she held an infant, and extended the other in search of an object which might either inflict vengeance on her, or serve her for a guide. Their curiosity being excited, they called for their conductor, who was at the same time their interpreter; and, on approaching, heard the sobs of this wretched female, whom cruelty had deprived of her sight. Astonished at seeing her in this sad condition, and accompanied by an infant, in the midst of a desert, they questioned her, and learned that the shocking spectacle which they had in view, was the effect and result of a fit of jealousy. The victim did not dare to murmur, but offered up prayers for the innocent babe which partook of her misfortunes, and which was about to perish through misery and want. Our soldiers, moved by pity, instantly gave her a part of their rations, and lost sight of their own necessities, on contemplating others, which were still more urgent. They had just deprived themselves of their small portion of water, which was extremely scarce, and which they were about to be absolutely in need of, when they saw a madman approach, who, feasting his sight on the spectacle of his revenge, kept his victims constantly in view. He snatched from the woman the bread and water she held in her hands, the last sources of existence which compassion had just granted to mercy. "Forbear!" he exclaimed: "she has forfeited her own honour, and has tarnished mine. That infant is my opprobrium; it is the offspring of guilt." Our soldiers en-

deavoured to resist his depriving the female of the succours they had just afforded her; when his jealousy was inflamed, because the object of his fury was also become an object of pity. He drew a poniard, with which he gave his wife a mortal stab; and, seizing the infant, held it in the air, and dashed it lifeless on the ground. Then, with an air of ferocious stupidity, he stood motionless, looking stedfastly at those who surrounded him, and braving their vengeance.

I enquired whether there were any laws to repress so atrocious an abuse of authority. I was told, that this man had *done wrong* to stab his wife, because, if God had vouchsafed to spare her life, this wretched creature might, at the expiration of forty days have been received into a house, and kept on charity.

General Kleber's division, under the command of General Dugua, had marched towards Rosetta, to cover the flotilla which had entered the Nile. On the 5th and 6th of July, the army was in full march by Birket and Demenhur, the Arabs attacking the advance-guard, and harassing the main body, insomuch, that death was the portion of the straggler. Desaix was on the point of being made prisoner, in consequence of his having remained fifty paces in the rear of the column. Le Mireur, an officer of distinguished reputation, and who, in consequence of a momentary absence, had neglected to comply with the request made to him to come up, was assassinated within a hundred paces of the advance-guard. Adjutant-general Galois was killed in carrying an order to the commander in chief; and Adjutant Delanau made prisoner at a very small distance from the army, in crossing a ditch. A price being demanded for his ransom, the Arabs disputed the booty among themselves, and, to terminate the dispute, blew out the brains of this interesting young man.

The Mamelukes, who had come out to meet the French army, were seen for the first time in the vicinity of Demenhur. They did nothing more than reconnoitre: and their appearance on this occasion, together with the insignificant battle of Chebreissa, had enabled our soldiers to form a judgment of them, and had removed that uncertain emotion, bordering on terror, which is constantly inspired by an unknown enemy. On their side, having observed that our army was entirely composed of infantry, a description of soldiery for whom they have a sovereign contempt, they made themselves certain of an easy victory, and forbore to harass our march, which was rendered sufficiently painful by its length, by the heat of the climate, and by the sufferings of hunger and thirst: to which may be added, the torments of a hope constantly cheated,

and constantly renewed. In reality it was in the midst of heaps of corn that our soldiers wanted bread; while they were a prey to thirst, with the image of a vast lake before their eyes. This punishment of a new description, requires explanation, as it results from an illusion peculiar to this country. It is produced by the reflection of salient objects on the oblique rays of the sun, refracted by the heat of the burning soil; and this phenomenon has so truly the appearance of water, that the observer is deceived by it over and over again. It provokes a thirst, which is the more importunate, as the instant when it presents itself to the view is the hottest time of the day. It appears to me, that an idea of it could not be conveyed by a drawing, which would be merely the representation of a resemblance. To supply this defect, however, it is only necessary to read a report made to the Institute of Cairo, and published by the elder Didot, in which Monge has described and analyzed this phenomenon, with that erudition and sagacity by which that philosopher is characterized.

On the approach of the army the villages were abandoned, the inhabitants carrying off with them whatever might have been useful to the subsistence of our troops.

Pistachia-nuts were the first relief which the soil of Egypt afforded to the soldiery; and of this fruit they never ceased to retain a grateful remembrance. On reaching the Nile, they plunged into that river without waiting to undress themselves, to allay their thirst by the action of the absorbent vessels.

When the army had passed Rahmanieh, its progress on the banks of the river became less difficult. I shall not follow it to all the stations it occupied, but shall content myself with observing, that on the 19th of July it was encamped at Amm-el-Dinar, whence it set out on the following morning, before day-break; and that, after a march of twelve hours, it reached the vicinity of Embabey, where the Mamelukes had collected their force, having an entrenched camp, surrounded by a clumsy moat, and defended by twenty-eight pieces of artillery. As soon as the enemy was discovered, the army formed; and when Bonaparte had given his final orders, he said to the soldiers pointing to the pyramids: "Push on, and recollect that from the summit of those monuments forty centuries watch over us." Desaix, who commanded the advance-guard, proceeded to the other side of the village; Regnier followed to the left, and Generals Dugua, Vial, and Bon, also to the left, formed a half-circle by approaching the Nile. Murad-Bey, by whom we were reconnoitred, and who could not perceive any cavalry, threatened to cut us up like *gourds*; (this was his ex-

pression). In consequence of this determination on his side, the most considerable body of the Mamelukes, which was in front of Embabey, moved, and charged Dugua's division with so much impetuosity, that he had scarcely time to draw up his men. They received the enemy with a discharge of musketry, by which they were stopped; and by a want of address on their part, were on the point of falling on the bayonets of Desaix's division. A fire by files, well kept up, was productive of a second surprise: the enemy hesitated for a moment, and then endeavouring suddenly to turn the division, passed between those of Regnier and Desaix, receiving the cross fire of both. In this way the discomfiture of this body of Mamelukes commenced. Having no further project, a part of them returned to Embabey, while another part intrenched themselves in a park planted with palm-trees, to the west of the two divisions, whence they were dislodged by our riflemen. They now took the road of the desert of the pyramids: and it was afterwards by these Mamelukes that our passage into Upper Egypt was disputed. During this time, the other division, on approaching the village, found themselves exposed to the fire of the guns in the intrenched camp, an attack on which was decided on. Two battalions were formed, drawn from the divisions of Generals Bon and Menou, and commanded by Generals Rampon and Marmont, which were to proceed to the village, and turn the camp by the help of the moat. It appeared to the Mamelukes a matter of no great difficulty to surround and destroy Rampon's battalion, which was attacked by the whole of those that remained in the camp. On this occasion, the best directed, and most destructive fire was kept up by our troops: the Mamelukes, when they made a pretext of seeking our alliance afterwards, told us, that they had no conception of our resistance. In reality, the best cavalry in the east, perhaps in the whole world, was routed at the bayonet's point by a small body of infantry. Some of them had their clothes set on fire by our discharges of musketry, and, having been mortally wounded, were burned in the front of our ranks. The defeat became general: they attempted to return to their camp, whither our soldiers followed them, and entered pell-mell with the enemy. Their guns fell into our hands; and our divisions, on coming up, surrounded the village, and thus deprived them of that hope of retreat. In endeavouring to proceed along the banks of the Nile, a transverse wall obstructed their progress, and drove them back. They now threw themselves into the river to join the army of Ibrahim-Bey, which was stationed on the opposite side, to cover Cairo. From that moment it was no longer a combat,

but a massacre. The enemy appeared to defile for the purpose of being shot, and to escape from the fire of our battalions to become a prey to the waves. In the midst of this carnage, the sublime contrast, which, on looking upwards, was afforded by the clear sky of this fine climate, was very striking. A handful of French, led by a hero, had just subdued a quarter of the globe: an empire had just changed its ruler; and the pride of the Mamelukes had been completely humbled by the bayonets of our infantry. During this great and terrible scene, the result of which was to become so important, the dust and smoke scarcely obscured the lower part of the atmosphere. The morning star, revolving over a spacious horizon, peaceably terminated its career—a sublime testimony of that immutable order of nature, which obeys the decrees of the Eternal in the calm stillness that renders it still more awful.

General Menou had, in consequence of his wounds, remained behind at Alexandria, whence he was to proceed to Rosetta, for the purpose of regulating the government, and afterwards to make an excursion in the Delta. Prior to his setting out for Cairo, he had prevailed on me to accompany him on this excursion, to which I consented the more readily, from a persuasion that it would be more interesting, if undertaken previously to my visit to Upper Egypt. In addition to this consideration, I was very glad to accompany an amiable and well-informed man, with whom I had been several years intimate.

We embarked on board an advice-boat, in the new harbour of Alexandria, and spent the whole of the day in endeavouring to work out. Our pilot, who was unacquainted with the currents, breakers, and shoals of this harbour, after having with some difficulty steered clear of Diamond-point, nearly ran us on the ledge of the small sand-bank, and brought us to anchor for the night off the mouth of the harbour. I made a drawing of the fortress constructed in the island of Pharos, on the site of that celebrated monument, equally useful and magnificent, of that wonder of the world which, after having taken the name of the island on which it was placed, has transmitted that appellation to all the monuments of the same description.

On our settting out the next morning, fate was equally unpropitious to us. Scarcely were we a few leagues out at sea, when a gale of wind came on, in consequence of which General Menou was seized with a convulsive fit of vomiting, which occasioned him to fall, his head striking against the breech of a gun. He was insensible; and as we were not able to judge of the danger which might result from a large wound he had received, we had some

notion of conveying him to the Orient, which was riding at anchor with the fleet off Aboukir, opposite to which place we were at the moment.

Our seamen being, however, of opinion, that in a few hours we might reach the Nile, we embraced this latter plan, as the one which would the soonest terminate the general's sufferings from sea-sickness. A few hours after, we found ourselves, without knowing it, at one of the mouths of the Nile, which we recognized by the most dreadful picture I have ever seen. The water of the Nile, repelled by the wind, raised to an immense height the waves, which were perpetually forced back and broken, with a frightful noise, by the current of the river. One of our vessels, which had just been driven on shore, and which the waves were dashing in pieces, was the only mark which we had of the coast. Several other adivce-boats were in the same situation with ourselves, that is to say, in the same perplexity, approaching each other to hold a consultation, then sheering off to avoid falling on board and foundering, and unable to hold any intercourse except by loud shouts. We were without a coasting pilot, and were quite at a loss what course to take. In the mean time the general grew worse and worse; and we resolved to reconnoitre the bar of the river, for which purpose the boat was hoisted out, and Bonnecarerre, a chief of battalion, and myself, jumped into it in the best way we could. We had scarcely quitted our vessel, when we found ourselves in the midst of an abyss, without being able to distinguish any other object, except the curved tops of the waves, which threatened on every side to swallow us up. At the distance of a third of a league from the advice-boat, we made useless efforts to draw near to her; I began to feel the effects of sea-sickness, and we were obliged to make up our minds to pass the night in the boat. I had just wrapped myself up in my cloak, to be no longer a witness of our deplorable situation, when we passed in the wake of a felucca, from the side of which I perceived a poor wretch, who had fallen overboard in endeavouring to get into a boat, hanging by a rope. Wearied with the efforts he made to support himself in this perilous situation, and his strength nearly exhausted, he seemed on the point of letting go his hold, and of seeking a watery grave. This spectacle caused in me such a revulsion, that my sea-sickness went off. I bawled as loud as I could, and the seaman followed my example: our cries were at length heard by the people on board the felucca. At first they could not comprehend what was our drift, and searched every where before they came to the aid

of this poor creature, who had no strength left. At length they found him; and it was not too late to snatch him from destruction.

The time that we had lost on this occasion, and our effort to keep to windward, in case our drowning man should have fallen into the sea, had placed us in a situation which enabled us to get on board our vessel. We effected this without accident, and found her precisely were we had left her, without those on board knowing what course to take. The wind was somewht abated, but the sea very high. When night came, the violence of the storm was considerably diminished.

The general being too ill to come to any determination for himself, we held another council, in which it was decided, that we should put him into the boat in the best way we could, being of opinion that the vessel which was aground, and the breakers, would be a sufficient guide to us; and that, by steering between the two we should find our way into the Nile. Our plan succeeded: at the expiration of an hour we were in a line with the coast, and, turning suddenly to the right, glided along the tranquil bed of the smoothest of all rivers. Half an hour afterwards we were in the midst of a most refreshing and verdant country; it was exactly quitting Tartarus to enter by the river Lethe into the Elysian Fields. This transition was the most sensibly felt by the general, who was already able to sit up, and who gave us no other uneasiness than from the depth of his wound, which no one of us had had the courage to probe.

Shortly after we saw to our right a fort, and to our left a battery, which had been formerly constructed to defend the entrance of the Nile, but which were now a league within shore. As these fortifications were not built until after the invention of gunpowder, and are consequently not more than three hundred years old, this circumstance may serve to show the progress that the river has made in gaining ground at its entrance. The former of them, to the west of the river, is a square fortress, flanked with thick towers at the angles, and having batteries, in which are guns twenty-five feet in length. The latter is a mosque, in the front of which is a battery in a ruinous state, provided with a single gun of twenty-eight inches bore, the only use of which at present is to procure a safe delivery to the pregnant women who sit astride on it.

An hour after, we descried, amidst forests of date, banana, and sycamore trees, Rosetta, situated on the banks of the Nile, which annually washes the walls of its houses, without injuring them.

Raschid, which the Europeans have named Rosetta, or Rosetto, stands on the Bolbitine branch of the Nile, and near its mouth.

at no great distance from the ruins of the ancient city of Bolbitinum, which must have been situated on an elbow of that river, where at present stands the convent of Abu-Mandur, at half a league's distance from Rosetta. This opinion relative to the site of Bolbitinum is supported by the heights which command the convent, and which must have been formed by earth thrown up by the river: as it is also by several columns, and other antiquities, which were found about twenty years ago, in repairing the convent.

Leo Africanus says, that Raschid was built by a governor of Egypt, during the empire of the caliphs. He does not mention, however, the name of the caliph in whose reign it was built, nor the time of its foundation.

Rosetta contains nothing curious. Its ancient circumvallation implies, that it was once larger than it is at present. Its original compass is ascertained by the sand-banks by which it is covered from west to south, and which have been formed by the walls and towers that serve at this time as a nucleus to those accumulated heaps of sand. The population of this city, as well as that of Alexandria, diminishes daily. Very few houses are built, and those which are put together are made entirely with the old bricks of the buildings, which, being left uninhabited, fall to ruins for want of repairs. The houses, in general better constructed than those of Alexandria, are notwithstanding so slight, that were they not favoured by the climate, which destroys nothing, not one of them would long be left standing at Rosetta. The stories, which project one over the other, at length nearly touch; and this renders the streets very dismal and obscure. The houses situated on the bank of the Nile are not subject to this inconvenience; the greater part of them belong to foreign merchants. It would be very easy to embellish this part of the city, for which purpose it would be simply necessary to build on the river's bank a quay, which should be alternately lined and provided with flights of steps. These houses, independently of having the advantage of a view of the river, have also the delightful prospect of the Delta, and an island of about a league in breadth, possessing all the beauties of a well cultivated garden.

This island became our property, and the spot of our daily promenades. We at length made it a park, in which we amused ourselves with shooting; a pleasure which was augmented by that of curiosity, since every bird we killed was of a kind with which we were unacquainted.

I remarked, that the inhabitants of the left bank of the Nile, that is to say, of the Delta, were more sociable and civilized than

the others; the cause of which is, in my opinion, to be ascribed to the enjoyment of a greater plenty, and to the absence of the Bedouin Arabs, who, as they never cross the river, leave them in a state of tranquillity, to which those on the other side are totally strangers.

On investigating the causes, we are almost invariably less disposed to inveigh against the effects. Is it possible to urge as so many reproaches against the Arabs who cultivate the land, that they are sullen, mistrustful, avaricious, improvident, and careless about the future, when it is considered that, independently of the exactions of the proprietor of the land which they till, and those of the covetous Bey, and of the Sheik and Mamelukes, a wandering enemy in arms watches unceasingly the favourable opportunity to snatch from the industrious Arab, whatever superfluities he may venture to display? The money which he can hide, and which is a representative of every enjoyment, is therefore all that he can truly consider as belonging to him. Accordingly the art of burying it in the earth is his principal study; and even when he has accomplished this, he is not without his apprehensions. By appearing before his masters in rags and tatters, and with a studied display of wretchedness, he can alone hope to secure from the grasp of their avidity what he has hoarded together. It behoves him to inspire pity; and not to commiserate his lot would be to denounce him. Anxious to amass his dangerous wealth, and unhappy when in the possession of it, his life is spent between the disappointment which results from not having procured it, and the subsequent dread of seeing it snatched from him.

It is true that we had driven away the Mamelukes; but on our arrival, in want of all the necessaries of life, we found that, in expelling them, we had not supplied their place. And indeed, who but these Mamelukes could subjugate and restrain the Bedouin Arabs, however badly armed, and however incapable of resistance, having no other ramparts than the shifting sands, no other lines than the wide expanse, and no other retreat than the immensity of the deserts? Had we endeavoured to bring them over to us by an offer of lands to cultivate, we know that in Europe the peasant who becomes a huntsman forbears from that moment to cultivate the land. Now the Bedouin is a huntsman from his infancy, and habitually so. Sloth and independence are the bases of his character; and to indulge the one, and protect the other, he is unceasingly in an agitated state, allowing himself to be harassed and tormented by want. We had therefore nothing to offer to the Bedouin which could be equivalent to the advan-

tage of their plundering us;—a calculation which is invariably the basis of all the treaties that they enter into.

Envy, that torment from which the abode of want itself is not exempt, hovers also over the burning sands of the desert. The Bedouins, in waging war against the nations of the universe, confine their hatred and their envy to the Bedouins alone, who do not belong to their tribe. To them all wars are alike; and as soon as the tranquillity of Egypt is disturbed, either by an intestine quarrel, or by a foreign enemy, they take the field. Without attaching themselves to either party, they take advantage of the contest to plunder both. When we landed in Africa, they dispersed themselves among our ranks, and carried off the stragglers, in the same way that they would have plundered the inhabitants of Alexandria, if they had ventured from withinside their fortifications, to try the issue of a battle. Wherever booty is, there the Bedouins behold an enemy. Never backward to treat, because all the stipulations made with them are accompanied by presents, they are true to no other engagement than that which necessity imposes. They are, however, neither cruel nor vindictive. The French whom they have made prisoners, in describing the hardships they suffered during their captivity, considered them rather as the effect of the mode of living adopted by this nation, than as the result of their barbarity. Several of our officers who had fallen into their hands have told me, that the labour which was required of them was neither cruel nor excessive: they had to attend on the women, and to load and drive the asses and camels. It is true that it was necessary to encamp and decamp continually, for which purpose all the camp equipage was kept packed up, and in less than a quarter of an hour the cavalcade was in motion. This equipage consisted of a mill to grind the corn and coffee, of a round iron plate, on which to bake the flat cakes, of a large coffee-pot, a small one, a few dried goatskins to hold the water, a few sacks of corn, and the tent cloth, in which all these articles were warpped. A handful of roasted corn, and a dozen of dates, were the customary ration on marching days, accompanied by a small allowance of water, which, on account of its scarcity, had been applied to every other purpose before it was employed to allay the thirst. These officers, however, not having been galled by any ill treatment, harboured no resentment against the Bedouins, whose captives they had been, and whose wretched condition they had done nothing more than share.

The Bedouins, destitute of religious prejudices, and without any external form of worship, are friends to toleration. Among

them a few revered customs supply the place of laws; and their principles bear the resemblance of virtues which answer all the purposes of their partial associations, and of their paternal government.

I shall here cite a trait of their hospitality. A French officer had been several months prisoner to a chief of the Arabs, whose camp was surprised in the night by our cavalry, and who had barely time to escape, his tents, cattle, and provisions, having fallen into our hands. On the following day, fugitive, solitary, and without any resources, he drew from his pocket a cake, and presenting the half of it to his prisoner, said to him: "I do not know when we shall have any more food; but I shall not be accused of having refused to share my last morsel with one whom I esteem as my friend." Is it possible to hate such a nation, however ferocious it may otherwise be? The sobriety of the Bedouins, when contrasted with the artificial wants which we have created, gives them an evident advantage over us; and I do not know how such men can be easily subjugated, or brought over by persuasion. They will have the eternal reproach to urge against us, that we have reaped rich harvests on the tombs of their ancestors.

So long as we were not in possession of Cairo, the inhabitants of the banks of the Nile, considering our existence in Egypt as very precarious, had made an apparent submission to our army on its passing through their territory. Entertaining, however, no doubt that our troops would be speedily annihilated by their invincible tyrants, they had dared, either with a view to obtain a pardon from the latter for having submitted to us, or to indulge their propensity to plunder, to collect at the water-side, and to fire on the barks which were either forwarded to the army, or were returning from the encampments. Several of these barks had been obliged to turn back, after having been exposed to discharges of musketry for a space of several leagues; and these attacks were more particularly made by the inhabitants of the villages of Metubis and Tfemi. A small armed vessel and a detachment of troops were sent against them; and in this expedition I was engaged. Our instructions were of a pacific nature; and after taking hostages, we accepted their submission.

A few days after, another bark having been dispatched from Cairo, no information could be obtained relative to her crew. We learned at length from the inhabitants themselves, that she had been attacked on the other side of Fua; and that her people, the whole of whom had been wounded, had jumped into the water, and had been drifted on shore by the current. Having been made

prisoners, they had been conducted to Salmie, and there shot. General Menou, thinking it necessary to make a great example, two hundred men were put on board a half xebec, and several barks; and we landed within half a league of Salmie. One of the detachments surrounded the village, while another marched along the banks of the river; and a third, by which the circumvallation was to be completed, took up its ground two leagues below. We found the enemy mounted, and in battle array, in front of the village. They were before hand with us in the attack, and came within the reach of our bayonets. Several of their leaders having been killed by our first discharge of musketry, the rest, finding themselves surrounded, soon fled. The third division, which was to cut off their retreat, not being come up in time, the sheik and his followers escaped. The village was delivered up to plunder the remainder of the day; and when night came, was set fire to it. So long as the darkness lasted, the flames, and the discharges of musketry, gave notice to an extent of six leagues round, that the vengeance which we had inflicted was terrible and complete.

We returned to Fua, where all the sheiks of the province had been convened, and were assembled. They listened with respect and resignation to the manifesto, which was read to them, relative to the expedition, and to the bases on which the new organization of Salmie was to be established. An ancient sheik ws appointed in the room of the one whom the French had just dispossessed and proscribed; and he was sent to collect the fugitive inhabitants of the village, and to bring in a deputation of them, which arrived three days after. The detachment by which the ancient sheik had been escorted, was well received by the inhabitants: and the deputies told us, on their arrival, that they could recognise the paternal feelings of those by whom their punishment had been inflicted. They could perceive very clearly that we meant them no harm, since we had put to death nine only of the offenders, and had burnt but one quarter of the village. They consequently regarded us as conquerors who knew how to put bounds to our vengeance. They added, that the fire had been extinguished; that the house of the fugitive sheik had been destroyed; and that they had presented all the fowls and geese they had to the soldiers, who had put a period to the remorse by which they had been tormented for three weeks past.

We established an ordinary post at Salmie, in concert with the neighbouring districts, and concluded our expedition by making a circuit through the country. In all the villages that we came to,

we met with a reception which went beyond the practice of the feudal system. We were received by the principal personage of the country, who laid the inhabitants under contribution for our maintenance. It was necessary to be acquainted with the abuses before a remedy could be applied to them: independently of which, being seduced by the facility which chance had afforded us, of observing the customs of a country, in the morals of which we were about to effect a change, we for this time allowed things to remain as they were.

A house of public entertainment, which had almost invariably belonged to the Mameluke, heretofore the lord and master of the village, was furnished in a moment, according to the fashion of the country, with mats, carpets, and cushions. A number of attendants, in the first place, brought in perfumed water, pipes, and coffee. Half an hour afterwards a carpet was spread, and on the outer part three or four different kinds of bread and cakes were laid in heaps, the centre being covered with small dishes of fruits, sweetmeats, creams, &c. the greater part of them pretty good, and very highly perfumed. This was considered but as a slight repast, which was over in a few minutes. In the course, however, of two hours, the same carpet was covered afresh with large loaves, immense dishes of rice, either boiled in milk, or in a rich gravy soup; halves of sheep badly roasted, large quarters of veal, boiled heads of different animals, and fifty or sixty other dishes, all crowded together, consisting of highly-seasoned ragouts, vegetables, jellies, sweetmeats, and honey in the comb. There were neither chairs, plates, spoons, forks, drinking-glasses, nor napkins: each of the guests, squatted on the ground, took up the rice in his fingers, tore the meat in pieces with his nails, dipped the bread in the ragouts, and wiped his hands and lips with a slice of bread. The water was served in a pot; and he who did the honours of the table took the first draught. In the same way, he was the first to taste the different dishes, as well to prevent his guests from harbouring any suspicions of him, as to show them how strong an interest he took in their safety, and how high a value he set on their persons. The napkins were not brought until after dinner, when each of the guests washed his hands. He was then sprinkled over with rose water, and the pipes and coffee produced.

When our repast was ended, our places were occupied by the natives of the second class, who were very soon succeeded by others. From a motive of religion a poor beggar was admitted; next came the attendants; and, lastly, all those who chose to partake, until nothing was left. If these repasts cannot boast the convenience

of ours, and the elegance by which the appetite is whetted, it is impossible not to be struck by the abundance, by the frank hospitality that they display, and by the sobriety of the guests, who, notwithstanding there are so many dishes, do not remain more then ten minutes at table.

## CHAPTER V.

*The British Fleet descried, and naval Battle of Aboukir—Formation of Islands and Banks at the Mouth of the Nile—False Reports sent to Europe of the Situation of the Army, and natural Advantages of Egypt—March of a Caravan from Rosetta along the Coast—Wrecks of the Battle of Aboukir—Peninsula of Aboukir, and supposed Ruins of Canopus and Heraclea—Jackals—Return to Rosetta.*

On the morning of the first of August we were masters of Egypt, Corfu, and Malta; and the security of these possessions, annexed to France, seemed in a great measure to depend on the thirteen ships of the line that we had with us. The powerful English fleets which were cruising in the Mediterranean could not be supported with stores and provisions without much difficulty and an enormous expense.

Bonaparte, who was sensible of all the advantages of such a position, was desious to secure those advantages, by bringing our fleet into the harbour of Alexandria; and offered two thousand sequins to any one who should accomplish this. It is said that several of the captains of merchantmen had sounded, and found a passage for the fleet into the old harbour. The evil genius of France, however, counselled and persuaded the admiral to moor his ships in the bay of Aboukir, and thus to change in one day the result of a long train of successes.

In the course of the afternoon chance led us to Abu-Mandur, a convent already mentioned, and which terminates a pleasant walk from Rosetta along the river side. When we had reached the tower which commands the monastery, we descried a fleet of twenty sail.* To come up, to range themselves in a line, and to attack, were the operations of a minute. The first shot was fired at five o'clock; and shortly after, our view of the movements of the two fleets was intercepted by the smoke. When night came on

* Throughout the whole of this narrative of the defeat of the French fleet in Aboukir-bay, it should be recollected, that it is the production of a Frenchman who either would not, or could not, see things precisely as they were. There were fifteen sail only, including the Mutine brig.—Translator.

we could distinguish somewhat better, without, however, being able to give an account of what passed. The danger to which we were exposed, of falling into the hands of the smallest troops of Bedouins which might come that way, did not draw our attention from an event by which we were so strongly interested. Rolls of fire incessantly gushing from the mouths of the cannon, evinced clearly that the combat was dreadful, and supported with an equal obstinacy on both sides. On our return to Rosetta we climbed on the roofs of the houses, whence, at ten o'clock, we perceived a strong light, which indicated a fire. A few minutes after we heard a terrible explosion, which was followed by a profound silence. As we had seen a firing kept up, from the left to the right, on the object in flames, we drew a conclusion that it was one of the enemy's ships which had been set fire to by our people; and we imputed the silence which ensued to the retreat of the English, who, as our ships were moored, were exclusively in possession of the range of the bay, and who, consequently, could persevere in, or discontinue the combat at pleasure. At eleven o'clock a slow fire was kept up; and at midnight the action became general; it continued until two in the morning. At day-break I was at the advanced posts; and, ten minutes after, the fleets were once more engaged. At nine o'clock another ship blew up. At ten, four ships, the only ones which were not disabled, and which I could distinguish to be French, crowded their sails, and quitted the field of battle, in the possession of which they appeared to be, as they were neither attacked nor followed. Such was the phantom produced by the enthusiasm of hope.

I took my station at the tower of Abu-Mandur, whence I counted twenty-five vessels, half of which were shattered wrecks, and the others incapable of manœuvring to afford them assistance. For three days we remained in this state of cruel uncertainty. By the help of my spying-glass I had made a drawing of this disastrous scene, to be enabled the better to ascertain whether the morrow would be productive of any change. In this way we cherished illusion, and spurned at all evidence, until at length, the passage across the bar being cut off, and the communication with Alexandria intercepted, we found that our situation was altered, and that, separated from the mother-country, we were become the inhabitants of a distant colony, where we should be obliged to depend on our own resources for subsistence until the peace. We learned, in short, that the English fleet had surrounded our line, which was not moored sufficiently near to the island to be protected by

the batteries; and that the enemy, formed in a double line, had attacked our ships one after the other, and had by this manœuvre, which prevented them from acting in concert, rendered the one-half of the fleet a witness of the destruction of the other half. We learned that it was the Orient which blew up at ten o'clock at night, and the Hercule the following morning; and that the captains of the ships of the line, the Guillaume Tell and Genereux, and of the frigates, la Diane and la Justice, perceiving that the rest of the fleet had fallen into the enemy's hands, had taken advantage of a moment of lassitude and inaction on the part of the English to effect their escape. We learned, lastly, that the first of August had broken the unity of our forces; and that the destruction of our fleet, by which the lustre of our glory was tarnished, had restored to the enemy the empire of the Mediterranean; an empire which had been wrested from them by the matchless exploits of our armies, and which could only have been secured to us by the existence of our ships of war.

Our position was entirely changed. In the possibility of being attacked, we were under the necessity of making preparations for our defence, for which purpose a general inspection of our different positions was made, the entrance of the Nile fortified, and a battery erected on one of the islands.

In company with one of our reconnoitring parties I returned to the *boghass*, or bar of the Nile, which was at that time nearly at its greatest height, and had an opportunity of seeing the efforts made by the weight of this river against the waves of the sea, which, at this season of the year, are impelled twelve hours daily by the north wind, in a direction opposite to that of the course of the river. From this conflict of contending waters there results a sand-bank, which, gradually augmenting, becomes an island, and divides the current of the river, forming two branches, each of which has its distinct shelf. The eddy of these shelves throws on the beach a part of the sand which the current had swept along, and by this heaping up of the sand the two branches narrow by degrees, until one of them gaining an ascendency over the other, the weakest of them is choked up, and the island becomes main land. The branch which remains soon forms another sand-bank, an island, two new branches, &c. &c. In this way, it appears to me, that the most natural explanation may be given of the ancient geography of the branches of the Nile, as well as of the voyage of Menelaus in Homer, and of the changes of the Delta, the site of which might in the first instance have been a gulf, then a sandy beach, and, lastly, a cultivated country, covered with superb cities

and abundant crops, and intersected by canals, which, the soil having been either drained or watered with skill, might have dispensed abundance over the whole of the surface of this new country. Afterwards, in the lapse of time, and in consequence of the calamities inseparable from revolutions, some of the parts of this territory, thus gained from the sea, may have been deserted, while others may have become salt springs: and lakes may have been formed, next destroyed, and finally, reproduced under a new modification of matter. Canals, choked up, may have changed their course, and have been lost. If this be granted, why, in our uncertain researches, do we enquire where the Bolbitine and Canopic branches of the Nile, the branch of Berenice, &c. &c. were situated?

The plants which are produced in the first place on the new land, are three or four kinds of sea weeds, round which the sand throws itself up in heaps. From its surface they spring up afresh; and their subsequent decay furnishes a manure which favours the vegetation of reeds. These reeds give a greater elevation and a greater solidity to the soil. The date-tree now appears, and by its shade prevents the sudden evaporation of the moisture, and renders the soil fruitful and productive, as may be seen in the environs of the fortress of Raschid, whence, in the time of the Emperor Selim, the guns had a full command of the sea, and which is now a league from the sea-shore, surrounded by forests of palm-trees, beneath the shade of which other fruit-trees flourish, together with all the vegetables that are produced in the best cultivated gardens.

On this expedition I saw, at the mouth of the river, a number of pelicans and jerboas. On examining the fortress of Raschid, I observed that it had been constructed of parts of old buildings; and that several of the stones of the embrasures were of the fine free-stone of Upper Egypt, and still covered with hieroglyphics. On visiting the subterranean apartments, we came to magazines filled with old arms and armour, such as cross-bows, arrows, swords shaped like those used in the time of the crusades, helmets, &c. In rummaging these magazines a great number of bats as large as pigeons flew out. They were of the same form as the wood-fauvette: we killed several of them.

After the loss of our fleet, a part of the troops which were at Rosetta had been distributed in small parties in the fortresses and batteries; and as it had been found necessary to keep up a communication between Alexandria and Rosetta, by the establishment of caravans between these two places, by Aboukir and the desert,

and to employ a certain number of soldiers for the protection of these caravans against the Arabs, too few of them were left at Rosetta to do the garrison duty, and to defend the place in the case of an attack. It was therefore decided to form a militia, to be made up of the travellers, speculators, and, in short, of all those idle, wandering, and irresolute men, who came up from Alexandria, or who were already returned from Cairo. These *animals* of a doubtful description, corrupted by the campaigns of Italy, having heard that in Egypt the harvests were the most abundant in the universe, had imagined that the fortunes of those who should be the first to take possession of such a country would be made to their hands. Others, of a debauched character, and whose minds had been fascinated by the relations which Savary has given, had quitted Paris to seek new pleasures at Cairo. Others, lastly, had come out as speculators, to supply the wants of the army, to watch the state of the markets, and to procure and sell at a high price whatever the colony might need. The beys had, however, carried off with them from Cairo all the money and rich moveable property; and the populace had pillaged the houses of the more opulent inhabitants before we had obtained possession of that city. Bonaparte considered the appointment of army-contractors as unnecessary: and the fleet of merchantmen was blocked up by the English. These combined circumstances threw a dark cloud over Egypt, to those travellers at least, who were surprised at finding themselves in a captive state, defeated in their projects, and obliged to concur towards the defence and organization of an establishment, the aim of which was no less than the consolidation of the fortune and glory of the nation at large. They accordingly, in letters destined for France, entered into the most melancholy details; and these letters, which were intercepted by the English, contributed to mislead them as to our real situation. From a persuasion that we were dying with hunger, they sent us back our prisoners, to hasten the moment of our destruction; and published in their newspapers that one-half of our army was at the hospital, while half the remainder was employed in leading the others who were blind. At this time, however, Upper Egypt supplied us abundantly with the best corn, and Lower Egypt with the finest rice. The sugar made in the country costs only half the price of sugar in France; and the innumerable herds of buffaloes, oxen, sheep, and goats, both belonging to the cultivators and to the Arab shepherds, abundantly supplied a new consumption at the time of our landing, securing to us plenty, and even superfluity for the future. To these resources we could add, as so many luxuries for

our tables, fowl, fish, game, vegetables, and fruits of every description. Such were the objects of prime necessity and of luxury which Egypt afforded to these calumniators, who were in need of gold to repair the abuse which they had already made of it, and who, being unable to find any, could perceive nothing around them except burning sands, a perpetual sunshine, gnats and fleas, dogs which prevented them from sleeping, intractable husbands, and women who displayed their haggard necks, while their faces were veiled.

Let us, however, abandon to the mercy of the winds this swarm of butterflies, which collect wherever a glimpse of sunshine is to be caught; and, glancing into futurity, see our conquests and the peace lay open the ports of Alexandria, bringing thither skilful and industrious cultivators, useful merchants, and, in short, settlers who, without terrifying themselves because Africa does not resemble Europe, will find that in Egypt a man may for three halfpence have a sufficient quantity of the best rice in the world for a day's consumption: that a part of the grounds which the inundations have deserted may be cultivated by means of irrigation: that wind-mills would raise the water to a greater height than the machines with pots, which are at present employed, and which require so much attendance and so many oxen: that the islands of the Nile, and the greater part of the Delta, have need alone of settlers from the West Indies to produce the finest sugar-canes on a territory which will not be destructive to the population: that on approaching Cairo, and on the other side of that city, a little amelioration will suffice to rival the plantations of indigo and cotton to be found elsewhere: and that, while they are making a sure and handsome fortune, they will live under the benign influence of a pure and healthy climate, on the banks of a river of an almost miraculous nature, the advantages of which need not be recapitulated. To conclude, they will see a new colony spring up, with cities ready built, and with skilful workmen, accustomed to toils and inured to the climate, by whose aid, and by the help of the canals which are already traced out, they will in a few years create new provinces, the future abundance of which cannot be doubted, since it will depend on modern industry alone to restore to them their ancient splendour.

With respect to our heedless soldiers, they amused themselves at the expense of our seamen who had been beaten; and having heard that Murad-Bey had a white camel covered with gold and diamonds, their conversation was entirely engrossed by Murad-Bey and his white camel. For my part, I was to visit Upper Egypt;

and I laid aside all further reflections relative to our situation until my return.

Our excursion in the Delta was retarded by some pressing business which General Menou had to transact. I resolved to avail myself of this delay, by returning and visiting by land the part of Egypt, the coast only of which I had seen in coming from Alexandria by sea; and for this purpose I joined a caravan to go in quest of the ruins of Canopus.

A considerable number of the native inhabitants had joined the escort of the caravan: and when, on quitting the city at the close of the evening, it began to spread itself over the yellow and sleek surface of the sandy hillocks which surround Rosetta, it produced the most striking and picturesque effect imaginable. The groups of soldiers, those of the merchants in their different costumes, sixty laden camels, an equal number of Arab guides, the horses, asses, foot travellers, and a few instruments of military music, gave the animated semblance of one of the finest pictures of Benedetto, or of Salvator Rosa. As soon as we had descended the hillocks, and passed the palm-trees, we entered a vast desert, the horizontal line of which is broken by a few small brick monuments alone, intended to prevent the traveller from losing himself in the wide expanse, and without which the smallest error in the opening of the angle would bring him, by a lengthened line, into a direction very different from the one that he meant to take. We proceeded, amid the silence of the desert and of the night, over incrustations of salt, which gave some small degree of solidity to the moving sands, our cavalcade being preceded by a detachment of soldiers. Next came the travellers, then the beasts of burden, and, lastly, another detachment to protect the convoy from the Bedouin Arabs, who, when they are not in sufficient force to attack in front, sometimes carry off the stragglers within twenty paces of the rear of the caravan.

We reached the sea-side at midnight, when the rising moon lighted up a new scene. The shore, to the extent of four leagues, was covered by wrecks, which enabled us to form an estimate of the loss that we had sustained at the battle of Aboukir. To procure a few nails, or a few iron hoops, the wandering Arabs were employed in burning on the beach the masts, gun-carriages, boats, &c. which had been constructed at so vast an expense in our ports, and even the wrecks of which were a treasure in a country where so few of these objects were to be found. The robbers fled at our approach: and nothing was left but the bodies of the wretched victims, drifted on the loose sand, by which they were

half covered, and exhibiting there a spectacle as sublime as terrific. The sight of these distressing objects plunged my soul by degrees in a deep melancholy. I endeavoured to shun these terrifying spectres, but in vain: all those that came across me attracted my attention by their various attitudes, and made different impressions on my mind. But a few months before, young, replete with health, courage, and hope, they had, by a noble effort, torn themselves from the embraces of their weeping mothers, sisters, and wives, and from the feeble struggles of their tender infants. All those by whom they were cherished, said I so myself, and who, yielding to their ardour, had allowed them to depart, are still offering up prayers for their success, and for their safe return: waiting with avidity the news of their triumphs, they are preparing feasts for them, and counting the moments as they pass, while the objects of their expectation lie on a distant beach, parched up by a burning sand, and having their skulls already bleached.—To whom does that mangled skeleton belongs? Unwilling to suffer the amputation of thy fractured limbs, thou hadst no other wish to gratify than the honour of dying at thy post. Thy impatient ardour would have been tired out by the delays of the operation: thou hadst nothing more to expect from life; but thou mightest still give a useful order, and wast apprehensive of being anticipated by death. Another spectre succeeds, having its arm raised over its head, which is sunk into the sand. Slain in the fight, remorse seems to have survived thy courageous end. Hast thou any reproach to make against thyself? Thy mutilated limbs attest thy courage, and couldst thou be more than brave? Is it owing to thy mistakes that the wrecks which the waves have thrown up are accumulated about thee? How great is my regret, that my soul, filled with emotion at quitting thy remains, can only bestow on them unavailing pity. Who is this other, seated, and with his legs shot away? He appears, by his countenance, to arrest for a moment the death to which he is already a prey! It is thou, unquestionably, courageous Dupetitoire! Receive the tribute of the enthusiasm with which thou hast inspired me. Thou hast perished; but thy eyes, in closing, did not see thy colours struck; and thy last word was an order given from the deck to pour a broadside on the enemies of thy country. Adieu: thy ashes are denied a tomb; but the tears of the hero by whom thou art regretted, are the unperishable trophy which will inscribe thy name in the temple of remembrance. Who is this in the tranquil attitude of a virtuous man, whose last action was dictated by wisdom and by his duty? His view is still directed towards the English fleet. Like Bayard,

it was his wish to die with his face turned towards the enemy. His hand is stretched out towards a youthful corpse, which is fast hastening to decay. I can distinguish, however, a lengthened neck, and outstretched arms. Is it thou, young hero, amiable Casabianca? It can be no other. Death, inflexible death has united thee to thy father, whom thou preferedst before life. Sensible and respectable youth, time held out to thee a promise of future glory; but thy filial piety made choice of death: accept our tears, the reward of thy virtues.

The sun had dispelled the darkness, but had not dissipated the gloomy complexion of my thoughts: the caravan, however, on stopping, apprised me that we were at the edge of the lake which separates the plain of the desert from the peninsula, at the extremity of which Aboukir is built. This deep and extensive lake is the ancient Canopic branch which the Nile has abandoned, and the banks of which have been forced back, and its bed enlarged, by the pressure of the sea, which has found a ready entrance. This encroachment on the lake, which is daily gaining ground, threatens to destroy the isthmus which attaches Aboukir to the main land, and over which the canal flows that conveys the water to Alexandria. The Arabian princes attempted to throw up a mound, which was never finished, or which, not having sufficient solidity, yielded to the efforts of the waves, impelled during a part of the year by the northerly winds. At present there are no other remains of this mound than two piers, one on each bank. A topographical plan of this part of Egypt, which is little known, and which has been badly traced on all the charts, would supply the means of reasoning with efficacy on the dangers which may result from the sea's motion, and of applying the remedies requisite to the security of the important canal which conveys the water of the Nile to Alexandria.

The difficulty of ferrying over the canal of Maadieh occasioned this short passage to occupy nearly as much time as the rest of the route. On the opposite bank our people were employed in erecting a battery to protect this communication; which, without such a precaution, would be exposed to the enemy's attacks. We had scarcely crossed the canal when we had a proof of this: an English brig and a cutter, which had come purposely to intercept us, fired at us seven or eight balls. Our silence inducing them to think that we had nothing with which to reply to them, the English, a few hours after, detached from their fleet twelve boats, together with the two vessels above mentioned, which steered towards our

works with crowded sails. We imagined that they were about to attempt a landing: they came to anchor, however, near the battery, and when night drew on kept up a heavy fire on us. We waited for the moon's rising; and as soon as her light had enabled us to ascertain their position, answered them in a way which was apparently so advantageous, that on our fourth discharge they cut their cables, left their anchors behind them, and stood out to sea.

After having crossed the mouth of the lake, by following two small openings skirted by sandy hillocks, I at length reached the suburb of Aboukir, which bears a great resemblance to the city, from which it is separated by a distance of about a hundred and fifty paces: the city and suburb, taken together, may consist of from forty to fifty bad houses in a ruinous state, intersecting the peninsula, at the extremity of which the fortress stands. At a distance this fortress has a respectable appearance; the bastions would, however, fall in on the third discharge of the culverins which are placed on the ramparts, and which are in a very neglected state: one of them, a brass piece, carries a fifty pound ball. It was found necessary to raise a part of the batteries, and to form with the rubbish a platform of sufficient solidity to receive four of our thirty-six pounders. This precaution did not appear to me to be of any great utility, as the small vessels and launches which are capable of carrying guns to batter the walls are prevented from approaching this promontory by the reefs and rocks which surround it. The enemy would not attempt a landing at this point; and should it even be carried into effect, the fortress could neither hold out, nor afford any security to troops, or to a magazine, unless lines were to be constructed in front to defend the approach. On the whole it appeared to me that it would have been better to destroy the fortress, and fill up the cisterns, preventing thus the necessity of a garrison, of no utility during the absence of an enemy, and which could not fail to be blockaded, or forced to surrender, the moment a hostile landing should be effected.

In the embrasure of the outer gate of the fortress I found four large stones of dark green porphyry, and two long stones of the most compact statuary granite. At the inner gate I found, together with four other stones, a fragment of doric entablature, having triglyphs of a large size and fine execution. These fragments, and a few vestiges of foundations at the point of the rock, are the only antiquities that I could discover at Aboukir, the site of which can never have undergone any alteration, since the soil is a calcareous level which rises above the bed of the sea, and which

is attached to the main land by an isthmus too narrow to have allowed a considerable city to have been built there. There is, therefore, every reason to suppose that this was the fort or castle, facing the sea, of Canopus, or of Heraclea, which Strabo places at or near this spot. Before I reached Aboukir, at half a league's distance, I had passed in front of the cisterns, the construction of which had been praised to me. I returned thither, and could find nothing besides three square wells of Arabian structure, surrounded by heights which certainly contain ruins, and on which a large quantity of fragments of earthen pots are heaped together, blended with the sand of the desert which the wind has carried thither. I suspected that Arabic towers had been sunk on this spot, or, perhaps, that it had been the site of a manufactory of pottery, or that these were the ruins of Heraclea. A few fragments of granite on the most elevated part of the ground induced me to prefer this latter opinion.

On the following day I proceeded with a detachment along the western coast, examining all the sinuosities and the smallest eminences. In Lower Egypt the latter almost invariably contain antiquities, by the aggregation of which they were originally formed. After a search of three quarters of an hour, I found at the bottom of the second creek a small pier formed of colossal fragments. I felt an inexpressible pleasure on perceiving, in the first instance, a fragment of a hand, the first phalanx of which, fourteen inches in length, belonged to a statue thirty-six feet in height. The granite, workmanship, and style of this fragment, left no doubt in my mind but that it belonged to the earliest period of the Egyptians. By the disposition of this hand, as well as by several fragments in its vicinity, and by the mere habit of examining Egyptian statues, the posture of which is so little varied, it is easy to recognize in this fragment an Isis holding a nilometer. It might readily be moved from the spot where it is placed; but this would greatly diminish its value: near it are several fragments of architecture, the dimensions of which evince that they once belonged to a capacious and handsome edifice of the doric order. These ruins have for several centuries been washed by the waves, without having been disfigured; insomuch that it would appear to be the lot of Egyptian monuments of every description to resist alike the ravages of time and of man. Nearer to the sea-side, and surrounded by the fragments of this colossal statue, is a statue of a sphinx, the head and fore legs of which are mutilated, as far as the petrified plants and small shells with which they were encrusted would enable me to judge. Its style attests that it is the work of

a Greek sculptor. It is not of granite, but of a free-stone which resembles white marble, and which has a transparency not to be met with in this substance out of Egypt. Its height is thirteen or fourteen feet. At some distance, amid fragments of entablatures similar to those which I have already described, is another statue of Isis, sufficiently well preserved to allow its position and attitude when standing to be ascertained: its legs are broken, but the fragments are by its side. This statue is of granite, and is ten feet in height. All these antique statues and fragments appear to have been placed on this spot to form a pier, and to serve as a breaker for an edifice which has been since destroyed, and which, if an opinion can be formed from its foundations, must have been a sea-bath, the plan of which is still to be traced in the intersected rock. The part which is not covered by the sea, has conduits for the water, constructed in brick, over which cement and pouzzolana have been laid.

At a distance of nearly half a mile, proceeding inland, and approaching Alexandria, are several foundations constructed in brick, the plan of which cannot be perfectly made out, but which, from several fragments of buildings well executed, appear to have belonged to edifices of some importance. Near them are several corinthian capitals in marble, too much decayed to be measured, but which must have appertained to bases of the same substance: the columns to which they belonged must have been twenty inches in diameter. Farther on are a great number of fragments of columns of rose-coloured granite, fluted, and all of them of the same size, of the same substance, and wrought with the same care, being incontestably the ruins of a large and superb temple of the doric order. From the accounts which Strabo has transmitted to us relative to this part of Egypt, and from what I have just described, more particularly the latter fragments, I had not the smallest doubt but that these were the ruins of Canopus, and those of its temple, built by the Greeks, the worship of which vied with that of Lampsacus:—of that miraculous temple in which old men recovered their youth, and the sick their health. The bath which I have just mentioned was perhaps one of the means that the priests employed to work these wonders.

The soil has preserved none of the luxuriousness of the site of ancient Canopus. A few hillocks of sand and ruins in brick, large square blocks of granite, without hieroglyphics, and without any determinate shape to attest to what kind of edifices and to what age they belonged: and, lastly, a few small vallies, as barren as the heights by which they are formed, are all that remain of a city,

once so delightful, the site of which has now a wild and dismal aspect. It is true that the canal of which Strabo speaks, which extended from Alexandria to Eleusina, and a branch of which reached and bestowed a refreshing coolness on Canopus, has so entirely disappeared, that the traces of it cannot be distinguished, nor the possibility of its existence at present conceived. There are no longer any remains of water in its environs, unless in a few wells or cisterns, which contain an inconsiderable quantity, and which are so narrow and dark, that neither their dimensions nor depth can be measured. In short, that city, the seat of voluptuous delights, to which the votaries of pleasure resorted, is now become a desert, frequented by the jackals and the Bedouin Arabs. I did not encounter any of the latter; but I met with a jackal which I should have taken for a dog, if I had not had an opportunity to examine very minutely his pointed nose, his erected ears, his length of tail sweeping the ground, and his coat of fur like that of the fox, to whom he has a greater resemblance than to the wolf, notwithstanding the jackal is considered as the wolf of Africa. Not wishing to weary the patience of the escort by which I had been accompanied I returned to Aboukir, where I found dispatches for the commander in chief, which were about to be sent off by a detachment.

This opportunity of quitting so dismal a spot gave me an inconceivable pleasure. During the stay which I had made there, I had never been able to banish from my mind that the fortress-prison in which I was confined; and the adjacent rock, against which the waves incessantly dashed with a frightful noise, the whistling of the winds, the whiteness of the soil, which hurt the sight, every thing, in short, in this melancholy abode, afflicted and chilled my soul. On quitting it, I fancied that I had escaped from a tyrant by whom I had been held captive.

The night was so dark that we had to grope our way, at times wading through the sea, at others in the midst of thickets by which we were torn, and stumbling every now and then among the wrecks which were scattered on the beach. At three in the morning we reached Rosetta, where I reposed myself voluptuously, not on any bed, for I had not seen one since my departure from France, but on a clean mat in a cool chamber.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Anniversary Feast on the Birth of Mahomet—Music of the Egyptians—Various Races of People in Rosetta, Copts, Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Jews, Abyssinians—Adgis, or Pilgrims from Mecca—Egyptian Women.*

It was the anniversary of the birth of Mahomet; and we were surprised to find that no preparations were making to celebrate this festival, the most solemn in the Arabic hegira. Towards the close of the evening General Menou sent for the mufti, whose honours and emoluments had been benefited by our arrival. His answers being evasive, the other magistrates, on their being questioned, said that they had purposed to make the customary preparations; but as they were only able to act as inferiors in an affair which was in the department of their colleague the mufti, they had been obliged to wait his orders on that head. The priest was thus unmasked. Like a true courtier, he had daily asked and obtained new favours. The opportunity, however, presenting itself of instilling into the minds of the people, that we opposed what was one of the most solemn acts of their worship, he had seized it with avidity. His stratagem was rewarded in the eastern manner; notice was sent to him that the festival should commence without delay; and on his observing that there could not possibly be sufficient time to make the necessary preparations, the general told him, that if it was too late to celebrate the festival, he should be under the necessity of sending him, the mufti, to prison. This had the desired effect: in a quarter of an hour the festival was proclaimed, the city illuminated, and hymns of piety blended with those of rejoicing and gratitude.

After supper we were invited to repair to the quarter of the first civil magistrate, in the front of whose house we found all the preparations for a Turkish festival. The street was the assembly-room, which was lengthened or contracted according to the number of guests. An alcove covered with carpeting was occupied by the distinguished personages. Fires, combined with a number of small lamps and large tapers, formed a whimsical illumination. On one side was a band of martial music, consisting of short squeaking hautboys, small kettle drums, and large Albanese drums. On the other were stationed violins and singers; and, in the middle, Greek dancers; and attendants provided with sweetmeats, coffee, syrups, rose-water, and pipes. In this way the festival was furnished.

As soon as we were seated the martial music commenced. A kind of leader of the band played alternately two different airs, which the other musicians repeated in chorus. Whether it was owing to the calmness of the atmosphere, or to a wish of introducing too many flourishes into it, it so happened that the second measure was a true cacophony, a discordance of harsh sounds, as disagreeable to nice ears as it was enchanting to those of the Arabs. I noticed particularly, that the leader of the band invariably took up each of the airs with all the importance and enthusiasm of an inspired *improvisatore*, and that, when his nerves appeared to be no longer able to support the energy of expression which he endeavoured to bestow on it, the chorus came to his aid with the same unvaried dissonance. The violins, which were more tolerable, afterwards played an air, in the burden of which a small portion of melody was overcome by superfluous ornaments. The nasal twangs of an inspired singer were superadded to the fastidious softness of the semi-tones of the violins, which, constantly shunning the key-note, fell into the second of the key, and invariably terminated by the diesis, or imperfect semi-tone immediately beneath the key-note, as in the Spanish seguidillas. This may be considered as a proof that the residence of the Arabs in Spain introduced into that kingdom this species of musical composition. After this couplet, the violins took up the same strain with new variations, which the singer disguised by a sharp movement, until he had entirely lost sight of the air, falling into the wild expression of sounds, without harmony, and without principle. This was what, however, charmed his auditory still more and more. The dance which followed was of the same description with the singing: it was not the expression of joy, or of gaiety, but of an extravagant pleasure, which made hasty strides towards lasciviousness; and this was the more disgusting, as the performers, all of them of the male sex, presented in the most indecent way scenes which love has reserved for the two sexes in the silence and mystery of the night.

A variety of trifling circumstances obtruded themselves to delay our great excursion, and to retard the object of my journey.

Being under the necessity of confining my observations to what was immediately about me, I remarked how easy it was to distinguish, in the variety of figures, the different races of the individuals who compose the population of Rosetta. It struck me that this city, a station of intermediate commerce, must necessarily have collected together persons belonging to all the nations of Egypt, and have preserved them more apart and in a better cha-

racterized state than in a great city, such as Cairo, where the relaxation of morals must have crossed them, and caused them to degenerate. I accordingly fancied that I could distinguish in the Copts the ancient Egyptian stock, a description of swarthy Nubians, such as we see them represented on old sculptures, with flat foreheads, high cheek-bones, a very short broad and flat nose, a large flattened mouth placed at a considerable distance from the nose, thick lips, little beard, shapeless body, crooked legs without any expression in the contour, and long flat toes. Ignorance, drunkenness, cunning, and finesse, are the moral qualities, by which these ancient possessors of Egypt are characterized. The first period of their degradation may be taken from their subjugation by Cambyses, that jealous and wrathful conqueror, who governed by terror, changed the laws, persecuted religious worship, mutilated what he could not destroy, and degraded his conquest the better to submit it to his yoke. The second period was the persecution of Dioclesian, when Egypt had embraced the catholic persuasion: this persecution, to which the Egyptians submitted as faithful martyrs, prepared them very naturally for the subjugation of the Mahometans. Under the late government they were become the agents and brokers of the beys and kiaschefs, whom they plundered daily. What they had thus obtained was, however, merely held *in trust*, as they were made by a fine to restore in bulk what they had amassed in detail. It was on this account that the art which they employed in concealing what they had acquired, was greater than the impudence that they had displayed in its acquisition.

After the Copts come the Arabs, the most numerous of the inhabitants of modern Egypt. Without possessing an influence proportioned to their numbers, they seem to be placed there to people the country, to cultivate the lands, to tend the flocks, or to be themselves in the degraded state of animals. They are, however, lively, and have a penetrating physiognomy. Their eyes, which are sunk in and overarched, are replete with vivacity and character; all their proportions are angular; their beard is short and hanging in filaments; their lips are thin and open, displaying fine teeth; their arms are fleshy; and in other respects they are more active than handsome, and more muscular than well shaped. The characteristic traits I have just described are most common in the small villages and solitary habitations, and more particularly among the inhabitants of the desert. Three classes of these people, altogether different from each other, are, however, to be distinguished. First, the Arab shepherd, who seems to belong to the original stock, and who resembles the description I have just given

Next, the Bedouin Arab, on whom a more exalted independence, and the state of warfare in which he lives, have bestowed a character of savage ferocity. Lastly, the Arab cultivator, the most civilized, the most corrupted, the most degraded, in consequence of the state of bondage in which he is held, and the most varied in person and in character, as may be remarked in the head of the sheiks or chiefs of villages, in those of the fellahs or peasants, in those of the boufackirs or beggars, and, finally, in those of the artisans, who constitute the most abject class. These two classes of the Bedouins and cultivators are sprung from the preceding one, that of the Arab shepherds.

The beauties of the Turks are more dignified, and their shape more delicate. Their thick eyelids allow but little expression to the eyes: the nose is thick; the mouth and lips handsome; the beard long and bushy; the complexion less swarthy; and the neck plump. In all their gestures and motions of the body they are dull and heavy; and this solemnity of gait, which, notwithstanding the nullity of their authority, inspires a certain degree of awe, they mistake for dignity. They possess a beauty which cannot be defined, or a reason given why it should be considered as such. This is not the case with the Greeks, who must be classed among the foreigners by whom societies distinct from those of the indigenous inhabitants are formed. The fine delineations of their form, their arch and penetrating eyes, and the delicacy and flexibility of their traits, bring to the remembrance all that the imagination has figured to itself relative to their ancestors, and all that their monuments have transmitted to us to attest their elegance and their taste. The degraded state to which they have been reduced, through a dread which the superiority of their intellectual faculties still inspires, has rendered many of them wily knaves. Were they, however, left to themselves, they would perhaps become in a little time what they formerly were, subtle and ambitious. Of all the nations on earth this is the one which longs the most ardently for a revolution, from whatever quarter it may come. On our taking possession of Rosetta, at an entertainment which was given, a young Greek came up to me, kissed my shoulder, and, with his finger on his lips, without uttering a single syllable, slipped privately into my hand a nosegay which he had brought me. This simple demonstration completely unfolded all his sensations, and was expressive of his political situation, his fears, and his hopes.

Next come the Jews, who are in Egypt what they are every where;—hated, without being dreaded; despised and persecuted

incessantly, without ever being expelled; plundering constantly without being very rich; and rendering themselves useful to all the world at the same time that their only incentive is self-interest. I do not know whether it is owing to their being nearer to their own country that their physical character is better preserved here than elsewhere: it struck me, however, very forcibly. Those among them who are ugly resemble our Jews; while the handsome ones, and more particularly those who are young, bear a strong resemblance, in point of character, to the head which painting has handed down to us of Jesus Christ. This seems to prove that the portrait is traditional, and that it is not to be dated from the fourteenth century and the revival of the arts. In the great cities of Egypt the Jews contend with the Copts for the places in the custom houses, stewardships of estates, and, in general, for whatever requires calculation, and supplies the means of amassing and concealing a fortune well or badly acquired.

The characteristic traits of another race of men, who are very numerous, are strongly delineated. These are the Barabras, or people from the upper countries, inhabitants of Nubia, and of the frontiers of Abyssinia. In these fervid climates nature has, in an economical mood, denied them every superfluity. They have neither flesh nor fat, but simply nerves, muscles, and tendons, of greater elasticity than vigour. They perform by activity and address what others effect by strength. It would seem as if the barrenness of their soil had exhausted the small portion of substance which nature has bestowed on them. Their skin is of a shining and jetty black, exactly similar to that of antique bronzes. They have not the smallest resemblance of the negroes of the western parts of Africa. Their eyes are deep set and sparkling, with the brows hanging over; the nose pointed; the nostrils large; the mouth wide; the lips of moderate dimensions; and the hair and beard in small quantity, and hanging in little locks. Being wrinkled betimes, and retaining their agility till the last, the only indication of old age among them is the whiteness of the beard, every part of the body remaining slender and muscular as in their youth. Their physiognomy is cheerful; and they are lively and well disposed. They are most commonly employed to guard the magazines and timber yards. They are clad in a piece of white woollen cloth, gain but little, and subsist on almost nothing. They are very faithful to their masters, to whom they are strongly attached.

During the pilgrimage to Mecca all the nations which are ranged under the denomination of Maugrabins, or western people, pass

through Egypt. This was the time for the return of the caravan. Bonaparte, who had made every effort in his power to enable it to reach Cairo without accident, had not, however, been able to prevent Ibrahim-Bey, on his flight into Syria, from reaching the desert before him, and from attacking the caravan, which he did at Belbeis, sharing the plunder with the Arabs, and with the emir Adgis, whose duty it was to protect the treasures. All that the bey allowed to reach us were the mendicant devotees, who flocked to us in bands of two or three hundred, made up of all the nations of Africa, from Fez to Tripoli. They were so worn out by fatigue, that they all bore a resemblance to each other, being as meagre as the countries through which they had passed are barren, and as much decayed as prisoners after a long confinement in a dungeon. It is the impulsion, the powerful force of opinion, which unquestionably renders man the strongest of all animals. When the space which these pilgrims had gone over is considered, together with all that they must have suffered on so long and terrible a journey, no doubt can be entertained but that it required the excitement of a moral object, to enable them to brave so many and such painful fatigues; and that the enthusiasm resulting from a pious sentiment, together with the consideration which is bestowed on the title of *adgi* or pilgrim, a title proudly borne by those who undertake the journey to Mecca, are the levers which alone could move the indolence of the eastern nations, and urge them on to such an undertaking. To these incentives, however, may be added the right which the *adgis* assume to themselves, of relating during the remainder of their lives, to the other mussulmans, on whose credulity they impose, all that they either have or have not seen. I may perhaps be accused of a small share of *adgism* in the travels which I have undertaken, and of braving difficulties with a view of imparting to others a portion of my own enthusiasm. My curiosity, however, sets, my conscience at rest, being aware that my style is not over fascinating, and that my drawings have nothing but their fidelity to boast.

Fourteen Mamelukes, who were without doubt an encumbrance at head-quarters, had been sent to Rosetta. I examined them very attentively, without reflecting that they do not belong to any particular nation, but are composed of people of all countries. Accordingly, among the few that I had an opportunity of seeing, I did not find one who had a physiognomy sufficiently characterized to be worth the pains of drawing. Several of them were, however, natives of Mingrelia and Georgia, but, whether it was that nature had denied them their share of the beauty which she has bestowed

on those countries, or because she had been more lavish in her gifts to the women, I waited until others should present themselves with more striking features. I also deferred the plesure of drawing the Egyptian women, until we should, by our influence over the manners of the eastern nations, remove the veil by which they are covered. But even supposing, which is scarcely to be presumed, that the men should make a sacrifice to us of their prejudices on this score, the coquetry of the old women, who are the most scrupulous on every point in which honour is concerned, would for a long time require, on the part of their youthful companions, the austerity to which they were the victims in the early part of life. What I had an opportunity to notice is, that the young girls who are not yet marriageable, and relative to whom less strictness is observed, bear a pretty general resemblance to the forms of the Egyptian statues of the goddess Isis. The women of the lower classes, who take greater pains to conceal the nose and mouth than any other part, discover from time to time, not attractions, but fine slender limbs, the shape of which displays more activity than grace. As soon as their breasts have attained their full growth, they begin to fall, and their gravitation is such, that it would be difficult to say how low some of them reach. The complexion of these women is neither black nor white, but a dusky brown. They dye of a black colour the eye-brows, eye-lids, and chin, but without producing any great effect. I have not, however, seen any women carry with more elegance a child, a vase or a basket of fruit; or walk with greater ease and security. Their long drapery would be by no means unbecoming, were it not that a veil, in the shape of a ship's pendant, casts a gloom over the whole of their dress, so as to make it resemble the dismal costume of a nun of the order of penitents.

One of the rich natives who was under some obligations to me, by way of testifying his gratitude, invited me to his house. On account of my advanced age, and of my being a foreigner, he thought that he might allow his wife to be of the breakfast party, and thus contribute more to my entertainment. As he was engaged in mercantile pursuits, he spoke a little Italian, and acted as interpreter between myself and the lady, whose beauty was accompanied by a soft tinge of melancholy. She was extremely fair, and her hands uncommonly delicate and handsome. On my admiring them, she held them out to me. We had very little to say to each other; and to make up for this silence, I kissed her hands, which, as she was perplexed to know what she should afterwards do to interest me, she did not offer to withdraw. On

my side, I dared not let them go, for fear she should imagine that I was tired of them. I am at a loss to conjecture how this scene would have terminated, if refreshments had not been brought to relieve us from our embarrassment. They were handed to her, and she presented them to me in a very particular manner, and with some degree of grace. I fancied that I could perceive her negligent and pensive air to be merely the affectation of a great lady, who persuaded herself that, by assuming it, she should become superior to all the magnificence by which she was surrounded and covered. I also frequently saw a female native, who was married to a Franc. She spoke Italian, was handsome, of engaging manners, and fond of her husband. He was not, however, so amiable but that she could bestow a part of her affection elsewhere, and the jealousy which ensued on his side was the occasion of perpetual strife. She was all submission, and never failed to renounce the object of his suspicions. On the following day, however, there was a fresh complaint: she again wept and repented; and, notwithstanding, the husband was never without some motive for scolding her. The house in which this couple lived was opposite to mine; and as the street was narrow, I became very naturally the lady's confidant, and the witness of her chagrins. The plague broke out in the city; and my neighbour was so very communicative, that she could not fail either to give or take it. Accordingly she caught it of her last lover: bestowed it very faithfully on her husband: and they all three died. I regretted her death: her singular good-nature and ingenuousness, in the midst of her irregularities, and the sincerity of the regret she manifested, had interested me, and more particularly, because, as a mere confidant, I could have no dispute with her either as a husband or a lover. Fortunately for me, I was not at Rosetta at the time when the plague made its ravages in that city.

## CHAPTER VII.

*The Author enters the Delta: Number of Villages and Populousness—Description of the Almés or Female Dancers at Metubis—Desuk and other Villages—Encounter with the Arabs at Sehabas-Amers—Return to Rosetta.*

We at length set out for the Delta, on the excursion to which I had so long and so eagerly looked forward, to tread a ground which had never been explored by any European, and, indeed, but imperfectly by any other persons, the inhabitants excepted: for the Mamelukes had rarely penetrated to the centre of the Delta, in collecting the tributes, and regulating the *avanies* or fines. On

the 10th of September, in the afternoon, the generals Menou and Marmont, a dozen men of letters and artists, and myself, with a detachment of two hundred men as an escort, crossed the Nile in boats. Although some pains had been taken to make every necessary provision, it was found on our landing, that what was most essential had been forgotten. The horses that we were to mount had no qualities belonging to the Arabian breed, except their vices; and such of the travellers as were bad horsemen, and whose only alternative was a horse without a bridle, or an ass without a pannel, hesitated whether they should proceed, or renounce a journey that they had so ardently desired, and which they had begun with so much enthusiasm. By degrees, however, our arrangements were made, and we set forward. We passed through the villages of Madie, Elyeusera, Abugueridi, Melahye, Abuserat, Ralaici, Beredi, Ekbet, Estaone, Elbat, Elsezri, Suffrano, Elnegars, and Madie-di-Berimbal; and reached Berimbal at night. I have given this uninteresting list of the different villages which we passed, to convey an idea of the population of four leagues of territory, and of the abundance of a soil which nourishes so many inhabitants, and contains on its surface so many habitations. Exclusively of its own internal consumption, it has to supply the wants of its titular possessor, who commonly resides in the capital. At Madie-di-Berimbal our camels fell into the canal; it was midnight before we could collect them together. Our baggage and provisions were drenched; all thoughts of our arrival had been given up; and, after having with some difficulty procured a supper, we reposed ourselves as well as we could at two o'clock in the morning. The following day, after having dried our clothes, we set out, and reached Metubis at the expiration of twelve hours, meeting with as many villages as on the former occasion.

General Menou had some enquiries to make, and an explanation to enter into with the sheiks in the vicinity, relative to their past offences. It was therefore determined, that we should not quit Metubis until the following day. This city, on a variety of accounts, presented food for our curiosity. In the first place it is probable that it was built on the ruins of the ancient Metelis; and, in the next place, the well-known and tolerated licentiousness of its manners had bestowed on it the reputation which Canopus had precedently enjoyed. Our researches after antiquities were ineffectual: all the granite that we could find was employed for grinding the corn, and appeared to have been brought thither from some other spot to be applied to that use. We were told of ruins to the south-east, at the distance of a league and a half; but it was late,

and a curiosity of another kind attracted our attention. We requested of the sheiks a sight of the *almés*, a description of female dancers similar to those of India. These chiefs, a part of whose revenues they probably constituted, made some difficulty in allowing them to be brought into our presence. If polluted by the inspection of infidels, their reputation might suffer, and they might perhaps even be obliged to forfeit their condition in life. The vileness of a christian in the eyes of a mussulman may be estimated from this anecdote, since the objects which are the most dissolute and abandoned in this sect, may notwithstanding be profaned by the view of a European. The presence, however, of a general, together with that of two hundred soldiers, and some old offences for which the sheiks had an atonement to make, soon removed every obstacle. The *almés* arrived; and we could not perceive that they participated in the slightest degree in the political considerations and religious scruples of the sheiks. They made some difficulty, however, and that with a tolerable share of grace, in granting us what we should have considered as the smallest of their favours, that of uncovering the eyes and the mouth. In a little time their forms were completely displayed through coloured gauze fastened by a sash, which they tightened from time to time negligently, and with an air of levity by no means disagreeable, and somewhat *à la française*. They had brought with them two instruments, a pipe and tabour, and a kind of drum, made from an earthen pot, on which the musician beat with his hands. They were seven in number. Two of them began dancing, while the others sung, with an accompaniment of castanets, in the shape of cymbals, and of the size of a crown piece. The movement which they displayed in striking them against each other gave infinite grace to their fingers and wrists. At the commencement the dance was voluptuous: it soon after became lascivious, and expressed, in the grossest and most indecent way, the giddy transports of the passions. The disgust which this spectacle excited, was heightened by one of the musicians of whom I have just spoken, and who, at the moment when the dancers gave the greatest freedom to their wanton gestures and emotions, with the stupid air of a clown in a pantomime, interrupted by a loud burst of laughter the scene of intoxication which was to close the dance.

These dancers swallowed large glasses of brandy as if it had been lemonade. Accordingly, notwithstanding they were all young and handsome, they were haggard and jaded, with the exception of two of them, whose beauty bore so striking a resemblance to that of two of our Paris *belles*, that we all joined in a general ex-

clamation when they disclosed their features. So truly is grace a pure gift of nature, that Josephina and Hanka, who had received no other education than that which is bestowed on the most dissolute of cities, when the dance was ended, possessed all the delicacy of manners of the women whom they resembled, and the soft and endearing voluptuousness which they, no doubt, reserve for those on whom they lavish their secret favours. I could have wished, I must confess, that Josephina had not resembled the others in her style of dancing.

Notwithstanding the licentious life of these females, they are introduced into the harems to instruct the young persons of their sex in all that may render them agreeable to their husbands. They give them lessons of dancing, singing, gracefulness, and, in general, of all voluptuous attainments. It is not surprising, that with manners which make the principal duty of women to consist in bestowing pleasure, those who follow the profession of gallantry should be the teachers of the fair sex. They are admitted to the festivals which the grandees give to those of their own rank; and when, from time to time, a husband wishes to entertain his harem in a particular manner, they are also sent for.

On the following day our attention was occupied by antiquities. We went to Koam-él-Hhamar, that is to say, the *red mountain*, a name derived, without doubt, from the mound of red bricks with which this ruin is formed. It has no determinate characteristics, and may have belonged either to an ancient city, whose monuments have long since disappeared, or to a modern village, which having rebelled against the Mamelukes, may have been destroyed by them. We could not find any vestiges of antiquities, notwithstanding that it was the wish of Dolomieu and myself to discover there the ancient Metelis, the capital of the *nome* which was so called. The country which we discovered towards the east, beyond Comeh-Lachma, and extending to lake Berelos, is merely an uncultivated morass. We dined at Sindion and slept at Fua. On the following day we proceeded to El-Alavi and Therafa, quitting the north-west, to examine several considerable ruins, which are also, for the reason just given, called Koam-Hhamar-él-Médyneh. We doubted whether they were the traces of Cabaza, the capital of the cabasitic *nome*, or of Naucratis, which the Milesians had built. We were not more fortunate than on the preceding day, the rubbish being of the same nature; for this is the only name which can be bestowed on a mass of shapeless fragments of pottery, and heaps of broken bricks, not one of which was to be found in an entire state. At some distance we discovered

nearly two square leagues of barren and uncultivated land, which, in some measure, diminished our expectations relative to the general fecundity of the soil of the Delta. If either of the two cities I have just mentioned stood on this barren ground, on which we could distinguish ruins, it was but unpleasantly situated, and it is certain that it contained no great monument of any description. Although the space that they occupy is very considerable, we could perceive nothing but a few artificial streams for irrigation, without any navigable canals. We returned, but little satisfied with the result of our researches, not having collected any information which could aid us in those that we might hereafter undertake.

In making this excursion we had quitted the detachment, and proceeded in a direct line towards Desuk, the place of our rendezvous, accompanied by a few guides. We passed through Gabrith, a village fortified with walls and towers, peculiarities which distinguish those that are not on the bank of the Nile beyond Fua. Here the territory was not so well cultivated, and the soil, being more elevated and more difficult to irrigate by means of the watering machines, waits for the inundation to be sown with corn and maize, to which no other crops succeed. In the portions of land of this nature, as soon as the harvest is got in, the ground, abandoned to the piercing rays of the sun, and without one reviving drop of moisture to allay its thirst, cracks, and bears, the form and semblance of a desert. We passed through Salmie, where we could distinguish all the disasters which our vengeance had occasioned, without being able to notice in the countenances of the inhabitants any remaining traces of any enmity or resentment. I could not, however, recollect without emotion that I was almost alone on a spot where I had seen the principal inhabitants of the country fall some time before. We were face to face, the natives and myself, like parties who had had a lawsuit, but whose accounts were not yet settled. I had had repeated occasions to remark that the eastern nations bear no malice for the events of which a state of warfare may have been productive. On this occasion, the inhabitants added, with much generosity and a good grace, a guide to the one who was to conduct us to Mehhâl-él-Malek and the canal of Ssa'idy.

The canal of Ssa'idy is sufficiently wide for the passage of boats from the Nile to lake Berelos. Desuk, a large village, is distant from it about half a league, and has a mosque which is resorted to twice a year by all the nations of the east, and in which two hundred thousand souls pay their devotions. The *almés* repair

thither from every part of Egypt; and the greatest miracle which is performed by Ibrahim, who is so devoutly worshipped at Desux, is to suspend the jealousy of the mussulmans during the time that this kind of festival lasts, and to allow the women the enjoyment of a liberty of which they are said to profit in the fullest extent imaginable.

We were informed that a palace had been prepared for the general, and we all occupied it: it consisted of a court, an open gallery, and one room without a door. I made a sketch of this scene, taking the time in which General Menou was giving audience through the window to some of the chief people of the country, who were assembled in the outer court, whilst the servants were bringing in the breakfast which had been prepared for us. We devoted the next day to visiting all the villages within the government of General Menou, in the province of Sharkieh, which we had not yet seen. In our way we were to pass by Sanhur-el-Medin, where we were informed were to be seen a number of ruins. Could it be Sais? Our expectations were awakened by the adjunct *el Medin*, meaning "the Great," which it might have acquired from its great antiquity, or the splendour of the antient Sais, which, according to Strabo, was the Metropolis of the whole of this district of Lower Egypt. We reached the place by crossing a large and parched plain, which was every hour expecting the inundation of the Nile, the waters of which were already running up the numerous furrows.

Sanhur-el-Medin, however, exhibited nothing but devastation and a heap of shapeless ruins. The fragments of flint and granite stones which we examined could only indicate a few centuries of antiquity, and our careful search over the whole neighbourhood produced nothing of consequence, so that we returned dissatisfied to Desuk, where we spent the night.

The next day we directed our march north-east, towards the interior of the Delta. Having again passed Sanhur-el-Medin, we crossed several main inundation canals, which from the appearance and quality of the water we supposed might proceed from lake Berelos.

Beyond these canals we found the country already covered with water, though it was four feet higher than the ground which we had left: for the irrigation, which was directed and kept in by the dykes on which we now marched, had to flow over them before it could reach the country through which we had been travelling. These dykes served as roads of communication between the different villages, which appeared as islands rising above the water;

and being thus strongly marked out, we flatterred ourselves that no interesting object within them would escape our curiosity. We had been told that we should find many antiquities at Schaabas-Ammers, and we advanced towards it along a serpentine dyke, which divided two seas of inundation. To have more time for our observations, we had advanced a league beyond our detachment; a guide on horseback, two guides on foot, a young man from Rosetta, the two generals Menou and Marmont, a physician who served as our interpreter, draughtsman, and myself, formed the foremost party of our company; while General Dolomieu, holding by the bridle a vicious horse, and several servants, remained at some distance behind. Whilst we were observing the advantageous and picturesque situation of Kafr-Schaabas, a hamlet a little distance from Schaabas, we saw the physician riding back to us at full gallop, crying out, "They are waiting for us with musquets, and are calling to us, *Erga (Halt.)*" Our guides wished to parley with them, but they only answered us by discharging their pieces, which, though they were very near us, fortunately did us no injury. We made another attempt to parley, but a second volley warned us not to expose to the enemy's balls the legs of our horses, which were our only resource. As we were returning we perceived another troop of armed men, who were coming up by a road covered with water, and threatened to cut off our only retreat. At this moment the draughtsman was seized with such a degree of terror as to be unable to think and act for himself, and fell helpless from his horse; in vain we tried to remount him, to take him behind one of us, or to persuade him to seize hold of the tail of one of our horses; his last hour was arrived, and without being able to make use of any chance of escape, he remained on the spot, crying out through terror, till his head became the prey of the merciless enemy. In the mean time, those who had fired at us were coming up, and to avoid being aimed at, we had only time to gallop through the balls, which flew round us on every side. We now met the second party of the enemy, and Dolomieu was mounted on a restive horse with his bridle broken; fortunately I had just time to tie it together for him, and I was directly after repaid for this service; for as I was remounting, I saw him fall into a deep hole in which I should have sunk entirely, and from which he escaped by his gigantic stature. I took another direction, crossed a dyke which the enemy had broken, whilst the ground was already covered with water, which came on in torrents in every direction, and at last rejoined

our detachment, and we all returned to Kafr-Ammers, which in our rage we were going to take by storm.

It was four in the afternoon when we returned to this village; forty men concealed in a ditch fired on us as we came up, but missed us all, and we were not more successful in returning the fire; they retired, however, to another troop which was waiting for us under the wall, for we now perceived that this village was a small fortress, formed of four curtains, with a tower at each angle, to one of which a castle was connected. This little fort was separated from Schaabas by a canal filled with water, and an esplanade of a thousand toises in length. The commander of the place had hung out the white flag, but the people in the suburbs still continued to fire on us: our first attack failed; the officer charged with directing it was thrown off his horse into the water, and his party had separated in order to pursue the inhabitants, who were carrying away their effects: the two generals hastened up to remedy this disorder and rally the party, but this movement obliged them to pass under the towers, by which several soldiers were killed or wounded from the fire of the enemy. We now turned the fortress, one of the towers had not been armed, and we broke open one of the gates of the town which it defended; thirty soldiers and the general entered; the latter and myself were the only persons of our party that were on horseback, and the houses were so low that we found ourselves a mark for all the three sides of the place: at the instant that I warned General Menou that he was aimed at, his horse was killed on the spot, and by his fall threw his rider into a hole; I thought him dead, and was in vain endeavouring to assist him, when General Marmont and some volunteers came to our assistance and withdrew him; the firing in the meantime, however, was briskly kept up on all sides; but the inhabitants were well armed, under shelter, and were able to take good aim.' After several of our party were killed or wounded, we were obliged to retreat. We now renewed the attack with more order on the tower parallel to the former which we had carried; at first the enemy lost several men and abandoned the place, and we began to set fire to the houses in order to approach the fort, but eight of our men having been wounded at the attack of the gate, our position became very hazardous, we had left thirty men to guard our baggage and had but few with us. At the approach of night the besieged raised loud cries, and shouts, which were answered by the neighbouring villages, who began to collect their forces, in order to relieve their countrymen, and we heard them concert measures to force a passage to them. We allowed them

to come up, and when near we gave them a volley where we judged it would reach them, and directly after, their war shouts were changed into lamentations, and they retreated. Soon after a deputation arrived from the village of Schaabas, followed by the sheik himself with his standard: he told us that the people with whom we were engaged were villanous robbers, with whom there was no hope of treating; a native of the country whom we had set free at Malta served as his interpreter; and the sheik told us in confidence, that if we did not carry the fortress during the night, we should not be strong enough in the morning, and that the people in the neighbourhood would cut off our retreat, by which we should all be killed. Whilst he was giving us this important information, his fine face assumed such an air of compassion, that I could not help sketching his portrait. However, this advice was not to be neglected, especially as we had several wounded men with us, whom we should find much difficulty in conveying along a narrow and broken causeway, whilst we were covering our retreat. As we were meditating how we should best secure a retreat from our critical situation, the besieged, favoured by the darkness, pretended to have received assistance, and began a brisk fire on their flank, which they wanted to protect; and at the same time abandoning all their property to the flames, they effected their retreat in profound silence. We only heard them when they were obliged to plunge into the water, and we then fired on them at random; and a few camels which had strayed from them, and were returning to the village, convinced us of their flight. Being now masters of the field of battle, we completed the destruction of every thing which would take fire; and our soldiers consoled themselves for the fatigue of the day and night by loading two hundred asses with two or three thousand fowls and pigeons, and by driving away seven or eight hundred sheep. To us amateurs, however, nothing remained which could make up to our curiosity for this dangerous and fatiguing adventure; our hopes of success had entirely failed, and we collected little if any thing worth record for the antiquarian. At day-break we set out on our return without meeting with any further obstacle.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Voyage from Rosetta up the Nile to Cairo—General Face of the Country—First View of the Pyramids—Cairo—Gardens of Murad-Bey—Journey to the Pyramids, and Description of them—Sphinx—Manners of the Inhabitants of Cairo—Affray in the Town, and general Rising of the Inhabitants—Quelled—The House of the Institute pillaged—Cemetery of the Mamelukes—Death of General Dupuis and Sulcowsky—Kindness of the middle Orders of People at Cairo.*

On our return to Rosetta we found an order from the commander in chief, directing the members of the Institute who had remained in that place to proceed to Cairo, to assist in organizing the proceedings and the sittings of that assembly. I embarked the next day with my comrades. In quitting the province of Rosetta we left behind us the richest and most cheerful part of the Delta; for, in ascending the river, after passing Rahmanieh, the sands of the desert sometimes approach to the water's edge on the left bank, the country becomes naked, the trees thinly scattered, and the horizon is marked by an uniform line, which it is almost impossible to represent by the pencil. I took a drawing of Alcan, a village in which the aid-de-camp Julien, and twenty-five volunteers, had been massacred by the inhabitants. The village had since been burnt, and the people expelled; but innumerable flights of pigeons remained about the ruins, of which they were now the only inhabitants. I also took a view of the village of Demichelat, and I here remarked, that the pyramidal form of the ancient Egyptian style of architecture, the regularity of the plan, and the simplicity of the capitals, are sometimes preserved even in the slight modern edifices, and give an air of historical gravity to the villages in Egypt which is not to be found elsewhere.

At more than ten leagues from Cairo we discovered the points of the pyramids piercing the horizon; soon after we saw the mountainous ridges of the Mocatam, and opposite to them, the chain of hills which separates Egypt from Lybia, and forms a barries to the banks of the Nile against the sands of the desert: but in this eternal conflict between this destructive scourge and the beneficent river, the inundation of sand often overwhelms the country, changes its fertility to barrenness, drives the labourer from his house, whose walls it covers up, and leaves no other mark of vegetable life than the tops of a few palm-trees, which adds still more to the dreary aspect of destruction.

I felt delighted in seeing these mountains, and visiting monuments, of which both the date and object of construction are lost in the night of past ages; my mind was full of emotion on contemplating these vast scenes, and I regretted the approach of night, which spread a veil over so striking a picture to the imagination, and concealed from me the point of the Delta, where, among other magnificent plans, it was proposed to build a new metropolis for Egypt. At the first dawn of day I again saluted with my eyes the pyramids, and took several views; and it was interesting to see on the surface of the Nile, then at high flood, the different villages glide before the eyes, backed by these monuments, which were destined to record events that gave local interest to every object.

I wished to be able to draw them with that fine transparent hue which they derive from the immense volume of air that surrounds them: this is a peculiarity belonging to these monuments, which they owe to their great elevation; for the vast distance at which they are distinguishable, renders them almost transparent, and the blue tint of the sky causes their angles to appear sharp and well defined, though they have been rounded by the decay of years.

About nine o'clock the noise of cannon announced to us the approach to Cairo, and the feast of the new year, which was then celebrating. In our present position we saw numerous minarets surrounding Mount Mocatam, and proceeding from the gardens on the banks of the Nile, whilst Old Cairo, Bulac, and Roda, appearing as part of the town, gave it an appearance of verdure and freshness, and added to its magnificence. As we approached, however, the illusion vanished; every object returning as it were to its proper place, we only saw a heap of villages collected near an arid rock; and, I know not why, remote from the beautiful banks of the river.

When I arrived at head-quarters at Cairo, I learnt that the commander in chief was then setting out for the pyramids, accompanied by two hundred men, who were to protect them in their researches. I now lamented that I had not known of this expedition a few hours sooner, as I considered it fruitless to set out on such a journey, without being provided with what was requisite, in order to observe these objects of curiosity with advantage; and besides, I was so fatigued with my former journies, that I much wanted to rest all my limbs; I had therefore determined to delay this expedition till the astronomers should go to make their observations in these celebrated places.

On leaving table, the general said, "It is impossible to visit the pyramids without an escort, and one cannot often spare for the purpose a detachment of two hundred men." The ascendancy which some minds have over others, at once destroyed all my reasoning: it was this ascendancy which made me a follower from France to Egypt, and it now determined me to be of the party to the pyramids; so without returning home, I took my road to Old Cairo, and rejoined the comrades with whom I had been sailing up the Nile. It was full night when we got to Gizeh, and I knew not where I should repose; but in wandering about I found myself, by a good fortune which seemed like enchantment, in a hall furnished with fine velvet cushions, and scented with the perfume of an orange-grove, which gentle air wafted to us. I went down into the garden, which appeared by moonlight to be worthy the description which Savary has given. This was the pleasure-house of Murad-Bey. I had heard its charms depreciated, and I only now saw it after the march of a victorious army; but I could not help feeling that, without resorting to needless comparisons, the oriental luxuries have their charms, and fill the senses with voluptuous pleasure. We do not here find, indeed, those long alleys which are the pride of the French gardens, nor the serpentine walks of the English, where health and appetite are the reward of the exercise required to survey them; but in the east, where indolent repose forms one of the chief luxuries, the tents or kiosks are pitched under the thick branches of a cluster of sycamores, and open at pleasure upon a fragrant underwood of orange and jasmine. To this is added the voluptuous pleasure of enjoyments still but imperfectly known to us, but which we may easily conceive; such as being attended by young slaves, who unite to elegance of form gentle and caressing manners: to be indolently stretched on vast and downy carpets, strewed with cushions, in company with some favourite beauty, breathing perfumes, and intoxicated with desires; to receive sherbet from the hands of a young damsel, whose languishing eyes express the contentment of willing obedience, and not the constraint of servitude. Surrounded with these delights, the burning African need not envy the inhabitant of Europe; and man may find happiness wherever there is beauty and grace, whether in the gardens of Trianon, or reposed on the banks of the Nile.

The officer who commanded the escort happened to be one of my friends: he entered me in the list of those who were bound for the pyramids; we were about three hundred. The next morning, after much waiting to collect the party, we set out, late, as generally

happens where many are to be put in motion. We sailed through the fields by the inundation trenches, and after tacking often through the cultivated country, we landed about noon on the borders of the desert, half a league from the pyramids. I took several views of them in different positions as we approached.

As soon as we quitted our boats we found ourselves in the sands, and climbed the level on which these monuments rest. In approaching these stupendous buildings, their sloping and angular forms disguise their real height, and lessen it to the eye; and besides, as every thing regular is only great or small by comparison, and as these masses of stone eclipse in magnitude every surrounding object, and yet are much inferior to a mountain (the only thing with which our imagination can compare them) one is surprized to find the first impression given by viewing them at a distance, so much diminished on a nearer approach. However, on attempting to measure any one of these gigantic works of art by some known scale, it resumes its immensity to the mind; for as I approached to the opening, a hundred persons who were standing under it appeared so small, that I could hardly take them for men. It would be a good method for the artist to give an idea of the dimension of these edifices, by representing on the same ground-plan as the building some procession or religious ceremony analogous to the antient customs. As it is, these monuments standing alone, and without any living scale of comparison, excepting a few detached figures in front, lose both the effect of their grand proportions, and the general impression which they would otherwise make. We have a good example of comparison in Europe in St. Peter's church at Rome, the magnitude of which is concealed by the exquisite harmony of proportion, and the crossing of the general outline, till the eye descends to a procession of the religious orders celebrating mass, and followed by a train of worshippers, which in this situation appears like a group of puppets attempting to act Athalia on the theatre of Versailles. Another point of resemblance between these two edifices is, that nothing but the despotism of a sacerdotal government could venture to undertake them, nor any thing but the stupid fanaticism of a people would submit to the labour of building. But to return to the actual state of the pyramids; let us first ascend a small heap of sand and rubbish, which is perhaps the remains of the trench of the first of these edifices which presents itself, and which now leads to the opening through which it may be reached. This opening, which is nearly sixty feet from the base, is concealed by a general stone facing, which forms the third or inner inclosure to the solitary

entrenchment around this monument. Here begins the first gallery; its direction lies towards the centre and base of the edifice; but the rubbish, which has been but ill cleared out, or which, owing to the natural slope, has fallen back again into the gallery, added to the sand daily drifted in by the north wind, and which is never forced out again, has so blocked up the passage as to render it very inconvenient to cross. At the extremity of this gallery two large blocks of granite are met with, which form a second partition to this mysterious passage.

This obstacle appears to have perplexed all those who have undertaken the research, and has led to several random attempts to surmount it. Endeavours have been made by former visitors to cut a passage through the solid stone, but this proving unsuccessful, they have returned some way, have passed round two blocks of stone, climbed over them, and thus discovered a second gallery of so steep an ascent, that it has been necessary to hew steps in the ground in order to mount it. This gallery leads to a kind of landing-place, in which is a hole usually called "the well," which is the opening to a horizontal gallery leading to a chamber known by the name of "the queen's chamber," without ornament, cornice, or any inscription whatever.

Returning to the landing-place, a perpendicular opening leads to the grand gallery, which terminates in a second landing-place, on which is the third and last partition, constructed with much more art, and which gives a striking idea of the importance which the Egyptians attached to the inviolability of their places of sepulture.

Lastly comes the royal chamber, containing the sarcophagus, a narrow sanctuary, which is the sole end and object of an edifice so stupendous, so colossal, in comparison of all the other works of man.

In reflecting on the object of the construction of the pyramids, the gigantic pride which gave them birth appears more enormous even than their actual dimensions; and one hardly knows which is the most astonishing, the madness of tyrannical oppression, which dared to order the undertaking, or the stupid servility of obedience in the people who submitted to the labour. In short, the most favourable view, for the honour of human nature, in which these monuments can be considered is, that man was thereby ambitious of rivalling nature in immensity and eternity, and not without success, since the mountains contiguous to these edifices are less high, and still less exempted from the ravages of time than this work of human hands.

We had only two hours to devote to the pyramids, and I had employed an hour and a half in visiting the interior of the only one which was open: I had stretched all my attention to retain what I had seen; I had taken drawings and measurements as well as I was able with a single foot ruler; in short, I had filled my head, and I hoped to bring away many observations worthy of remark: but on recalling them to memory the next morning, I found that I had a volume of queries still to make. I returned from my journey harassed and agitated, and found my curiosity more stimulated than satisfied by my visit to the pyramids.

I had only time to view the sphinx, which deserves to be drawn with a more scrupulous attention than has ever yet been bestowed upon it. Though its proportions are colossal, the outline is pure and graceful: the expression of the head is mild, gracious, and tranquil; the character is African; but the mouth, the lips of which are thick, has a softness and delicacy of execution truly admirable; it seems real life and flesh. Art must have been at a high pitch when this monument was executed; for, if the head wants what is called *style*, that is to say, the straight and bold lines which give expression to the figures under which the Greeks have designated their deities, yet sufficient justice has been rendered to the fine simplicity and character of nature which is displayed in this figure.

I had just snatched a glance of the tombs, of small temples, decorated with bas-reliefs and statues of niches in the rock, which might have broken the massiveness of the pyramids, and given them elegance; but so many objects worthy of investigation remained, that it would have required many such visits as the present to have undertaken even a sketch of them, much more to have endeavoured to remove the mysterious cloud which for ages has hung over these symbolical monuments. Almost the same uncertainty exists as to the time in which they were first violated, as even that of their construction; the latter, which is lost in the night of ages, gives an immense period to the annals of art; and in this view we cannot too much admire the accuracy of the pyramidal structure, the permanency secured by their form and construction, and by such immense proportions, that these gigantic monuments may be considered as the last link in the chain of the colossi of art and nature.

Herodotus relates, that he was informed that the great pyramid, of which I have just been speaking, was the tomb of Cheops; that the adjoining pyramid was that of his brother Cephrenes, who succeeded him; that only the former had any inner galleries;

that a hundred thousand men had been employed twenty years in building it; that the immense labour which it required had rendered this prince odious to his people; and that, notwithstanding the taxes which were levied on his subjects, the expence for the subsistence of the workmen alone was so enormous, that the prince was obliged to prostitute his daughter to finish this monument; and that the receipts of this prostitution were so great as to enable the princess, besides, to build the small pyramid adjoining, which served for her own. We may add, that Cheops, having shut up the temples during his reign, found after his death no panegyrist among the priests, who were the historians of Egypt, and who related many idle fables to Herodotus, the first historian who has given us any light on this country.

I had resided nearly a month at Cairo, and I still had to seek for "the superb town, the holy city, the delight of the imagination, greatest among the great, whose splendour and opulence made the prophet smile," for thus the eastern people describe it. I did indeed see a numerous population, and a vast extent of buildings, but not a single handsome street, nor one fine monument. The only place of consequence was Elbequier, the residence of Bonaparte; and this too has the air of a field, but during the inundation it pleases by its agreeable coolness, and by the night excursions which are there made in boats that have a striking effect. The palaces of this town are all surrounded by walls, which render the streets gloomy, instead of enlivening them; and the habitations of the poor, which are still more neglected here than in other parts of the country, add to the afflicting view of extreme poverty, though the climate allows of much carelessness in the article of shelter, so that one is tempted to ask where were the houses inhabited by twenty-four sovereigns. However, within these fortified palaces, some convenience and luxury is to be found; they are adorned with handsome marble baths, and voluptuous vapour stoves, with mosaic saloons, in the middle of which are basons and fountains of water, large divans composed of tufted carpets, raised beds covered with rich stuffs, and surrounded with magnificent cushions, which generally fill three sides of each room. The windows, however, when there are any, never open, and the day-light which they admit is darkened by coloured glasses, and very close lattice-work, for the light principally comes in through a dome in the centre of the ceiling. The Mussulmans, who make but little use of the light, take very little pains to procure it in their houses, and in general all their customs seem to invite to repose; their divans, where the recumbent posture is

more easy than to sit up, and from which it requires a serious effort, to a Turk, to rise; their dress, which is a kind of close petticoat that confines the legs; their large gloves, which stretch nearly eight inches over the fingers' ends; their turban, which prevents the head from stooping; their custom of always holding a pipe in their hands, and intoxicating themselves with its smoke;—all these circumstances conspire to destroy activity and imagination, so that they meditate without an object, pass every day in the same tasteless manner, and even their whole existence without seeking for any new object to relieve its dull monotony. Even that class of society who are obliged to work for their livelihood, are not much different from the higher orders that I have just described; they have been long taught to expect no other reward from industry than a bare subsistence, and thus they have no motive to depart from their ordinary routine, and to exercise their invention. They even dislike particularly every occupation which keeps them standing; the joiner, blacksmith, carpenter, farrier, all work sitting, even the mason raises a minaret without standing to his work: like savage nations, they do every thing almost with a single tool, so that one is surprised at the dexterity with which they manage it, and might be tempted to allow them inventive ingenuity, if their invariable method of proceeding did not rather lead one to attribute it almost to a kind of instinct; like the insect whose workmanship we admire, whilst we know that it has not the power of applying the same skill to different purposes. It is, however, to a despotism which always commands, and never rewards, that we must look for the source and permanent cause of this stagnation of industry. I have since seen, in Upper Egypt, Arabian artisans, when not under the restraint of their masters, coming to offer their services to the workmen among our soldiers, assisting them in their operations, and, sure of wages adequate to their industry, endeavouring assiduously to give us satisfaction by patient and active services. I have also observed them examine with delight the play of the wind-mill, and watch with transport the stroke of the pile-driver: perhaps, indeed, their inate indolence is a secret cause of their great admiration of these two machines, which assist so much in performing the great objects of their most necessary labour, that of raising water and building dykes to keep it in.

The inhabitants of this country build as little as possible, and repair still less. If a wall threatens to come down, they prop it up; if notwithstanding it falls in, it only makes the fewer rooms in the house, and they quietly range their carpets by the side of

the ruins; if at last the house falls altogether, they either abandon the spot, or if they are obliged to clear it out, they carry away the rubbish to as little a distance as possible, which is the cause that in almost every town of Egypt, and especially in Cairo, the eye of the traveller is constantly arrested by heaps or rather mountains of rubbish scattered about, the cause of which he is at a loss to discover.

There are some considerable edifices at Cairo, which I think should be attributed to the times of the caliphs; such as the palace of Joseph, the well of Joseph, the granaries of Joseph, all of which have been spoken of by various travellers, and by some the popular tradition has been retained of these monuments owing their origin to the prudent foresight of Joseph the slave of Potiphar. Were this the case, Cairo should be as ancient as Memphis, and the remains of other towns should be found near this city, since these palaces are all built of ruins more ancient than the edifices themselves. Besides, these structures all bear the general marks of the mussulman architecture of these regions; that is to say, they present an assemblage of magnificence, misery, and ignorance, as these half-barbarians have taken for the construction of their vast buildings the materials which were the nearest to their reach, and used them as they came to their hands.

The aqueduct which brings water from old Cairo to the castle, by a route of a hundred and sixty fathoms, would be a work of art worth celebrating, if in its course it was not rendered faulty by many imperfections.

The castle, which is built without plan, or any real strength or defence, has, however, some parts which are well laid out. The bashaw here resided, or rather was shut up; the only remarkable room in his quarter is the hall of the divan, in which the beys assembled, and which has often been the scene of angry debates and bloody strife in this contentious government. Joseph's well, which is in this quarter, is cut in the rock, two hundred and sixty-nine feet in depth; Norden has given a full description of it. Joseph's palace, which I have just mentioned, is certainly planned in a fine style, and I could not see without some admiration the use which the Arabian architects have made of the antique fragments, which they have incorporated in their own works, and the ingenuity which they have shewn in occasionally mixing with them ornaments of their own invention.

At present, as the Turks no longer find ready to their hands the columns of ancient Egyptian architecture, and yet continue to

build mosques without clearing away those which fall to ruins, they commission the Franks to send them columns by the dozen. These purchase them of every size at Carara; and when the columns arrive at Egypt, the mussulman architects surround the astragals with rings of iron, and employ them to support the arches of the porticoes of their mosques. The pillars are in a very miserable style of Greek architecture; and the Saracen ornaments, which begin immediately beyond the columns, contribute to form a mixture of composition in as bad a taste as can be imagined. The minarets and the tombs are the only buildings which preserve the Arabian style in any degree of purity; and if they do not present that appearance of full security, which is the perfection of architecture, at least they gratify the eye by a richness of ornament, which does not degenerate into heaviness, and a symmetry of parts combined with so much elegance, as to remove all idea of meanness and poverty of style. The cemetery of the Mamelukes is an example of this: in quitting the rubbish of Cairo, the stranger is astonished to see another town all built of white marble, where edifices raised on columns, and terminated by domes, or by painted, carved, and gilt palanquins, form a cheerful and inviting picture; trees alone are wanting to render this funeral retreat a delightful spot; so that it would seem as if the Turks, who banish gaiety from their houses when alive, wished to bury it with them in the tomb.

I was finishing my drawing of this sanctuary of death, so absurdly gay, when I heard loud cries, which I at first took to be some funeral, attended by hired female mourners, as is the custom here; but on turning my eyes, I saw a number of women running away, and making a sign for me to follow them. The idea of the scourge of the country at first rushed into my mind, but seeing the ground clear for a considerable distance, and no Arabs collecting, I resumed my drawing. Directly after, however, I saw several men also flying off, and, being at a considerable distance from our own posts, I thought it most prudent to return. I found some agitation in the streets, and surprize in the looks of the inhabitants. When arrived at my house, I learnt that there had been an affray in the town, and that the governor had been assassinated. The noise of firing was heard, and we were alarmed for the house of the Institute, which was situated in the midst of gardens, looking towards the country, and enjoyed in times of peace a delightful tranquillity, but for the same reason was the first quarter of the suburbs to be abandoned in any serious disturbance, or if attacked by the Arabs: towards the town it only looked

upon the part inhabited by the poorest class, and consequently the most to be feared. We learned that the house of General Caffarelli had just been pillaged, and that many persons in it belonging to the commission of arts had fallen victims to the fury of the populace. We immediately made a muster of our own party, and we found four absent, who, as we learned an hour after from our people, had been massacreed. We had no intelligence of Bonaparte; night was coming on, firing was heard in different places, and cries every where; in short, we feared a general insurrection.

General Dumas, in returning from his pursuit of the Arabs, had made a great carnage of the rebels in entering the town, and had cut off the head of a seditious chief whilst he was haranguing the people; but a full half of the town, and that the most populous, was barricaded up: more than four thousand inhabitants were entrenched in a mosque; two companies of grenadiers had been repulsed, and the cannon had not been able to penetrate into those narrow and crooked streets, whilst the enemy, unseen and protected in their houses, were able to throw stones and lances on our party with safety and effect. The general had sent for our protection a detachment, which, however, he was obliged to withdraw about midnight, and this for a time aggravated the danger to which the Institute was exposed. The night, however, passed quietly enough, for the Turks do not like to fight after dark, and make a point of conscience not to kill their enemies when the sun is gone down: and, on the other hand, I, who have always thought that in perilous situations, prudence, when it can do nothing, becomes a painful trouble, lay down to rest, trusting to the terror of others to awake me in case of alarm.

Early the next morning the war recommenced: muskets were sent to us: all the members of the Institute took up arms, and chose their leaders; but every one had his own plan of operations, and no one would obey. Dolomieu, Cordier, Delisle, Saint-Simon, and myself, lodged at a distance from the others; our house might have been pillaged by any one who would take the trouble; but as sixty men had been sent to the assistance of our comrades, we became easy on their account, and set about entrenching ourselves in the best manner we could, so as to hold out at least four hours if attacked by only a moderate force, that we might have time to procure relief by the alarm of our firing.

At one time we thought that we were actually invested; for we saw the peaceable inhabitants fly, and heard the noise of arms reach up to our walls, and the bullets whistle on our terraces. We immediately pulled them to pieces, to give us materials for knocking

down and crushing any enemy who might attempt to force our gates; and when reduced to extremity, we could even use as a weapon of offence the ladder which served for mounting to our chamber. In the midst of our danger, however, the heavy artillery of the castle made the diversion in our favour, which I so anxiously expected; it produced all the effect which I loked for, and consternation succeeded to rage. The artillery, however, could not reach the mosque, which was now the only rallying point of our enenies, all the rest having surrendered at discretion: but the mosque itself was soon turned, and a battery taught the enemy that our warfare did not stop with the day; as a last effort, they now pulled down their barricades and made a sortie, but being repulsed, they surrendered. The rest of the night passed quietly, and the next day we were at liberty.

We had in fact now, for the first time, conquered Cairo, for before it had only surrendered to the conqueror of the Mamelukes: the timid and indolent Egyptians had smiled with satisfaction at the expulsion of their oppressors, who had harassed them with numberless vexations and acts of injustice; but when they were called on to pay their deliverers, they soon began to regret their former tyrants: and, on recovering from their first panic, they had listened to their mufti, who found means to animate them against us with a fanatic enthusiasm, and they had conspired in silence. For our own security we ought, perhaps, to have spared none who had seen French soldiers retire discomfited; but our clemency anticipated their repentance: and thus the desire of revenge in our enemies was not extinguished by their consternation, which I could read the next day in the attitude and countenance of the malecontents; and I was convinced, that if, before the day of this engagement, we had been encompassed by a circle of Arabs, we were now confined within narrower limits, and should always be obliged to march through domestic foes.

Some traitors were indeed arrested and punished, but the mosques which had been the asylum of crimes were restored, and the pride of the offenders was heightened by the act of condescension, whilst their fanticism was not subdued by their terror. Whatever representation could be made to Bonaparte of the danger of such a line of conduct with the rebels, nothing could shake the sentiments of humanity which he displayed in this event; he wished to shew clemency as much as he could excite terror, and the past was forgotten, whilst he had to lament many and serious losses.

General Dupuis, an excellent captain, who for two years had braved the dangers that beset the path of glory in the brilliant

campaigns of Italy, was assassinated at this time, whilst reconnoitring, by a cowardly blow. A knife fastened to the end of a stick was thrown from a window, cut the artery of his arm, and he expired in a few moments: the young and brave Sulcowsky, who was hardly recovered from the wounds that he received in the romantic battle of Salager, went to reconnoitre the enemy, whom he discovered, attacked, defeated, and pursued, in spite of a great disproportion of numbers, but unfortunately falling into an ambuscade, his horse was pierced with a lance, fell upon him, and in this situation he was crushed by one who was hastening to his assistance. Thus perished a most distinguished officer in the army, an acute observer on the march, an intrepid warrior in the battle; his pen relieved his hand from the fatigues of the sword; he had just described the march to Belbeys with as much grace and interest as another would have related the glorious share which he had in that expedition, and the honourable wounds which he received: this much-lamented young foreigner, ambitious of glory, sought it in our battalions; suppressing the vivacity of his character, he modelled his actions from those of the leader whom he had chosen to follow: and thus zealous of distinguishing himself, he had set before his eyes the measure of his emulation. I had been entrusted with all the passions of his youth, I continued to admire his noble ambition, for it was by study and real merit that he wished to rise. He had just been interesting me by his energy and the free confidence of friendship, when the news of his death came to distress and agitate my mind; he was one of the most amiable of the officers of the army, and his death cast a melancholy cloud on the victory of the twenty-third of October.

Though the populace, the devotees, and some of the great people of Cairo, shewed themselves fanatical and cruel in this revolt, the middle class, (which is in all countries the most accessible to reason and virtue) was perfectly humane and generous to us, notwithstanding the wide differences of manners, religion, and language: whilst from the galleries of the minarets murder was devoutly preached up, whilst the streets were filled with death and carnage, all those in whose houses any Frenchmen were lodged, were eager to save them by concealment, and to supply and anticipate all their wants: an elderly woman in the quarter in which we lodged gave us to understand, that as our wall was but weak, if we were attacked, we had only to throw it down, and to seek for shelter in her harem; a neighbour, without being asked, sent us provision at the expence of his own store, when no food was to be purchased in the town, and every thing announced approaching

famine; he even removed every thing from before our house which could render it conspicuous to the enemy, and went to smoke at our door, as if it was his own, in order to deceive any that might attack us: two young persons who were pursued in the streets were snatched up by some unknown people and carried into a house, and whilst they were furiously struggling for deliverance, expecting that they were destined for some horrible cruelty, the kind ravishers, not being able otherwise to convince them of the hospitable benevolence of their intentions, delivered up to them their own children as pledges of their sincerity. Many other such anecdotes could be given of delicate sensibility, which recal the feelings of human nature in the times in which they seem to be entirely abandoned. If the grave Mussulman represses those tokens of sensibility which other nations would take a pride in exhibiting, it is in order to preserve the dignified austerity of his character.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Mummies of the Ibis in the Vaults of Saccara, and Conjectures concerning that Bird—Curious juggling Tricks of the Psylli with Serpents—Great Utility of the Ass in Egypt—Caravan from Mount Sinai—Pyramids on the Plain of Saccara, and near Memphis—Various Egyptian Villages and Manners of the Inhabitants—Tents of Bedouin Arabs—Superstitious Ceremonies, &c. of the Natives—March of Desaix's Army to Upper Egypt in Pursuit of Murad-Bey—Various severe Encounters with the Mameluke Army—Desperate Battle of Sedinau, and Flight of the Mamelukes.*

TO return to objects of curiosity.—The vaults of Saccara had just been opened, and more than five hundred mummies of the ibis had been found in a sepulchral cave. Two had been given me, and I could not resist the desire of opening one of them, so M. Geoffroy and myself sat down alone at table, with all the necessary means of research before us, and myself, with my pencil in my hand.

There is a considerable variety in the degree of care bestowed in embalming these birds, so that in fact nothing but the earthen pot in which the whole is contained is common to all. This difference in the pains bestowed on mummies taken from the same vault, proves that the price of the work varied considerably for these birds as well as for men, and consequently that it was done at the expence of individuals; and also it may be presumed, that

the embalmed birds had not all been fed in temples, or colleges of priests, in reward of services rendered by the whole species.

If the same had been the case with these birds as with the god Apis, a single individual would have sufficed, and these pots would not be found by thousands. We may then suppose that the ibis, as it destroys all reptiles, was in great veneration in a country in which these noxious animals abound at a certain time of the year; and, like the stork in Holland, this bird growing tame from the good reception which it met with every where, each house had its own winged inmates of this species, to which, after their death, the honours of sepulture were given according to the means of the inhabitants. Herodotus relates, that he was informed that in the earliest times of the records of the country, the ibis abounded every where, but that in proportion as the marshes of Upper Egypt were drained, the birds retired to the lower province in quest of their food; which agrees well enough with the report of modern travellers, that they are still seen occasionally in the lake Menzaleh. If the number had so much diminished even in the time of Herodotus, it is not surprizing that the existence of the species at present has been considered as almost problematical.

Herodotus relates, that the priests of Heliopolis informed him, that on the retreat of the waters of the Nile, clouds of winged serpents arrived by the vallies which separate Egypt from Arabia, and that the ibis went out to meet and feed on them; and he adds, that he had never seen these winged serpents, but that he had gone into the vallies, and had seen their skeletons in innumerable quantity. I think (with submission to the patriarch of history) that it was not necessary to create this fable of dragons from Arabia, in order to render the ibis a valuable animal to Egypt, which produces of itself so many noxious reptiles; but the respectable Herodotus was a Greek, and fond of the marvellous.

The serpent, though not winged, is still the object of some sorcery in Egypt. I was with the commander in chief one day, when the Psylli were introduced, and we put many questions to them relative to the mystery of their sect, and the supposed command over serpents which they appear to possess. They answered our questions with more assurance than intelligence, but we put them to the proof: "Can you tell us," said the general, "whether there are any serpents in the palace, and if there are, can you oblige them to come forth from their retreats?" They answered both questions in the affirmative; and we put them to the proof: on which they searched all the rooms, and presently after they

declared that there was a snake in the house; they then renewed their search to discover where he was hid, made some convulsions in passing before a jar placed in a corner of one of the rooms, and declared that the animal was there; where indeed we actually found one. This was a true Comus's trick; we looked at each other, and acknowledged that they were very adroit.

Being always curious to observe the means by which men command the opinions of others, I regretted that I was not at Rosetta at the procession of the feast of Ibrahim, in which the convulsions of the Psylli form the most entertaining part, to the populace, of this religious ceremony. To make up for my loss, I addressed myself to the chief of the sect, who was keeper of the *okel* or tavern of the Franks; I flattered him; and he promised to make me a spectator of the exaltation of one of the Psylli, as soon as he should have *blown into his spirit*, as he expressed it. From my curiosity he thought I bade fair to be a proselyte, and he proposed to initiate me, which I accepted; but when I learned that in the ceremony of initiation the grand-master spits in the mouth of the neophyte, this circumstance cooled my ardour, and I found that I could not prevail on myself to go through this trial; so I gave my money to the high-priest, and he promised to let me see one of the inspired.

They had brought with them their serpents, which they let loose from a large leather sack in which they were kept, and made them erect their bodies and hiss, by irritating them. I remarked that it was the light which principally caused their anger, for as soon as they were returned into the sack their passion ceased, and they no longer endeavoured to bite. It was also curious to observe, that, when angry, the neck for six inches below the head was dilated to the size of one's hand. I soon saw that even I could manage the serpents perfectly well without fear of their fangs; for having well remarked that the Psylli, while they were threatening the animal with one hand, seized it on the back of the head with the other, I did the same with one of the serpents with equal success, though much to the indignation of the performers themselves. After this, they proceeded to the grand mystery: one of the performers took a snake, which he had previously disabled by breaking the under jaw, and by rubbing away the gums till the whole of the palate was destroyed; he then grasped it with the appearance of passion, and approached the chief, who with great gravity gave him the *spirit*, that is to say, after uttering some mysterious words, blew into his mouth; and, at the instant, the other was seized with a sacred convulsion, his arms and legs distorted, his eyes seeming

to start from his head, and he began to tear the animal with his teeth; whilst the two attendants, appearing to commiserate his sufferings, restrained his struggles with difficulty, and snatched from his hand the serpent, which he was unwilling to let go. As soon as the snake was removed, he remained as if stupid; but the chief approached him, muttered some words to him, retook from him the spirit by aspiration, and he returned to his natural state. Now, however, he that had seized the snake beginning to be tormented with the same ardour to consummate the mystery, came up to the chief to demand the spirit; and as he was stronger and more active than the first, his cries and convulsions were still more violent and ridiculous. I had now seen enough of the initiation, and thus ended this gross juggling.

In these countries the sect Psylli boasts a very high origin: it was particularly prevalent at Cyrenaica; and the god Knuphis, or the architect of the universe, according to Strabo and Eusebius, was adored at Elephantina under the figure of a serpent.

From the time of the serpent of Eden to that of Achmin, mentioned by Savary, this reptile has enjoyed uninterrupted celebrity: after having tempted our first mother, the apple was taken away from him; when making a circle with his tail in his mouth, he he has become the symbol of eternity; when coiled round a staff, he is the god of health; the Egyptians, by twining two of them round a globe, have represented, perhaps; the equilibrium of the system of the world; the Indians put him in the hands of all their divinities; we have made him the representative of justice and prudence; the Jews have had their brazen serpent; the Greeks that of Elermis and the Python; and in latter times the Mussulmans have their harrili, the deflowerer; and yet so many illustrations have changed nothing of the nature of this wise animal; he continues to court obscurity, and avoid the light, and never raises his head to more than half his height. Why then all this celebrity, and this religious observance unanimously bestowed on this reptile?

The camels do all the office of carts at Cairo; they bring thither all the provisions, and carry away the filth: the saddle-horses and asses are chiefly devoted to transporting passengers from place to place, and they are seen in every street saddled, bridled, and always ready to start. The ass, which in Europe and the northern countries is heavy and dull, appears quite in its natural climate in Egypt; and it here enjoys all its powers in full perfection; it is healthy, active, and cheerful, the mildest and safest animal to mount that one can possibly have; his natural pace is an amble or

a gallop, and without fatiguing his rider, he carries him rapidly over the large plains which lie between different parts of this straggling city. This mode of conveyance was so agreeable to me, that I spent almost the whole day on the back of asses; I became known to all the people who let them out for hire, and these were so used to my habits, as to carry for me my drawing port-folio and chair, and served all the day as my valets; and by double wages I could get them to attend me mounted as I was, and thus I passed from place to place as rapidly as on the best horses, and could continue my employments a much longer time.

I found myself very comfortable at Cairo, but it was not to loiter here that I had quitted Paris. An Arabian caravan arrived from Mount Sinai, bringing charcoal, gum, and almonds; it consisted of five hundred camels. It was certainly an expensive way of transporting merchandize which would sell for so little, but the owners were in want of articles which they could not procure elsewhere, and they had only charcoal to give in exchange. Some of their countrymen, a month before, had endeavoured to learn of the Greeks whether the French, who were now masters of Cairo, did not devour Arabs; but as they were very well treated they now arrived in crowds. The commander in chief wished some one to take advantage of their return, to gain information concerning the route of Tor, and I was tempted to take this antient journey of the Israelites, and offered my services to the general, provided he would ensure my return. He told me he would keep the captain of the caravan as a hostage for me, but smiled at my idea, that I should become acquainted in twelve days with the particulars of the wonderful part of the expedition of Moses, from the time of his departure from Memphis to his arrival at the desert of Pharan; and, without a residence of forty years, that I should visit Mount Sinai, and cross a part of the world, the annals of which mount to the highest antiquity, the cradle of three religions, and the native country of three legislators, all descended from the family of Abraham, who have governed the opinions of the world.

But as soon as I made the proposals to the Arab chief, he told me that for all the gold in the world he would not take the charge of me; that it would be risking both my life, that of all the monks in Mount Sinai, and of every individual of his caravan, because two powerful tribes, the Ovatis and the Ayaidis, had vowed vengeance against the French. I was telling this to the commander in chief, just as he was sending off a convoy to Desaix; and as I was set upon going to the east, I asked of

him a passport southwards, and in a few hours I was actually on my journey.

The next morning at day-break we were still a league short of Saccarah, as we had been slack of wind, and had only made four leagues during the night. The pyramids of this place, as far as I could distinguish them at this distance, seemed to occupy a space of two leagues. Though so far from the river, I could distinguish that the nearest, which is of middling size, is composed of stages rising one above the other; after this come to view other small pyramids almost destroyed; half a league further is one whose base seems as wide as those of Gizeh, but of less elevation, and but little decayed; half a league still further is the largest of all those of Saccarah, whose form is irregular, that is, the line of the terminating angle is sloped like a buttress reversed; close to this is a smaller one; and another nearer to the Nile, which is absolutely in ruins, and looks like a brown grey rock, owing I suppose to the materials being unburnt brick; and the shore of the river probably concealed others from my view.

This multitude of pyramids scattered over the district of Saccarah, the plain of the mummies, and the vaults of the ibis, all prove that this territory was the Necropolis to the south of Memphis, and that the village opposite to this, in which the pyramids of Gizeh are situated, was another Necropolis (or city of the dead), which formed the northern extremity of Memphis, and by these we may measure the extent of this ancient city.

In the afternoon, opposite Missenda, we saw another very large pyramid, but so shattered, that in any other country but Egypt, at the great distance at which it is seen from the river, it would be taken for a small hill. A league farther there is another still larger and more shapeless. The small islands at this part of the river we found covered with ducks, herons, and pelicans.

In the evening we saw the pyramid of Meidum between the villages of Rigga and Caffr-el-Risk.

In the night we arrived at Saoyeh, and General Beliard obligingly offered to share his dwelling with me, which indeed was small enough, as our beds filled the whole room, and we were obliged to turn them out when we wanted to set up our table, and again to remove the table when we had occasion for our beds. This union proved as happy as it was close, for we did not quit each other's society during the whole campaign; and I wish that he may have retained as agreeable a remembrance of me, as the gentleness, equability, and unalterable kindness of his character have left in my own breast. The second night both our kitchen

and our stable were overthrown; but, as phlegmatic as Mussulmans, we did not think of quitting the place; and besides, notwithstanding this accident, our dwelling was the best and the most respectable in appearance of the whole village. In this part of Egypt all the buildings are made of mud and chopped straw, dried in the sun; the stairs, window openings, hearths, utensils, and even furniture, are all of the same simple material; so that if it were possible that the invariable order of climate which nature has fixed here should be for a moment changed, and that unusual winds should arrest and dissolve in rain some of those groups of clouds which the north wind is perpetually driving over their heads in summer towards the mountains of Abyssinia, the towns and villages would be softened down and liquefied in a few hours so completely, that corn might be sown on the spot where they stood: but thanks to the climate, a house built of this frail material will generally last the life of the builder, which is amply sufficient for the man whose son must ransom from the sovereign the ground for which his father has already paid.

The day after my arrival, a column of three hundred men went out to raise the *miri* or land-tax, and a requisition of buffaloes and horses. In this respect we followed the example of the Mamelukes, each of whom, with the same view, used always, in the province allotted to him, to take the same military promenade, encamping before the towns and villages, and living at free quarters till the requisition was complied with. This calls to mind what Diodorus Siculus says of the Egyptians, that they think themselves dupes when they pay what they owe, before they are forced to it by blows. I may remark too, that, without ever refusing payment, there was no ingenious device which they omitted in order to delay, at least for some hours, the seizure of their money.

The progress of this column gave me an excellent opportunity of making discoveries, and of observing the peculiarities of the interior of the country. The first journey brought me near the pyramid of Meidum, which I had already seen at a distance; I was now no more than half a league off it, but was separated from it by the canal of Jusef, and another small one, and we were not provided with a boat. However, with the assistance of an excellent glass, and as clear fine weather as possible, I was able to make my observations upon it almost as well as if I touched it. It is built on a platform made by one of the secondary hills of the Lybian chain. The form of the pyramid is five large retreating steps or stages; the calcareous stone of which it is composed is more or less friable; the base and the lowest stage are more worn

than any of the others, and in the middle of the second stage several courses have undergone the same decay. In passing from the village of Meidum to that of Sapht, I had an opportunity of observing three sides of this pyramid, and it appears that an opening has been attempted at the second stage on the north side: the rubbish, covered with drifted sand, rises as high as this opening, and covers all but the angles of the first stage. The ruin begins at the third stage, of which about a third part remains: the entire height of all that is left of this pyramid appears to be about two hundred feet.

All the country which we passed was abundantly fertile, and sown with wheat, sainfoin, barley, beans, lentiles, and *doura* or *sorgo*, which is a kind of millet, cultivated almost universally in Upper Egypt. Whilst the grain of this plant is still milky, the peasants roast it like maize, they chew the green stalk like the sugar cane; the leaves are food for cattle; and the medulla or pith, when dry, serves for tinder: the cane supplies the place of wood for firing and heating the ovens; flour is made of the grain itself, and cakes of the flour, but none of all these parts are good.

Between Meidum and Sapht I found the ruins of a mosque, among which were large columns of cipoline marble: could this be remains of the antient Nicopolis? However, I found in the neighbourhood no fragments of wall which could indicate the existence of any antiquity.

From Sapht we went to an adjoining hamlet, which is a kind of mud fortress. This feudal retreat was formed of an enclosure crossed by some straight streets, and within was a small castle, in which the kiachef resided, which was embattled, and contained a covered way full of loop-holes: the kiachef however had emigrated, and his satellites dispersed, and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages had taken their revenge by pillaging his houses.

Our second expedition was to Meimund, a very rich village, with ten thousand inhabitants. Like all the rest, it is surrounded with dunghills and heaps of rubbish, which in such a flat country as this form so many hills, that may be seen at a considerable distance. Every evening each of these eminences is seen covered with people, who lie down upon it, breathe its noisome vapours, smoking their pipes, and observing if all is quiet in the fields. These heaps of dung and rubbish produce many inconveniences, they obscure the houses, infect the air, and fill the eyes of the people with an acrid dust mixed with minute straws, which is one of the numerous causes of the diseases of the eyes to which the people of Egypt are so much exposed.

From Meimund we proceeded to El-Eaffer, a pretty village in an excellent country. The gum-arabic is here collected, which is procured by incision from a kind of mimosa, called the nilotica, or Egyptian thorn, which bears very fragrant golden buds. We discovered hence Abussir, Benniali, Dallaste, Bacher, Tabuch, Buch, Zeitun, and Eschmend-el-Arab. At El-Eaffar we met with a dozen Arabs, encamped without the village. I got a view of the chief's tent, composed of nine picquets supporting an indifferent woollen tent-cloth, under which were all the articles of his house-hould furniture, consisting of a mat, and a carpet of the same stuff as the tent, two sacks, one of wheat for the man, and another of barley for his mare, a hand-mill to grind corn, a chicken pen, a jar for his hens to lay in, pots, coffee-pots, and cups. The women were hideous as well as the children.

From El-Eaffer we went to Benniali; here they brought us nothing, so we sent for the sheiks, and the next day they sent us horses, and the tribute in money. I quitted this station without regret in order to join Desaix, whom I knew, and loved, and resolved not to quit, and whose operations therefore would determine the course of my future travels. We left Zaoyeh, and slept that night at Chendauyeh, returning again by Meimund and Benniali. The first of our party who got to the village found its inhabitants all under arms, which caused a misunderstanding, and a mutual discharge of muskets, whereby several of the natives were killed, but at last an explanation and amicable arrangement took place. A moment after we heard a loud outcry, which we thought proceeded from some terrible catastrophe, but it was only occasioned by our soldiers cutting down the withered branches of a decayed tree to make a fire to boil their soup.

The belief in a supreme Being, and the principles of a reasonable morality, are sufficient for the wise man; but the passions of the ignorant vulgar require intermediate divinities, gross, to satisfy their gross imagination, and vicious, in conformity with their own vicious habits. The religion of Mahomet, therefore, which is a religion of precepts, does not satisfy the fantastic ignorance of the Arabs; and thus, in spite of their blind respect for the koran, and their absolute devotedness to every thing which comes from their prophet, notwithstanding the anathemas pronounced against every deviation from the law, they have not been able to withdraw themselves from heresy, and to resist the attraction of idolatry. They have their peculiar saints, to whom they do not indeed assign a separate place in their paradise, where every thing is in common, but to whom they raise tombs, and whose ashes they revere; and from

an unaccountable stupidity, these saints do not become an object of worship till after death, and when alive are the subject of mockery and derision. The Arabs attribute to the weak in understanding, when dead, certain powers and influences: one is the father of the light, and cures complaints in the eyes; another is the father of generation, and presides over lying-in women, &c. The greater number of these saints have passed their life in repeating constantly the word *allah*, crouched beside the corner of a wall, or in receiving without thanks what has been necessary to their subsistence; others employ themselves in beating their heads with a stone; others, covered with garlands, in singing hymns; others, like the oriental faquirs, in remaining motionless, naked, without ever testifying the slightest emotion, and waiting for alms, for which they never ask, nor thank the donor. Besides this kind of idolatry, there are others, which are akin to magic; for example, there are certain stones and trees which conceal a good or bad genius, and thus become sacred, and cannot be removed without profanation; and to these, domestic secrets and projects of various kinds are entrusted in confidence, whilst they are worshipped with mysterious secrecy, but revered in public.

It was the danger from the axes of our soldiers, incurred by a tree of this kind, which had made the alarm at Chendauyeh: I went to see it, and was struck with its great decay; only one of its branches bore any leaves, and all the others, which were dry and broken off, were scrupulously preserved in the very spot beneath the tree whereon they had fallen. In examining this tree with attention, I found fastened to it by nails, locks of hair, teeth, small bags of leather, small standards, and near the tombs I found single stones set up, and a seat in the form of a saddle, under which was a large lamp. The hair had been deposited there by women, in order to fix the roving affections of their husbands; the teeth belonged to adults, who consecrated them to implore the arrival of their second set, and of all miracles this is one of the commonest, since the Arabs have very fine and good teeth; the stones are votive that the person who is going to build a house with them may always inhabit it himself; and the saddle-formed chair is the place in which a person sits when he makes a night vow, after having lit the lamp beneath.

At Chendauyeh we encamped for the night in a wood of palm trees, where, for the first time, I found green turf in Egypt. We were hardly wrapped in our cloaks, when we heard a firing, on which we started up, and passed the night in going the round of

our posts, but we could discover no enemy. The next day we arrived at Benesuef.

Desaix had been charged with the pursuit of Murad-Bey, and the conquest of Upper Egypt, to which the latter had retired after the battle of the pyramids. On the same day the division of Desaix had gone to take a position beyond Cairo, and he had only returned thither to concert with the Commander in chief. He set out again, August 26th, with a flotilla to convoy his march.

Desaix, being informed that a part of the provisions and ammunition of the Mamelukes was on board some boats at Rechuesch, marched in despite of the inundation to carry it off, and the 21st of light infantry, after passing eight canals, and the lake Bathen, with the water up to their arm-pits, had reached the convoy at Benesch, driven off the Mamelukes who defended it, and got possession of it. Murad had fled to Faïum; Desaix had joined his division at Abugirgeh, and had marched to Tarut-el-Cherif, where he took a position at the entrance of the canal Jusef to secure a communication with Cairo. When arrived at Siut, where the Mamelukes had not dared to wait for him, he endeavoured to come up with them at Beneadi, to which place they had retired with their women and baggage. At last, having collected them all at Faïum, he left Siut to go down to Tarut-el-Cherif, and there had embarked his army, had ascended with them up the canal of Jusef, in despite of the serious obstacles presented to him by the windings of the canal, the attacks of the Mamelukes, and the opposition of the inhabitants, who were astonished to find themselves compelled to assist in operations which they had at first considered as impracticable. Desaix, however, arrived at the height of Mansura, on the frontier of the desert, where at last he came up with Murad, and not being able to make good his landing in the teeth of the enemy, he tacked about to return to Minkia. The Mamelukes, encouraged by this countermarch, threaten the barks; the companies of grenadiers repulse and disperse them; the landing is effected in good order, and the troops form themselves in square battalions, and pursue their march towards the desert, attended by the boats, till they arrive opposite to Mansura.

Murad-Bey was now only two leagues off us, and whilst we were harassed by his rear-guard he gained the heights, where he encamped with all the oriental magnificence. With our glasses we could distinguish his person, resplendent with gold and precious stones, and surrounded by all the beys and kiachefs under his command.

We immediately march up to him, and cannonade him with two field-pieces, the only ones which we could bring with us, upon which this brilliant cavalry, always uncertain in its operations, halts, falls back, and allows itself to be pursued as far as El-belamon.

In our pursuit, however, we had got at a distance from our fleet of boats, and as we were in want of food, we were obliged to return to procure biscuit. The enemy thought that we fled, and returned to the attack, with cries more resembling the howling of beasts than the shouts of men; our artillery again checked the main body, but some of the boldest came with their sabres close up to our infantry, and carried off two men just under our bayonets. At length night relieved us from their obstinate perseverance.

Having regained our barks, got a supply of biscuit, and taken some hours rest, we resumed our march. During this time Murad-Bey had caused a stranger to come into his camp, and to spread a report, that the English had destroyed all the French in Alexandria; that the inhabitants of Cairo had massacred thos. who had got possession of that town, and that none of their enemies remained except the handful which had fled from them the night before, and were now on the point of being exterminated. Murad then ordered a feast, in which a mock combat between the Arabs and French was acted; all those who personated the French had orders to allow themselves to be overcome: but the feast terminated with real bloodshed, as they barbarously massacred the two prisoners which they had made the two preceding days.

Desaix had learned that Murad was at Sedinan, burning with impatience to give him battle. He therefore gave orders to advance towards the Arab chief. As soon as we had quitted the enclosed and cultivated country, loud cries of fierce joy were heard; but the day being far advanced, the enemy deferred till the morrow the victory of which they were so confident. The night was passed in feasting in their camp, and in the dark their patroles came to insult our advanced posts, imitating our language. At the first dawn of day we formed in a hollow square battalion, with two platoons on our flanks. Soon after we saw Murad-Bey at the head of his formidable Mamelukes, and eight or ten thousand Arabs advancing to us, covering a league of the plain. A valley separated the two armies, which we had to cross to reach our enemies. We were hardly got to this unfavourable position, when the enemy surrounded us on all sides, and charged us with

an intrepidity approaching to fury: our close files render their numbers useless; our musketry keep up a steady fire, and repel their first attack; they halt, fall back, as if retiring from the field, and suddenly fall upon one of our platoons and overwhelm it: all who are not killed immediately throw themselves on the ground, and this movement uncovers the enemy to our grand square; then we take advantage of it, and pour in our fire, which again makes them halt and fall back. All that remain of the platoon enter the ranks, and we collect the wounded. We are again attacked in mass, not with the cries of victory, but of rage; the courage is equal on both sides, they are animated by hope, we by indignation: our musket-barrels are cut with their sabres, their horses fall against our files, which receive the shock unshaken; the horses are startled at our bayonets; and their riders turn their heads, and back them upon us to open our ranks by their kicks: our people, who knew that their safety consisted in remaining united, press on without disorder, and attack without breaking their ranks; carnage is on all sides, but each party fight without mixing with the other. At last the fruitless attempts of the Mamelukes urge them to a madness of rage, they throw at us their arms, which otherwise could not reach us; and, as if this were to be their last battle, they shower upon us their guns, pistols, hatchets, and the ground is strewed with arms of all kinds. Those who are dismounted drag themselves under our bayonets, and cut at our soldiers' legs with their sabres; the dying man summons his last effort to throttle his adversary. One of our men laying on the ground, was seizing an expiring Mameluke, and strangling him; an officer said to him, "How can you, in your condition, do such an act?" "You speak much at your ease," the man replied, "you who are unhurt; but I, who have not long to live must have some enjoyment while I may."

The enemy had now suspended their attack; they had killed many of our men; and though they retired, they had not fled; and our position was not at all amended. Directly after their retreat had left us uncovered, they opened upon us a battery of eight guns, which they had before masked, and which at every discharge brought down six or eight of our men. We had now a moment of consternation and dismay, and the number of our wounded every instant increased. To sound a retreat would be to revive the courage of the enemy, and to expose ourselves to every kind of calamity; to remain where we were would be to increase our disaster fruitlessly, and to risk the lives of us all; but in marching we must abandon our wounded, and give them up to certain de-

struction—a most distressing circumstance in all wars, and especially in the savage contest in which we were now engaged. What order was to be given? Desaix, in dreadful perplexity, stood awhile motionless; but the common interest, and the voice of imperious necessity, drowned the cries of the wounded; the word was given, and we marched on. We had no choice between complete victory, or entire destruction; and this extremity was so sensibly felt by all, that the whole army became, in courage and unanimity, as a single individual. Our light artillery, commanded by the impetuous Tournerie, perform prodigies of celerity and address; and whilst in its hasty course it is dismounting the Mameluke cannon, our grenadiers come up, the battery is abandoned; and this army of cavalry, ten times our number, immediately stand amazed, check their course, fall back, gallop off, and disappear like a vapour, leaving us without an enemy.

Never was there a more terrible battle, a more splendid victory, and a more unexpected success. I still think of it as a frightful dream, which has only left in the mind a vague impression of terror.

## CHAPTER X.

*Desaix returns to Cairo for Reinforcements—Convents near Benesuef—Encroachment of the Sand of the Desert—Canal Jusef and other Works—Conjectures on the Lake Mœris—Fertility of the Province of Faïum—Pyramid of Bilahun—Return of Desaix, and March—Arab Thief—Benesech, and other Villages—Grand Portico of Hermopolis—Vermin in Egyptian Houses—Town of Beneadi, and Character of the Inhabitants.*

THE real advantage which we obtained at the battle of Sedinan, was to detach the Arabs from the Mameluke party, and we may also add, the fear with which our mode of fighting inspired these latter. Notwithstanding the disproportion of number, the unfavourable position in which we were placed, and the circumstances in their favour, which must have made them reckon on our total destruction, the result of the battle put an end to their flattering illusions. Murad-Bey now changed his plan, and giving up all hopes of breaking the ranks of our infantry, or of resisting its attacks in the open field, he took from us the opportunity of putting an end to the campaign by decisive blows, and we were reduced to pursue an active and rapid enemy, who, by his anxious and restless precautions, left us neither rest nor security. Our mode of warfare was now to resemble that of Antony against the Parthians:

the Roman legions, invincible in the field, overthrew their enemy's battalions, and found no other obstacle than the space of country which their foes left behind them; but, exhausted with daily losses, the victors thought themselves fortunate to be able to quit the territory of a people who, always beaten but never subdued, would, even the day after a defeat, return with invincible perseverance to harass those whom they had just left masters of an unprofitable field of battle.

The heat of the days, and the coolness of the nights in this season, had afflicted the army with much inflammation of the eyes: this disease is unavoidable when long marches and fatiguing days are followed by night-watching, in which the humidity of the air represses perspiration; vicissitudes which bring on inflammation either in the eyes or the bowels.

Desaix, to lose no time to levy the requisitions, and procure horses in the province which he had just conquered, left three hundred and fifty men at Faïum, and set out to reduce the villages which Murad-Bey had excited to revolt. During his absence in the province, a thousand Mamelukes, and a number of fellahs, or peasants, came to attack the town which contained our sick men.

General Robin, and the chief of brigade, Exuper, who, with the troops under his command, were all suffering under ophthalmia, performed prodigies of valour, and drove back from street to street, a whole host of enemies, after making a terrible slaughter among them. Desaix rejoined these brave men, and the whole army marched by Benesuef, to dispute with Murad-Bey the resources of this rich province.

When arrived at Benesuef, Desaix returned to Cairo, in order to procure the means of renewing the campaign: he there collected and dispatched forwards every thing which he thought necessary to secure his marches, and to force Murad to come to action.

On the left bank of the Nile, opposite Benesuef, the Arabian chain of mountains lowers, retires further off, and forms the valley of Arba, or the Chariots, terminated by Mount Kolsun, rendered famous by the grottoes of two cenobite patriarchs, St. Anthony and St. Paul, the founders of the monastic order, and creators of this contemplative system, which is so useless to mankind, and has been so long respected by the credulous people. On the soil which covers the two grottoes, which these two hermit saints inhabited, two monasteries still exist, from one of which it is said Mount Sinai, beyond the Red-Sea, may be discerned. The mouth of this valley, towards the Nile, exhibits nothing but a dreary plain, the only cultivated part of which is a narrow slip of land

on the bank of the river: some vestiges of villages overwhelmed by the sand may be discovered, and they present the afflicting sight of daily devastation, produced by the continual encroachment of the desert on the soil, inundated with sand.

Nothing is so melancholy to the feelings, as to march over these ruined villages, to tread under foot the roofs of the houses, and the tops of minarets; and to think that these were once cultivated fields, flourishing trees, and the habitations of man—every thing living has disappeared, silence is within and round every wall, and the deserted villages are like the dead, whose skeletons strike with terror.

The antient Egyptians speak of this encroachment of the sands, under the symbol of the mysterious entrance of Typhon into the bed of his sister-in-law Isis; an incest which is to change Egypt into a desert as frightful as those by which it is encompassed; and this great event will happen when the Nile finds a lower level, through some one of the surrounding vallies, than the bed in which it now flows, and which is constantly getting higher. This idea, which at first appears extraordinary, will be thought probable, when we consider the local situation. The elevation of the Nile, and the rise of its banks, have made of it an artificial canal, which would by this time have put Faïum under water, if the caliph Jusef had not raised dykes upon the old ones, and dug a collateral canal below Benesuef, to restore to the river a part of the water which is every year poured by the overflowing into this vast bason. If it were not for the causeways which stop the inundation, the great swells would soon convert this whole propince into a large lake, which actually threatened to happen twenty-five years ago by an extraordinary inundation, in which the river had risen ever the banks of Hilaon, and it was much feared either that the province would remain under water, or that the stream would resume an antient channel, which it had evidently occupied in remote ages. To remedy this inconvenience, a graduated dyke has been raised near Hilaon, where there is a sluice erected, which, as soon as the inundation has got to the proper height to water the province without drowning it, divides the mass of water, takes the quantity necessary to irrigate Faïum, and turns off the remainder by forcing it back into the river through other canals of a deeper cut. If a conjecture might be hazarded, we might say, that, before the most antient times of which we have knowledge, the whole Delta was only a large gulph which received the waves of the Mediterranean; that the Nile came as far as the opening of the valley which enters the province of Faïum; that by the *dry*

*river* it went to form the Marëotis, which was one of its estuaries to the sea, as the lake Madie was that of the Canopic branch, and as the lakes of Berelos and Menzaleh are still the estuaries of the Sebenitic, Mendeisian, Tanitic, and Pelusiac mouths; that the lake Bahr-Belame *(or without water)* is the remains of the antient course of this river, wherein are found petrefactions (which incontestibly prove inundations), vegetations, and human labours, shewing that the soil has been raised by the course of the river, and by the perpetual fluctuation of the sands from west to east; that the Nile having at a certain period acquired more direction to the north than to the north-west as before, precipitated itself into the gulph which we have just supposed, there forming marshes, and at last the Delta. From this hypothesis it would follow, that the first labours of the antient Egyptians, such as the lake Mœris (now lake Bathen), and the first dykes were only made to retain part of the waters of the inundation, in order to irrigate thereby the province of Arsinoë, which threatened to become barren; and that posteriorly, the lake Mœris, or Bathen, no longer receiving water enough, nor being able from its situation to water the province of Faïum, the river was obliged to be taken higher up, and the canal Jusef was dug, which doubtless bears the name of the caliph who ordered this noble work: but at the same time fearing that Faïum would remain permanently inundated, this prince raised, from time to time, new dykes upon the old, such as we now see, and dug the two canals of Boueke and Zaoyeh to return the superfluity of the flood back into the river.

When we enjoy quiet possession of the country we shall probably make observations on all the different levels, and on the labours of the Egyptians at different periods; we may thus ascertain facts, instead of forming conjectures, and shew how much the Egyptians have at all times attended to the distribution of the waters, and how even in times of barbarism they have preserved some of their ancient sagacity. After this, if the Nile should still continue to lean to the right, and to increase as it has already done, the branch of Damietta at the expence of that of Rosetta; if it at least should abandon the latter, as it has successively left the channels of the *dry river* and the branch of Canopus; if it should leave the lake of Berelos and empty itself intirely into that of Menzaleh, or form new branches and new lakes at the eastern part of Pelusium; in fine, if nature, always more powerful in the end than the resistance of man, has condemned the Delta to become an arid soil, the inhabitants will follow the Nile in its course,

and will always find on its banks that abundance which is produced by its beneficent waters.

Our first employment, after the departure of Desaix, was to reconnoitre the country, and make a progress through it, to levy contributions: we visited the villages which border the opening at Faïum, half a league to the west of Benesuef. We then crossed the canal; and after a march of two hours we arrived at Davalta, a fine village, or rather a beautiful country; for in Egypt, when nature is charming, it is so in spite of all that men can add to it, or of the detractors of Savary, who have quarrelled so much with his luxurious descriptions. Nature here produces spontaneously groves of palms, under which flourish the orange-tree, the sycamore, opuntia, banana, acacia, and pomegranate; and these trees form groups of the finest mixture of foliage and verdure; and, when these delightful thickets are surrounded, as far as the eye can reach, with fields covered with ripe dourra, with mature sugar-canes, with fields of wheat, flax, and trefoil, which spread a downy carpet over the land, as the inundation retires; when, in the months of our European winter, we have before our eyes this rich prospect of spring, which promises the abundance of summer, we may well say with this traveller, that nature has organised this country in a most astonishing manner, and that there only want woody hills, with brooks flowing down their declivities, and a government which would render the people industrious, and prevent the incursions of the Bedouins, to render it the best and most beautiful country on the face of the earth.

In crossing the rich tract which I have just described, where the eye discovers twenty villages at once, we arrived at Dindyra, where we stopped for the night. The pyramid of Hilahun, situated at the entrance of Faïum, seems like a fortress raised to command this province. Can this be the pyramid of Mendes? May not the canal of Bathen, which passes by it, be the lake Mœris formed by the hand of man, as Herodotus and Diodorus conjecture? For the lake Birket-el-Kerun, which is the Mœris of Strabo and Ptolemy, can never be regarded as any thing but the work of nature. Accustomed as we are to the gigantic labours of the Egyptians, we can never persuade ourselves that they can have hollowed out a lake like that of Geneva. All that antient historians and geopraphers tell us of the lake Mœris is doubtful and obscure; it is evidently seen that their accounts were dictated by the college of priests, who were always jealous of every thing that related to their country, and could the more easily have thrown a veil of mystery over this province, as it was situated be-

yond the common road of travellers. Hence we have had from them the story of an artificial lake three hundred feet in depth, of a pyramid raised in the middle of it, of a palace of a hundred chambers to feed crocodiles in, and, in short, of stories as fabulous as any in the history of man, and the most incredible part of the remains of Egyptian antiquity. But to reason from what actually exists, we find that there is, in truth, a canal here, that of Bathen, which was flooded when we visited it, as we approached it in different directions; that the pyramid of Hilahun may well be that of Mendes, which was built at the extremity of this canal, supposed to be the lake Mœris; that the lake Birket-el-Kerun, on the contrary, is a pool of water, which must always have existed, and whose bed must have been formed by the motion of the soil, which is carried up and renewed every year by the superfluity of the inundation of Faïum, and its waters may have become brackish at a time when the waters of the Nile ceased to flow through the valley of the dry river. The proofs of this opinion are, the forms of the different parts, the existence of the bed of a river extended to the sea, but now dry, its depositions and incrustations, the depth of the lake, its extent, its bearing towards the north on a chain of hills, which run east and west, and turn off towards the north-west, sloping down to follow the course of the valley of the dry channel; likewise the natron lakes; and, more than all the other proofs, the form of the chain of mountains at the north of the pyramid which shuts the entrance of the valley, and appears to be cut perpendicularly, like almost all the mountains at the foot of which the Nile flows at the present day: all these offer to the view a channel left dry, and its several remains,

The ruins which are found near the town of Faïum are doubtless those of Arsinöe. I have not seen them, nor those which are at the west side of the lake near the village of Kasr-Kerun; but the plan of them shews only a few rooms, and a portico decorated with some hieroglyphics.

The pyramid of Hilahun, the most shattered of all the pyramids which I have seen, is also that which is built with the least magnificence. It is constructed of masses of calcareous stones, serving as points of support to heaps of unbaked bricks; but, perishable as this kind of building is, and perhaps more antient than the pyramids of Memphis, it still holds together; so favourable is the climate of Egypt to these monuments which endure for ages here, but would fall to pieces by the rigour of a single European winter.

There are some unlucky moments, when every thing one does is followed by danger or accident. As I returned from this journey

back to Benesuef, the general charged me with carrying an order to the head of the column; I galloped on to execute it, when a soldier who was marching out of his rank turning suddenly to the left as I was passing to the right, presented his bayonet against me, and before I could avoid it, I was unhorsed by the blow, whilst he at the same time was thrown down. "There is one savant less," said he while falling, (for with them every one who was not a soldier was a *savant*); but some piastres which I had in my pocket received the point of the bayonet, and I escaped with only a torn coat. When arrived at the head of the column, I found the aid-du-camp Rapp; we were well mounted, and had got before the infantry; it was at the close of the evening, and being near the tropic we had but little twilight, as in these countries darkness immediately follows sun-set. The Bedouins infested the country, and we saw some moving spots in the plain before us, which was very extensive. Rapp said to me, "We should not be here, let us either return to the column, or cross the country and get to Benesuef." I knew that my companion preferred the boldest measure, so I chose the latter, and we spurred on our horses, braving the Bedouins, who are always abroad at this time: our ride was long, we increased our speed, and at last my horse ran away with me, and it was quite dark when I arrived under the intrenchments of Benesuef. I thought that I could continue on the same road that I had passed in the morning; my horse stopped, I spurred him, and he leapt over a trench which had been made that day, and put me on the other side with my face against a palisade, where I could neither advance nor retreat. At this time the sentinel challenged me, I did not hear him, and he fired: I called out in French; he asked what business I had there, chid me, and turned me out: and thus the aukward *savant* was bayonetted, fired at, chid, and sent home like a truant school-boy.

On the 10th of December General Desaix returned from Cairo, bringing with him twelve hundred cavalry, six pieces of artillery, six armed djerms, and two or three hundred infantry; which made the strength of his division amount to three thousand infantry, twelve hundred cavalry, and eight pieces of light artillery; he was thus provided with every necessary to pursue, attack, and overcome Murad-Bey, if he would let us come up with him; and we were all full of hope and courage. I was perhaps the only one in this army who had neither glory nor advancement to acquire; but I could not help priding myself on my activity; and my self-love was flattered with marching in an army so brilliant with victory, with having resumed my post at the advanced guard,

and with having been the first to quit Toulon. I therefore marched cheerfully, with the pleasing hope of arriving the first at Syene, and of realizing all my projects, and seeing the object of my journey fulfilled. In fact, the most interesting part of my travels was now beginning; I was going to break up, as it were, a new country; to be the first to see, and to see without prejudice, to make researches in a part of the earth hitherto covered with the veil of mystery, and for two thousand years shut out from the curiosity of Europeans. From the time of Herodotus to the present, every traveller, following the steps of his predecessor, had only rapidly ascended the Nile, not daring to lose sight of his boat, and only quitting the shore for a few hours to hurry a few hundred yards off, and visit with anxiety the nearest objects. For every thing beyond the vicinity of the river, the oriental histories alone have been consulated. Encouraged by the reception which I met with from the commander in chief, and seconded by all the officers, who partook of my zeal for the arts, I had no other fear than that of wanting time, paper, pencil and ability, to take down all the objects of curiosity which I met with: I was now accustomed to night encampments, and could subsist very well on ammunition biscuit; I feared nothing from Murad-Bey but to see him enter the desert, and to lead us from Benesuef to Faïum, and back from Faïum to Benesuef.

We quitted this latter town, December 17th; the spectacle was very fine; and I regretted being too busy myself to be able to make a sketch of it; our column extended a league in length, and every thing breathed joy and hope. At the fall of day we were saddened by the view of an uncultivated land, and a deserted village—how many melancholy ideas are included in the silence of night, the neglect of culture, and the ruins of the habitations of man! tyranny begins this disastrous waste, despair and crime finish it. Thus it happens in Egypt: when the master of a village has exacted from it all that it can afford, and the misery of the inhabitants is further reduced to extremity by fresh demands, the villagers in despair oppose force to force; they are then treated as open rebels, and each party has recourse to arms; and if the inhabitants in defending themselves have the misfortune to kill any one of their tyrants or his satellites, they have no other resource than flight to save their lives, and theft to support it; men, women, and children blotted out from society, and roving from place to place, become the terror of their neighbours, only appear furtively in their own native habitations, which they convert into dens of robbers, alarming those who would succeed them in their retreats

of misery. Thus whole villages, when become the asylum of crime, offer no other view to the passenger than deserted fields, ruins, silence, and desolation.

We arrived at El-Berankah an hour before night, and quitted it at day-break the next morning; we breakfasted at Bebeh, a considerable village, which has nothing remarkable, except that it possesses the wrist of St. George, a relic which should recommend it to every pious son of chivalry. The Arabian chain of hills here approaches the river so close as to leave only a narrow strip of green land between the two,

At Miriel Guidi we were delayed by several accidents which happened to the carriages of our field pieces in getting them over the canals: we learnt that the Mamelukes were at Fechneh. Whilst we were waiting under the shade, a criminal came before General Desaix. Those that brought him said, "He is a thief; he has stolen some guns from the volunteers, and has been taken in the act." How much we were surprised to see the robber a boy of twelve years old, beautiful as an angel, with a large sabre wound in his arm, which he looked at without emotion. He presented himself to the general, whom he perceived to be his judge, with an air of firmness and simplicity, and (so great is the charm of native grace) not a person present could preserve his anger. He was asked who bid him steal these guns? "Nobody." What had induced him to do it? "I do not know; it was the great God." Had he parents? "Only a mother, very poor and blind." The general told him, if he confessed who sent him, he should be released; if not, he should be punished as he deserved. "I have already told you, nobody sent me; it was God alone that put it into my head; then laying his cap at the feet of the general, he said, "There is my head, you may cut it off!" Fatal religion, in which vicious principles and positive laws urge man to heroism and to wickedness!—"Poor little wretch," said the general, "let him go." He saw that his sentence was passed; he looked at the general, then at the soldier who was leading him off, and, guessing the meaning of what he could not understand, he parted with a smile of confidence. Such anecdotes as these give a better insight into the morals of nations, and the influence of religion and laws, than regular discussions.

A strange event succeeded to this interesting scene—it was *rain*. It gave us for a moment a sensation which recalled Europe to our minds, and the first soft showers of spring in the midst of December. Some minutes after we were told, that the Mamelukes were waiting for us about two leagues off, with an army of peasants.

Every one was immediately on the alert, expecting battle in the evening, or the next day at latest. On approaching Fechneh we discovered a detachment of Mamelukes, who let us approach within half cannon shot, and then disappeared. We were told that the main body was at Saste Elsayeneh, a league further off; but our artillery was not come up, as it was constantly delayed by the canals, and in spite of the wish of the general to join the enemy, and attack him even before we were completely formed in order of battle, we could not get to Saste till night; and we found that the Mamelukes had quitted it two hours before. At Saste we learnt that they had got intelligence of our march at mid-day, at the time when the inhabitants were disputing with them concerning the extraordinary impositions which they demanded; they immediately thought of nothing but loading their camels, calling us the *scourge of God* sent to punish their faults, and in truth they might have used less pious expressions.

They kindled fires, which soon went out. We left this place the 19th of December at day-break: they had preceded us two hours, and were three leagues before us. They quitted the Nile in the direction of their march, passing between Bar-Jusef and the desert, abandoning the richest country in the universe. In this third passage I did not find the straight canal, as it is marked in all the charts; but it is only an actual survey of the levels that can give a knowledge of the system and regulation of the irrigations, and of the works to be respectively attributed to art and to nature in this interesting part of Egypt. Towards the evening we forded the canal Jusef, which at this place appears to be only the receptacle of the flood waters, because it is the lowest part of the valley, and in no part to be the work of human industry. But all these questions will be determined by a grand operation to be performed in time of peace, from which the best way may be suggested of recovering the advantages of this mysterious canal, now lost or sunk into neglect. This important work would have fallen to the lot of General Caffarelli, who was always so ardent to contribute to the public welfare, if death had not deprived the commander in chief of his services as a friend, and all Egypt of a benefactor.

From a simple inspection of these different levels I should be disposed to believe, that this part of Egypt has become lower than the elevated banks of the Nile, and that after the general inundation, the drainings of the water all collect in this spot. I have since seen in Upper Egypt the effect of the filtration which here occurs; the waters having in this country neither canals nor valleys through which they can be carried off after the inundation, the

entire mass penetrates the whole depth of the vegetable soil, at the bottom of which it meets with a bed of clay, which it cannot pass, and it returns to the river by small streamlets, when the fall of the flood has sunk it below the surface of this bed of clay. May not the *oasis* be ascribed to a similar operation of nature?

We here saw some bustards: they were smaller than those of Europe, as is the case with every animal common to the two continents. We were now approaching the desert, which was also advancing to us, for, as the ancient Egyptians expressed it, the desert is the tyrant Typhon, who is constantly invading Egypt. The mountains were still two leagues off us, and we were at the edge of the plain which forms a border between the deserts and the cultivated country. Whilst we were halting, we received intelligence that the Mamelukes were engaged with our advanced guard; but news is fabricated by the advanced guard of an army for the main body, as well as by one quarter of Paris for the other; however, as even reports of this kind are not to be neglected, we halted for the night near the village of Benachie, in a fine wood of palm-trees.

On the 20th at day-break, we continued our route, in the constant hope of reaching the enemy: we learnt that he had marched all night: the artillery delayed our progress, and constantly required some little stop; whilst the Mamelukes, unincumbered by heavy guns, had the desert before them, in the midst of which they could defy our eagerness. We attempted, however, to enter it, and presently our draught horses were knocked up: however, we arrived by this route at Benesech, where, fortunately for me the army halted.

Benesech was built on the ruins of the ancient Oxyrinchus, the capital of the thirty-third *nome*, or province of Egypt. Nothing, however, remains of this city but some fragments of stone pillars, marble columns in the mosques, and a single column left standing, along with its capital, and part of the entablature, which shew that it is the fragment of a portico of the composite order. It was not without some danger that I arrived here alone, half an hour before the division; but it would have been attended with still greater risk to have remained behind; I therefore had only time to take a general view on horseback of this desolate country. This solitary monument brings a melancholy sensation to the mind; Oxyrinchus, once a metropolis surrounded by a fertile plain, two leagues off the Lybian range of hills, has disappeared beneath the sand; and the new town has been obliged to retreat from this desolating invasion, leaving to its ravages house after house, and the inhabitants must at last be driven beyond the canal Jusef, on the

border of which they will still be menaced. This fine canal seemed to offer to our sight its verdant banks, in order to console us for the prospect of the desert which lay before our eyes, a desert which presents such a gloomy idea to all who have once beheld it —a boundless horizon of barrenness, which oppresses the mind by immensity of distance, and whose appearance, where level, is only a dreary waste; and where broken by hills, only shews another feature of decay and decrepitude, whilst the silence of inanimate nature reigns throughout undisturbed.

I remained absorbed in the melancholy inspired by the scene before my eye, when I saw Desaix in the same attitude with myself, penetrated with the same sensations. "My friend," said he, "is not this an error of nature? Nothing here receives life; every thing appears to be placed here to inspire with melancholy or dread: it would seem as if Providence, after having provided abundantly for the necessities of the three other parts of the world, suddenly stopped here for want of materials, and abandoned it to its original barrenness." "Is it not rather," I replied, "the decrepitude of the most anciently inhabited part of the globe? Has not the abuse which men have made of the gifts of nature reduced it to this state?" In this desert there are vallies, and petrified wood; there have therefore been rivers and forests; these last have been destroyed, and after this have disappeared the dew, the mist, the rain, the rivers, and with them all the animated beings.

We found in the mosques of Benesech, a number of columns of different marbles, which are doubtless the spoils of the antient Oxyrinchus, but which were not of the style of ancient Egypt.

We returned, following the course of the canal, which in this part resembles our river La Marne. Some time after we saw a considerable explosion, but heard no noise following; we thought it was a signal; but the day but one after, we learnt that a part of the powder of the Mamelukes had taken fire. We also seized a convoy of eight hundred sheep, which, I believe, without much difficulty, we persuaded ourselves belonged to the enemy, and in the evening it consoled our troops for the fatigues of the day. We arrived at Elsack too late to save this village from being pillaged: in a quarter of an hour there remained nothing at all in the houses, literally nothing; the Arab inhabitants had fled into the fields; we invited them back, they answered coldly: "Why should we return to our houses, are not the deserts now as good as our own homes?" We had nothing to reply to this laconic answer.

Nothing interesting happened on the next day. We found the lake Bathen as serpentine as the lake Jusef; but we must wait for an actual survey of these canals, to be able to form any rational conjecture on the ancient system of irrigation, till which time all our reasonings would be precipitate, and our assertions illusory. We slept at Tata, a large village inhabited by Copts; and an Arab chief, who had joined Murad-Bey, had left at our disposal a large house and mattresses, on which we passed a delicious night, for we could very rarely be lodged so commodiously.

The next day, December 22d, we crossed fields of peas and beans already in pod, and barley in flower. At noon we arrived at Mynyeh, a large and handsome town, in which there had formerly been a temple of Anubis. I found no ruins, but fine columns of granite in the large mosque, which were well cut, and had a very fine astragal: I know not whether they were part of the temple of Anubis, but they were certainly of a date posterior to that of the temples of high antiquity in Egypt, which I afterwards saw in my travels.

The Mamelukes had quitted the town of Mynyeh, and had nearly been surprized by our cavalry, who entered it some hours after. They had been obliged to abandon five vessels armed with ten pieces of cannon, and a mortar; they had besides buried two others, which were shewn us by several Greek deserters who came to join us.

Mynyeh was the handsomest town we had yet seen; it had good streets, substantial houses very well situated, and the Nile flowing through a large and cheerful channel.

From Mynyeh to Come el-Casar, where we slept, the country is more rich and abundant than any that we had hitherto travelled over, and the villages so numerous and contiguous to each other, that from the middle of the plain I reckoned twenty-four around me: they were not rendered gloomy by heaps of ruins, but planted with trees so thickly interwoven, that it put me in mind of the descriptions which travellers have given us of the islands in the Pacific Ocean.

The next morning, at eleven, we were between Antinöe and Hermopolis. I had not much curiosity to visit the former of these places; as I had already seen the monuments of the age of Adrian, and the buildings of this emperor in Egypt could not present to me any thing very new or striking; but I was eager to go to Hermopolis, where I knew there was a celebrated portico; it was therefore with great satisfaction that I heard Desaix inform me,

that he should take three hundred cavalry, and make an excursion to Achnusuin, whilst the infantry were marching to Melaiei.

In approaching the eminence on which is built the portico of Hermopolis, I saw its outline in the horizon, and its gigantic features. We crossed the canal of Abu-Assi, and soon after, passing across mountains and ruins, we reached this beautiful monument, a relic of the highest antiquity.

I was enchanted with delight at thus seeing the first fruit of my labours; for, excepting the pyramids, this was the first monument which gave me an idea of the ancient Egyptian architecture; the first stones that I had seen which had preserved their original destination, without being altered or deformed by the works of modern times, and had remained untouched for four thousand years, to give me an idea of the immense range and high perfection to which the arts had arrived in this country. A peasant who should be drawn out from his cottage, and placed before such a building as this, would believe that there must exist a wide difference between himself and the beings who were able to construct it; and without having any idea of architecture, he would say, this is the work of a god, a man could not dare to inhabit it. Is it the Egyptians who have invented and brought to perfection such a beautiful art? This is a question which I am unable to answer; but even on a first glimpse of this edifice we may pronounce, that the Greeks have never devised nor executed any thing in a grander style.

Among the hillocks, within three or four hundred yards of the portico, enormous blocks of stone may be seen half buried in sand, and regular architecture beneath them, which appear to form an edifice containing columns of granite, just rising above the present level of the soil. Further on, but still connected with the scattered fragments of the great temple of Hermopolis, which I have just described, is built a mosque, in which are a number of columns of cipoline marble of middling size, and retouched by the Arabs; then comes the large village of Achmunin, peopled by about five thousand inhabitants, to whom we were as great an object of curiosity as their temple had been to us.

We slept at Melaui, half a league from the road from Achmunin. But here I think I hear the reader say to me, "What! do you quit Hermopolis already, after having fatigued me with long descriptions of monuments of little note; and now you pass rapidly over what might interest me; Where is the hurry? are you not with a well-informed general, who loves the arts, and have you not three hundred men with you?" All this is very

true, but such are the necessary events of this journey, and such the lot of the traveller: the general, whose intentions are very good, but whose curiosity is soon satisfied, says to the artist, "I have three hundred men here who have been ten hours on horseback; they must find shelter for the night, and make their soup before they go to rest." The artist feels the force of this, as he is himself perhaps very weary and hungry, and must share with the rest in the fatigues of night encampments, and especially as he is every day twelve or sixteen hours on horseback, as the desert has tired his eye-lids, and his eyes, burning and smarting, only see dimly through a veil of blood.

Melaui is larger and still more beautiful than Mynyeh; its streets are straight, and its bazar very well built; there is here a very large house belonging to the Mamelukes, which it would be easy to fortify.

We entered it late; I had lost time in going up and down the town, and seeking out for quarters; I was lodged without the walls and before a handsome house which appeared very commodious; the owner was sitting at his ease befor his door, and seeing one lying down on the outside, he beckoned me into a chamber, where I found General Beliard, who had already taken advantage of his hospitality. I was hardly asleep when I was awakened by an intolerable restlessness, which I took to be the beginning of an inflammatory fever; but after remaining a long time in this state of agitation, I found my companion as ill off as myself, and we both started up and left the room, and looking at each other by moonlight, our whole skin was red, inflamed, and our features hardly distinguishable; and, on further examination, we found ourselves covered with vermin of every kind.

These mansions in Upper Egypt are nothing but vast pigeon-houses, in which the owner reserves to himself only a room or two for his own use, and there he lodges along with poultry of all kinds, and all the vermin that they engender between them, which it is a part of his daily employment to hunt for, but at night the toughness of his skin defies their bites; and thus our host, who intended to do us a civility, could not conceive the reason of our quitting him so abruptly. We got rid as well as we could of the most troublesome of these intruders, vowing faithfully never again to accept of such hospitality.

On the next day, December 24th, we continued our pursuit of the Mamelukes; they always kept about four leagues off us, and we could never gain ground upon them. In their march they ravaged as much as they could the country which they kept be-

tween us. Towards the evening we saw a deputation with a flag of alliance coming up to our camp. It was a party of Christians, from whom the Mamelukes had demanded a requisition of a hundred camels, and these poor wretches not having it in their power to comply with the demand, the enemy had barbarously killed sixty of the people. They in return, highly exasperated, had slain eight of the Mamelukes, whose heads they offered to bring us. They all spoke at once, repeating perpetually the same expressions, but fortunately for our ears, the audience was given in a field of lucerne, which offered a seasonable refreshment to the deputation, who began to devour the crop greedily, as if it were a dainty which they were afraid of losing.

We slept at Elgansanier, where we were very well lodged in a santon's tomb.

The next day, December 25th, we were marching over Mount Falut, when we learned that the Mamelukes were at Beneadi, to which place we immediately directed our course, in hopes of coming up with them. Partaking of the eagerness of all around me, I was full of joy when we received any tidings of the Mamelukes, without reflecting that I had no reason for animosity or revenge against them, and that as they had not injured the remains of antiquity, which was my harvest, I had no cause of complaint against them. If they had acquired unfairly the soil which we were treading, at least it was not for us to make any objections: their rights were at least sanctioned by several centuries of possession; but the preparations for a battle present so much bustle and activity, and altogether form such a striking scene, and the event is of so much importance to all who are concerned in it, that the mind has but little room left for moral reflexions; success is then the only object, for the game has so high a stake that one does not choose to lose it.

But when arrived at Beneadi our hope was once more deceived; we only found some Arabs, whom our cavalry chased into the desert. Beneadi is a rich village, about half a league in length, advantageously situated for the trade of Darfur, which is carried on by caravans, possessing an abundant territory, and a population numerous enough to compel the Mamelukes to enter into some composition for their levies, and not to allow them to take it as plunder. We also found it prudent to temporize with them for the present, especially as the amicable advances which they made were offered to us somewhat in the manner of conditions; the insolence of which we thought it proper to pass over by the

apperance of cordiality. Surrounded by Arabs whom they do not in the least fear, as they supply these freebooters with their articles of the first necessity, and consequently can dispose of their services, the inhabitants of Beneadi enjoy an influence in the province which would render them an object of embarrassment to any governmment whatever: they came out to meet us, and they reconducted us out of their territory, without either party being at all tempted to pass the night in the some place. We slept at Benisanet.

On the 26th, just before getting to Siut, we found a large bridge, a lock, and floodgates, in order to retain the waters of the Nile after the inundation; these Arabian works, made doubtless from ancient models, are as useful as well contrived; and, in general it appeared to me, that the distribution of the waters in Upper Egypt for irrigation was ordered with more intelligence, and effected by simpler means, than in the lower provinces.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Town of Siut or Lycopolis—Character of the Lybian Range of Mountains—Antient excavated Tombs—Doum Palm-tree—The Red and White Coptic Convents—Large Town of Girgeh, and Abundance of Provisions—Conversation with a Nubian Prince—Thieving Disposition of the Egyptians—Arabian Tales, and Manner of relating them—Baths—Thunder in Egypt—Arrival of the Flotilla—Battle with the Mamelukes at Samanhut—Pursuit of Murad-Bey—Approach to Tentyra—Character of Egyptian Architecture—Magnificent Portico—Style of the Ornaments and Hieroglyphics.*

SIUT is a large well-peopled town, built on the site of Lycopolis. But where is this animal of northern climates found here? Is it a worship borrowed from the Greeks, the account of which we have received from the Romans, who knowing but little of natural history, have confounded the jackal with the wolf? No antiquities are found in this town, but the Lybian chain, at the foot of which it stands, here exhibits such a vast number of tombs, that without doubt this town occupies the territory of some very ancient and flourishing city. We arrived here an hour after noon, and we employed the remainder of the day in procuring food for the army, in exercising the sick, and in taking possession of barks and provisions, which the Mamelukes had not been able to carry away with them.

I hastened to visit the Lybian chain of mountains, so eager was I to put my finger on an Egyptian mountain. The rocks are near

half a league from Siut; and in the road is a very pretty house of the kiachef, who was agent for Soliman-Bey. The rocks are excavated by a vast number of tombs of different dimensions, and decorated with more or less magnificence, and this too can leave no doubt of the proximity of the ancient site of some considerable town. All the inner porches of these grottoes are covered with hieroglyphics; months would be required to read them, even if one knew the language, and it would take years to occupy them. One thing I saw by the little day-light that enters the first porch, which is, that all the elegancies of ornament which the Greeks have employed in their architecture, all the waving lines, the scrolls, and other Greek forms, are here executed with taste and exquisite delicacy. If one of these excavations was a single operation, as the uniform regularity of the plan of each would seem to indicate, it must be an immense labour to construct a tomb; but we may suppose that such a one, when once finished, would serve for ever for the sepulture of a whole family or even race, and that some religious worship was regularly paid to the dead; else where would have been the use of such finished ornaments of inscriptions never read, and of a ruinous, secret, and buried splendour? At different periods or annual festivals, or when some new inhabitant was added to the tombs, funeral rites were doubtless performed, in which the pomp of ceremony might vie with the magnificence of the place; which is the more probable, as the richness of decoration in the interior part forms a most striking contrast with the outer walls, which are only the rough native rock, I found one of these caves, with a single saloon, in which were an innumerable quantity of graves cut in the rock in regular order: they had been ransacked in order to procure the mummies; and I found several fragments of their contents, such as linen, hands, feet, and loose bones.

Besides these principal grottoes, there is such a countless number of smaller excavations, that the whole rock is cavernous and resounds under the foot. Further on to the south, are remains of large quarries, the cavities of which are supported by pilasters: some of these quarries have been the abode of pious hermits, who in these rocks, among these vast retreats, united the austere aspect of an inhabitant of the desert to the gentle majesty of one who partakes of the bounties bestowed by a river, which dispenses to its banks plenty and fertility. This was the emblem of their life; before their retreat, cares, wealth, agitation; afterwards calm and contemplative enjoyments; the silence of nature too imitated the reserve to which they were compelled: in these regions the un-

changing and august splendor of the sky, forcibly impels to constant but chastened admiration; the dawn of day is not enlivened by the cries of joy or the bounding of animals; the song of no bird proclaims the return of morn, even the lark, which in our climates enlivens and animates our fallows, in these burning regions only calls to his mate, but never chants his happiness; the grave dignity of Nature seems to inspire with the deep sense of humble acknowledgment, so that the grotto of the cenobite seems to have been placed here by the order and choice of the Deity himself; and every animated being partakes with him in his grave and silent meditation.

Small niches, stucco facings, a few red paintings representing crosses, and some inscriptions in a language which I took to be Coptic, are the only remains which give evidence to the former habitation of the austere cenobites in these gloomy cells. In the season in which we visited them, nothing was comparable to the exquisite verdure of the banks of the Nile, which embellished the shore with various hues of beautiful green as far as the eye could reach. My curiosity had led me so far from head-quarters, that I could not regain them before the march.

It is always attended with some embarrassment when a large army quits a town. We set out the next morning before day-break. All our guides had joined the same division, a circumstance which caused ours to wander at random, and it was some time before we were all collected. We followed the sinuosities of the canal of Abu-Assi, which is the last of Upper Egypt, and so considerable in size, that it might be considered as an arm of the Nile, dividing with this river the extent of the valley, which in this day's march appeared to be no more than a league in breadth, but cultivated with more care and skill than in any part which we had yet seen: we found several roads marked out, which convinced us that they might, with a very little expence, be made excellent, and most completely durable, in a country like this, where neither rain nor frost are ever seen. At every half league we found wells with a small monument of hospitality, in which we could ally the thirst of man and horse. Towards the middle of the day we approached the desert, where I found three new objects; one was the *doum* palm-tree, which differs from the date palm, in having from eight to fifteen stems instead of only a single one, and its ligneous fruit is attached by clusters to the extremity of the principal branches, whence proceed numerous tufts, which form the foliage of the tree. The fruit is of a triangular form, and of the size of an egg; the first, or outer coat, is spongy, and

eats like the carobe; the taste is sweetish, like honey, resembling the flavor of spice-bread; under this coat is a hard bark, filamentous like the cocoa-nut, which it resembles more than any other fruit; but it wants the fine hard ligneous shell of the cocoa; its gelatinous part is tasteless; it becomes very hard by drying, and beads are made of it, strung upon chaplets, which take a good dye and polish.

I saw also a charming little bird, which by its shape and habitudes should be arranged in the class of *fly catchers;* it seized and devoured these insects with an admirable address. Thanks to the indolence of the Turks, all birds are familiar in their country; for though the Turks love nothing, they disturb nothing: the colour of the bird I have just mentioned is a clear and lively green; the head and the feathers beneath the wings, golden; the beak, long, black, and pointed: in the tail it has one feather about half an inch longer than the rest; the size of the bird is about the same as the small titmouse.

A little further off I saw in the desert some swallows of a clear grey colour, like that of the sand over which they were flying; these never emigrate, or at least only go into similar climates, we never see any of them in Europe of this colour; they are of the species of the wheat-ear.

After marching thirteen hours, we came in the evening to Gamerissiem, unfortunately for this village; for the cries of the women soon convinced us that our soldiers, profiting by the darkness of the night, under pretence of seeking provisions, and notwithstanding their weariness, were enjoying by violence the gratifications which the place offered them: the inhabitants, pillaged, dishonoured, and urged to desperation, fell upon the patroles whom we sent to defend them; and these, attacked by the furious natives, were killing them in their own defence, for want of being able to explain their object, and to make themselves understood.—O war! thou art brilliant in history, but frightful when viewed with all thy attending horrors, naked, and undisguised.

On the 28th we skirted the edge of the desert, which was bordered by a succession of villages. In spite of the cold which we felt during the night, the heat of the day, and the productions of the earth, gave us notice that we were approaching the tropic; the barley was now ripe, the wheat in ear, and the melons, planted in the open field, were already in full flower. We spent the night in the wood near Narcette.

On the 29th we crossed a desert, and passed by a Coptic convent, to which the Mamelukes had set fire on the preceding even-

ing, and which was still burning so as to prevent me from entering it; but it resembled in all its parts the white convent a short distance off, and situated also under the mountain, at the border of the desert, which I shall presently describe. The first is called the *Red Convent*, because it is built of brick; the other the *White Convent*, being constructed of stone of this colour; this latter had also been set on fire the preceding evening; but the monks in escaping had left the gates open, and some of their servants were saving what they could from the ruins.

The erection of this building is attributed to Saint Helena. The church was the only building left standing, but there had doubtless been a monastery attached to it. The monastery had long since disappeared, but the church had been built more strongly, and would, with a few pieces of cannon on the walls, easily resist the attacks of the Arabs, or even the Mamelukes. But these poor monks, being without arms, could only oppose to oppression their patience, sancity, resignation, and especially their poverty, which would have saved them on any other occasion; but in the present case the Mamelukes revenged themselves on catholics, for the evils which they had experienced from other catholics, as if they could by this injustice make up for the loss which we had occasioned them. We perceived in the ruins produced by this catastrophe some charcoal, which remained from the burning of the wood-yard; and the urgent necessities of insatiable war compelled us also to take away these wrecks of the devastation of which we had been the cause.

Since the first destruction of the convent the monks had made their dwellings in the lateral gallery of the church, if dwellings they might be called, which were only wretched huts, set up under those splendid porches; it was misery in the very palace of pride.

Nothing can be more picturesque that the situation of these establishments on the edge of the desert, but commanding a view of the rich country, watered by the canal of Abu-Assi, and of the architecture of these edifices of the fourth century, and consequently nearly two thousand years posterior to the grand monuments of high Egyptian antiquity. The gravity of style here displayed, the cornices, and the gates, are absolutely the same as the primitive architecture; the general outline is good, excepting some deficiencies in the choir, in which may be observed the decay of taste. We encamped in the evening at Bonnasse Bura.

The next day we returned along the Nile, and crossed the field of battle, in which during the last war between the Turks and the Mamelukes, Assan-Basha was beaten by Murad-Bey, where the latter, with five thousand Mamelukes, overthrew, and routed eighteen thousand Turks, and three thousand Mamelukes. Malem-Jacob, a copt, who accompanied us as our steward, was a spectator of this battle and had taken a share in it, and he explained to us all the particulars. He shewed us with what superiority of talent Murad had gained his advantage and profited by it; the same Murad-Bey, who was now flying before fifteen hundred infantry. As we were conversing on the vicissitudes of fortune, drawn on by the eagerness of talk, we had very imprudently, as was our usual custom, got half a league before the army. I said in jest to Desaix, that it would be very ridiculous to have it told in history, that he had lost his head in a rencounter with half a dozen Mamelukes, and that for my part I should be inconsolable to leave mine behind a bush, where it would be forgotten. At this time we were passing out of Minchia; the adjutant Clement came to inform the General that there were Mamelukes in the village, and indeed we presently saw first two, then six, then ten, and afterwards four more, and two behind, along with their baggage: they soon observed us; if we retreated we should be carried off, as the country was enclosed; Desaix, therefore, put a good face on the matter, and appeared to be making his arrangements: he had four fusileers whom he placed alternately on each side, to increase the appearance of our force: we got some ditches between us and the enemy; we gained time, and at last our advanced guard came up, and they retired. We were told that Murad was waiting for us at Girgeh; we heard loud cries, and saw clouds of dust ascend. Desaix thought that at last he was going to obtain the battle which he had been seeking so painfully for the last fortnight; I was dispatched to hasten the infantry up. While galloping along, I just perceived an ancient embankment on the edge of the Nile, and flights of steps descending into two basons—were they the ruins of Ptolemais? A cannon was fired as a signal to the cavalry, who were at a league's distance, to rejoin us, and in half an hour we were ready either for attack or defence. We marched in order of battle up to the spot where the greatest number had collected, but they dispersed; the Mamelukes themselves disappeared, and we arrived at Girgeh, without being able to come up with the enemy.

Here the reader, will perhaps exclaim, that he sees no account of Aphroditopolis, Crocodilopolis, Ptolemais—and will accuse

me for the total absence of all information upon these subjects? But let him be pleased to recollect, that we are surrounded with Arabs and Mamelukes, and that, in all probability, I should be made prisoner, pillaged, and killed, if I should venture only a hundred paces from the column to fetch some of the bricks of Aphroditopolis. The embanked quay which I saw in galloping to Minchia, was Ptolemais, and no other remains of this town exist. But we are about to visit a soil entirely new to the curious traveller, to see the places which Herodotus himself has only described from the reports which were given to him.

Girgeh, where we arrived two hours after noon, is the capital of Upper Egypt: it is a modern town and as large as Minyeh and Melaui, but less than Siut. The name of Girgeh, or Djergeh, is derived from a large monastery built previously to the town, and dedicated to St. George, which is pronounced *Girgeh* in the language of the country. The convent still exists, and we found in it European monks. The Nile razes the walls of Girgeh, and is constantly washing away a part of them. This town is interesting as being situated half way between Cairo and Syene, and in a very rich territory. We found here all kinds of provisions, at a very low price; bread was one sous the pound; twelve eggs, two sous; two pigeons, three sous; a goose weighing fifteen pounds we got at twelve sous;—could this be poverty? Such too was the abundance of these articles, that after more than five thousand of us had remained here three weeks, and had increased the consumption, and scattered out money, no rise in the demand for these necessaries had taken place.

However, our boats did not arrive; we were in want of shoes and of biscuit; the army therefore went into regular quarters here, set up ovens, and prepared a barrack to station five hundred men; and during this time of rest for us all, I experienced in my own case the great advantage of strengthening my eye-sight, which had become so indifferent as to threaten serious inconvenience. I had, indeed, no remedy with me; but I found a pot of honey, and a jar of vinegar, in the house of the sheik in which I lodged, which did me great service, for I eat abundantly of the former, and cooled the heat of my blood with the latter, which I drank largely, mixed with water and sugar.

On the 3d of January we learnt that the peasants, seduced by the Mamelukes, were collected in order to attack us in the rear, whilst they were promised that we should be assaulted at the same time in front. They had but a month ago plundered a caravan of two hundred merchants, who were coming from India by the Red

Sea, Cosseir, and Kouss; they therefore gave themselves great credit for their courage; forty of the neighbouring villages had assembled six or seven thousand men, but our cavalry charged them, sabred ten or twelve hundred of them, and put an end to their project.

We found at Girgeh a Nubian prince, a brother to the king of Darfur: he was returning from India, and was going to rejoin another of his brothers, who was accompanying another caravan of Nubians of Sennar, with as many women. He was bringing to Cairo elephants' teeth and gold dust, to barter against coffee, sugar, shawls, cloth, lead, iron, senna, and tamarinds. We had a long conversation with this young prince, who was lively, gay, impetuous, and clever; all of which were shewn in his physiognomy: his colour was deeper than bronze, his eyes very fine and well set, his nose somewhat turned up and small, his mouth very wide but not flat, and his legs, like those of all the Africans, bowed and lank. He told us that his brother was an ally of the king of Burnu, and traded with him, and that he was always at war with the people of Sennar. He likewise informed us, that it was forty days' journey from Darfur to Siut, during which time water was only to be met with once a week, either in the wells or in crossing the *oasis*. The profits of these caravans ought to be enormous to repay the expense and trouble of fitting them out, and to indemnify them for their very great fatigues. When their female slaves were not taken in war, they cost them one indifferent gun, and the men slaves two. He told us, that it was very cold in his country at a certain time of the year, and having no word to express to us *ice*, he said, that they eat a great deal of a substance which was hard when taken in the hands, and which slipped through the fingers when it was held there for some time. We enquired of him of Tombuctoo, this celebrated city, the existence of which is so problematical in Europe. He was not surprised at our questions. From his account Tombuctoo was at the south-west of his country, and its inhabitants came to trade with him: they were six months on their journey from Tombuctoo to Darfur, and purchased the various articles which he brought from Cairo, for which they exchanged gold dust. He added, that this country was called in their language the *paradise*; that the town of Tombuctoo was situated on the banks of a river, which flowed towards the west, and that the inhabitants were small of stature, and mild in disposition. We regretted much that we could not enjoy more time with this interesting traveller, but we could not indiscreetly urge him with questions, though he seemed to be perfectly well in-

clined to tell us what he knew, having nothing of the Mussulman gravity and taciturnity, and expressing himself with ease and energy. He told us, besides, that in his country the succession of the royal family was elective; that the military and civil chiefs, after the death of a king, chose, out of his sons, him whom they thought most worthy to succeed to the throne; and that hitherto there had been no example of a civil war being produced by this custom.

All that I have been relating is, word for word, an authentic copy of the conversation which we had with this foreign prince. He added, that we had an infinite number of things to furnish Africa with, and that we should find them very willing to trade with us, without injuring the commerce which they kept up with each other; that we should attach them to our interests by all their wants, and by the exportation of the superfluity of our productions; that the trade with India, in like measure, might be carried on through Mecca, taking this town or that of Cosseir as a common *entrepôt*, in the same way as Aleppo is for the Mussulman states, notwithstanding the length of march required on each side to arrive at the common point of contact.

We were now waiting every day for the barks which were to follow our march, on board which were our provisions, ammunition, and the clothing of our troops. The wind, contrary to what generally prevails at this season, had been uniformly favourable for the arrival of the barks, and yet they were not come. We had dispatched several expresses to gain some tidings of them; but the first that we sent had perished in passing through the revolted villages, and the others did not appear.

On the 9th of January, the tenth day of our arrival, General Desaix determined to send his cavalry to Siut, to know absolutely what was become of his maritime convoy. We had previously sent from Girgeh a battalion to Bardis, in quest of provision; the officer who commanded it informed us, on the evening of the ninth, that the Mamelukes had given out that on the eleventh they would march from Hau, to reach us on the next day; and that they were absolutely determined to give battle. This news was confirmed from every quarter.

Another pest with which we were much harassed, was a perpetual theft. No rigour of military execution could protect our arms or our horses. Every night the inhabitants stole into our camp like rats, and lurking about, they generally found an opportunity to seize some article of plunder, and carry it away with them. Some of the robbers had been caught in the very fact, and

sacrificed to the rage of the soldiers on guard ; it was hoped that this rigour would prove a salutary example; the guard was doubled, and yet on the same day two of the artillery forges were taken off; but the robbers were apprehended and shot immediately. In the night which followed this execution, the horses of the aid-de-camp of the general of cavalry were stolen: the general laid a wager that they would not touch any of his property, but the next day his horse also disappeared, and the plunderers had pulled down part of a wall in order to surprise the general himself, which failed only on account of day-light coming before they were prepared.

On the 10th we learnt that Murad-Bey had invited the Arab shieks of the villages which had submitted to us to rendezvous at Girgeh, and march against us. On the 12th, the day in which we were to have been attacked, several of these shieks sent us a letter, informing us that they remained faithful to their treaty, and denounced to us those who had promised to march to join Murad; but the encounter which they had had with our cavalry disconcerted their plans.

The sky was cloudy on the 11th, and we suffered from it as if it were a sharp winter's day, though it would have been reckoned in Europe fine April weather; so much is the absence of a blessing considered as a positive evil! On this day, however, which we complained of so much, I saw a vine-stalk as green as in the month of July; the leaves in this country only harden, become red, and dry, whilst the end of the branch perpetually renews its verdure: the creeping peas do the same, their stalk becomes woody ; and I have seen some that were forty feet high, and had climbed to the tops of trees.

We learned also that there had arrived from Mecca, by the way of Cosseir, an innumerable troop of foot soldiers to join Murad-Bey, and that they were on their march to attack us.

On the 13th we were informed that our cavalry had fallen in with a number of the enemy at Menshieth, had put to the sword a thousand of these people, and had pursued their march. This was certainly not a lesson of fraternization; but our position, perhaps, rendered an act of severity necessary: this province, which had always the reputation of being very turbulent, and very formidable, required to be taught that they could not brave us with impunity; it was, besides, our policy to conceal from them, that our means were small, and our resources dispersed ; and to give them the impression of our being as vindictive when provoked, as mild when treated with respect; and that we should punish se-

verely those who were disposed to doubt that all we did was finally for their own good.

We prepared to march as soon as our cavalry returned, whether our flotilla was to come at last, or whether we should be obliged to give it up.

Still no tidings of our cavalry on the 14th. We amused ourselves with hearing Arabian tales, in order to kill time, and relieve our impatience. The Arabs relate stories so slowly, that our interpreters could follow them almost without interrupting the narrative. They retain the same passion for these tales as we have long been familiar with in the thousand and one tales of the sultana Scherasade; and in this respect, Desaix and myself almost equalled the sultan; his prodigious memory lost scarcely a single phrase of what he had heard; and I forebore to write them down, as he promised to repeat them to me from memory, word for word. I observed, however, that if these relations were not rich in natural images and just sentiment (a merit which seems to belong exclusively to the writers of the north), they abound in extraordinary events and interesting situations, occasioned by high and strong passions: these writers make abundant use of all the machinery of castles, iron grates, poisons, daggers, rapes, night adventures, mistakes, treachery; in short, all that can embroil a narration, and appear to render the *denouement* impossible, and yet the story always finishes very naturally in the clearest and most satisfactory manner. This is the merit of the inventor, and to this the narrator adds that of precision and declamation, which are in high esteem with the audience; and thus it happens that the same story is told by several relators successively with equal interest and success; one giving in a better style of declamation the pathetic and amorous part; another throwing more interest into the battle scenes and those of horror; and a third humouring the laughable events: in short, it is their theatrical entertainment; and as we go to a play the first time for the piece, and afterwards for particular actors; so with the Arabs, these repeated representations do not fatigue the auditors. These tales are followed with discussions; the parts which have excited applause are criticised, and thus the talents of the performers are brought to greater perfection; and all those who have acquired a high pitch of excellence in this art are in great estimation, as they contribute to the happiness of a whole family or even a horde. The Arabs have also their poets, even their improvisatores, who exhibit at great feasts, and they appear to be enchanted with them. I have heard them, but when their songs are not narrative, they doubtless lose much by

being translated: they seemed to me to be only *concetti*, or a very insipid play upon words: these poets too have very singular manners, and particular tricks or gestures, which distinguish them indeed from others, but give an appearance of insanity that inspired me with pity and repugnance; which was not the case with the narrators of the tales, who appear to have much more talent and nature.

Our delay ought to have distressed me less than others, since it gave me time to allay the inflammation of my eyes; but I partook of the impatience of Desaix, who depended on the resources which our convoy had on board, the absence of which paralysed all his operations in every quarter, and left him in a distressing state of inaction. Happily we had few sick and wounded, for the physicians who were without remedies, could only look on, to tell them what should have been done for them, and could administer nothing; however, we established a hospital, ovens, and a magazine, and we had a barrack sufficiently well fortified to be defended against any insurrection or attack of the peasants, and to hold in security three hundred men, in this little inlet of a post on the Nile.

The morning of the 15th was cold enough to make one wish for a fire, but it was rather the chillness of a raw morning in May, for on putting my head out of my window, I saw the birds alive and active, and busy in making their nests: in the evening of this day it thundered, a very rare occurrence in this country, which happens hardly oftener than once in a generation. The north wind, which is the most constant of all those that prevail in this part of the world, brings from the sea the clouds of a colder region, rolls them along through the valley of Egypt, where a burning sun rarefies them and reduces them to vapour; when this vapour is driven into Abyssinia, the south wind which crosses the lofty and cold mountains of this country, sometimes brings back a few scattered clouds, which, as they experience but little change of temperature when returning over the humid valley of the Nile in flood-time, remain condensed, and at times produce, without thunder or tempest, small hasty showers. But, as the east and west winds, which are in general the parents of storms, both cross burning deserts, which either absorb the clouds or raise the vapour to such a height as to be able to pass over the narrow valley of Upper Egypt, without being able to undergo detonation by the operation of the waters of the river, the phenomenon of thunder becomes so rare an occurrence to the inhabitants of this country, that even the thinking people who reside here do not attempt to assign to it a physical cause.

General Desaix having questioned a person in the law in this place on the cause of thunder, he replied, with the perfect confidence of conviction: "We know very well that it is an angel, but so small in stature that he cannot be perceived in the air; he has however the power of conducting the clouds of the Mediterranean into Abyssinia, and when the wickedness of men is at its height he makes his voice heard, which is a voice of menace and reproach; and as a proof that he has also the disposal of punishment, he opens a little way the gate of heaven, whence darts out the lightning; but as the clemency of God is infinite, never is his wrath carried further in Upper Egypt."

It was a matter of surprize to us to hear a sensible-looking man with a venerable white beard, relate such a tale. Desaix wished to explain to him in another manner this phenomenon, but the old man thought it so inferior to his own, that he even did not take the trouble to listen to it. It had by this time rained all night, which rendered the streets muddy, slippery, and hardly passable. Here finishes the history of our winter, which I shall not again have occasion to mention.

We had now set up ovens after the manner of the country, and baked biscuit for ourselves. The Egyptians manage their ovens with great skill and address: for, individually, they are dexterous and industrious, and as they have scarcely more tools to work with than any savage, it is surprising how much they do with their fingers, the instruments to which they are commonly reduced; and with their feet, with which they assist the hands wonderfully. I know not whether they can be made brave; but they are eminently sober, as active on their legs as couriers, centaurs on horseback, and tritons in swimming; and yet four thousand French exercise absolute empire over several millions of such men, possessing such formidable qualities of body; so strongly impressed on the mind of some persons is the habit of obedience, as that of command is on others, and this state continues till one party slumber over their abuse of power, whilst the others at last awake at the noise of their chains.

On the 18th of January our cavalry returned; they brought us the welcome news of the arrival of our barks, and gave us the particulars of a battle which they had fought with several Mamelukes and their allies, who had spread the intelligence that they had forced our position and defeated us, and that our cavalry were the wrecks of the French army, who were endeavouring to make good their return to Cairo. Two thousand Arabs on horseback, and five or six thousand peasants on foot, had intended to cut off

our cavalry, and for this purpose had advanced beyond Tata to meet them: when our troops discovered them they began to form; but the enemy supposing that our cavalry would decline the combat, had charged with their accustomed disorder, that is to say, with some of the boldest in front, and the rest in the middle, all striking and never parrying: but at the second discharge, the enemy, astonished to receive from cavalry a fire as well kept up as that of a battalion, began to give way, and having lost forty of their men, with about a hundred wounded, they had dispersed in different directions, deserting their poor infantry, who as usual had been sabred, and would have been entirely destroyed, if night had not assisted their escape.

On the 20th our long expected boats arrived; and the supplies which they brought with them, and above all, the music of one of our demi-brigades playing favourite French airs, gave us all such a surprising sensation of delight at Girgeh, that we forgot all the fretting impatience under which we had of late so much suffered. Alas, it was the song of the menaced swan! but let us not anticipate events; in war time, above all, the present moment must be enjoyed, since no one can command the succeeding.

On the 21st, the advance-money and the brandy, with which we were now supplied, gave a new pleasure to the life of the soldier, who already tired of eating his six eggs for a sous, set out with joy to meet with fresh hardships.

We had been for twenty-one days tiring ourselves with the inaction to which we had been compelled; I knew that I was near Abydus, where Osymandyas had built a temple, and where Memnon had resided. I was constantly urging Desaix to send thither a reconnoitring party as far as El-Araba, where I daily heard there were several ruins; and as often Desaix said to me, "I will conduct you thither myself; Murad-Bey is two days' journey from us, he will come up to us the day after to-morrow, and we shall then give him battle; and when we shall have beat him, we can then bestow as much time as you will on antiquities, and I will help you myself to measure them." My good friend was certainly in the right, and even if it were not so, I must have contented myself.

At last, on the 22d, we quitted Girgeh at the approach of night, and we passed directly opposite to the antiquities. Desaix dared not look me in the face; "If I am killed to-morrow," said I to him, "my ghost will be always haunting you, repeating in your ears El-Araba." In truth, he recollected my menace, for five months after he sent from Siut an order for a detachment to be given me to escort me to El-Araba.

We arrived before a village: it was only the next day we learnt that it was called El-Besera, for in the evening there was not a single inhabitant left to speak to. For my own part, I was not very sorry to find these villages empty, as it prevented me from hearing the cries of the inhabitants, from whom we were obliged to supply our wants by force; whereas when they were apprised of our coming every thing was removed, even to the doors and window-cases; and a village thus stript only two hours before, had the appearance of a ruin a century old.

The next day, as I was setting out the foremost on the march, having the least to do, I was the first to perceive the Mamelukes. They advanced towards us, shewing a front of an immense extent. We immediately formed in three squares, two of infantry for our wings, and our cavalry in the centre, flanked with eight peices of artillery on the angles. In this order we marched, taking the rout to Samanhut, a village of considerable elevation, below which we hoped to take a good position. The Mamelukes now dividing their force, turned us in three points, and began to fire their pieces, and to set up their war cries, before we even thought of using our artillery. A body of volunteers from Mecca were posted in a ravine between the village and our army, and fired from under cover on the square of our twenty-first. Desaix sent a detachment of infantry to dislodge them from their trenches, and another of cavalry to pursue them when they were driven out of their post. The cavalry, which was too eager, made the attack too soon and to disadvantage; one of our men was killed, another wounded, and the aid-de-camp Rapp, received a sabre wound, which would have brought him to the ground, had not a volunteer parried off four more blows that were aimed at him: the Mecca troop, however, was repulsed.

Chasseurs were now sent to the village to dislodge those of the enemy who had taken post there; the Mamelukes drew up to attack our left, whilst another party threatened our right; they had at one time a favourable moment for charging us, but they hesitated, and lost an opportunity which never again occured. However, they continued to prance round us, making a most brilliant display of their glittering arms, and of their skill in horsemanship, in which they exhibited all the oriental splendour; but the rigid severity of our northern discipline presented a spectacle equally formidable and commanding; the contrast however was striking; it was iron in battle array against gold; the whole plain sparkled with polished arms and accoutrements, and the picture was beautiful. Our artillery fired on the whole front of the enemy

at once, who made a false attack on our right, in which several of their men were killed. One of their leaders, struck with a bullet, fell down too near us to be assisted by his own people; and whilst his foot hung in the stirrup, the horse, without abandoning his rider, would not let any one approach him; but the cupidity of our marksmen was raised by the gold which glittered on the dress of this unfortunate chief, who was thus dragged from place to place by his horse, and made to suffer the horrors of death in many forms.

Another party of chasseurs had been sent to Samanhut, to dislodge the enemy from that village also. They soon effected their object, and Murad himself was one of those that fled from this place, which was the post of his reserve: he took the route to Farshiut. This movement divided the whole of the enemy's army. Desaix took advantage of it to occupy the ground which they were quitting, and ordered the cavalry to charge those that still remained on our right. In an instant we saw them in the desert, gaining the first ascent of the mountain with incredible speed: we thought that, when in this favourable ground, they would halt, to make head against our cavalry, but terror and disorder were among their ranks, and they only thought of collecting together to protect their flight; some of their stragglers were killed and some camels taken, a small body fired separately on our left, the firing ceased at noon, and at one o'clock none of our enemies were in sight. We directed our march to Farshiut, which Murad-Bey had already abandoned.

The unfortunate town had been pillaged some hours before by the Mamelukes. The sheik was a descendant of the sheiks Amman, who were powerful sovereigns, much respected in Saïd, and in the beginning of this century had reigned with equity, and had been able to protect their subjects from the vexations of the Mamelukes. The present sheik, who had been conquered by Murad, and was reduced to a state of weakness and poverty, had seen with pleasure his avengers in us, and had prepared biscuit for our arrival; but Murad, defeated, and obliged to fly, had sent for this old prince before he left Farshiut, had loaded him with reproaches, and in his rage had cut his head off with his own hand. When our troops arrive they compleat the pillage of the magazines; the *generale* is beat to prevent this disorder, but the whole army was equally in fault, and must have been punished: a forced march is immediately ordered, and to escape the reproaches and clamour of the inhabitants, we set out on our march at midnight.

The darkness was frightful, and the cold severe enough to oblige us to light a fire every time that the artillery halted. As Desaix, his aides-de-camp, and myself, were standing under the shelter of a wall by one of our fires, we received a volley from some fusileers at the top of the wall; they were some of the volunteers from Mecca who still hovered about us, for it was our destiny to meet with them every where; they were twenty in number, and we killed eight of them: the others escaped, owing to the darkness of the night. These volunteers, who called themselves noble, wore the green turban, as descendants of the race of Ali: and the vagabond chevaliers, who lived by plundering the caravans on the shore of Gidda, were now urged by their noble zeal, and tempted by the dead time of year for their usual occupation, to come and attack a European people, who they thought were covered with gold, that would repay by an ample booty all their toils and hazards.

Armed with three javelins, a pike, a dagger, a brace of pistols, and a carabine, they attack with boldness, resist with obstinacy: and though mortally wounded, seem astonishingly tenacious of life; for in this last rencounter, I saw one of them still strike at and wound two of our men, whilst they were holding him nailed against a wall with their bayonets.

We arrived at Haw an hour before sunrise. The Mamelukes had just left it; one party of the beys had entered the desert with their camels, to arrive at Esneh by this route in a day and a half, the rest had followed the course of the Nile, which requires a journey of six days.

Haw, or the ancient Diospolis Parva is in a fine military situation; it possesses no remains of antiquity.

Here we halted during the day, and set out an hour before night. After being enlightened by the illusive splendour of an aurora borealis, and waiting for the moon's rising till after ten, we arrived at eleven at a large village, the name of which I could never learn, and where, unfortunately for their reputation, and to the great misfortune of the inhabitants, our soldiers behaved with shameful atrocity—We left this place at the first dawn of day, on the 15th of Januray. The tongue of cultivated land now became more narrow on the left bank on which we were marching, but increased on the right bank in nearly the same proportion.

At last we entered the desert, and we there saw a wild beast, which by its size and remarkable form we took to be a hyena. We pushed on to overtake it, but it ran from us as fast as we could gallop, and we were obliged to give up the pursuit.

We were now approaching Tentyra in our march, and here I ventured to speak to Desaix of halting, but he answered me with some ill-humour; this displeasure, however, lasted but a moment, for soon after, resuming his natural sensibility, he came to me, and partaking of my love for the fine arts, he shewed himself even a warmer friend to them than myself. Endowed with a truly rare delicacy of mind, he had united a love of all the amiable passions with an ardent thirst for glory; and to a great extent of knowledge, which he already possessed, he added a constant desire of increasing the stores of his mind with all the means of information which fell in his way, so that his active curiosity rendered his society always agreeable, and his conversation interesting.

We arrived at Tentyra. The first object which I saw was a small temple on the left hand of the road, in so bold a style and proportions of architecture, that at a distance I took it to be the ruins of a mosque. In turning back to the right, I found buried in a gloomy heap of ruins a gate, built of enormous masses covered with hieroglyphics; and through this gate I had a view of the temple. I wish I could here transfuse into the soul of my readers the sensation which I experienced. I was too much lost in astonishment to be capable of cool judgment; all that I had seen hitherto served here but to fix my admiration. This monument seemed to me to have the primitive character of a temple in the highest perfection. Covered with ruins as it was, the sensation of silent respect which it excited in my mind appeared to me a proof of its impressive aspect; and without being partial in favour of the antique, I may add, that the whole army experienced similar feelings.

The ancient city of Tentyra was build on the borders of the desert, on the lowest level of the Lybian chain, the foot of which is washed by the waters of the inundation of the Nile at the distance of a league from its bed.

Nothing is more simple and better put together than the few lines which compose this architecture. The Egyptians, borrowing nothing from the style of other nations, have here added no foreign ornament, no superfluity of materials: order and simplicity are the principles which they have followed, and they have carried them to sublimity. At this point they have stopped, and have attached so much importance to preserving the unity of design, that though they have loaded the walls of these edifices with bas-reliefs, inscriptions, and historical and scientific representations, none of these rich additions intersects a single line of the general plan, all of which are religiously preserved unbroken: the sump-

tuous, and rich decorations which appear to the eye when close to the building, all vanish at a short distance, and leave full to view the grand elements of architectural composition, which are dictated by sound reason. It never rains in this climate; all that is wanted therefore is a covering of plat-bands to give shade, but beyond this, neither roof nor pediment are added; the plain-slope is the principle of solidity; they have therefore adopted this form for every main supporter, doubtless with the idea that stability is the first impression that architecture should give, and is an essential constituent of this art. With these people, the idea of the immortality of the Deity is presented by the eternity of his temple: these ornaments, which are always rational, always consistent, always significant, demonstrate a steadiness of principle, a taste founded upon truth, and a deep train of reasoning; and if we even had not a full conviction of the eminent height to which they had attained in the abstract sciences, their architecture alone, in the state in which we now find it, would give the observer of the present day a high opinion of the antiquity of this nation, of its cultivation, and the impressive gravity of its character.

I have already said, that I despair of being able to express all that I felt on standing under the portico of Tentyra. I felt that I was in the sanctuary of the arts and sciences. How many periods presented themselves to my imagination at the sight of such an edifice! how many ages of creative ingenuity were requisite to bring a nation to such a degree of perfection and sublimity in the arts! and how many more of oblivion to cause these mighty productions to be forgotten, and to bring back the human race to the state of nature in which I now found them on this very spot! Never was there a place which condensed in a narrow compass the well-marked memorial of a progressive lapse of ages. What unceasing power, what riches, what abundance, what superfluity of means must a government possess which could erect such an edifice, and find within itself artists capable of conceiving and executing the design, of decorating and enriching it with every thing that speaks to the eye and to the understanding! Never did the labour of man shew me the human race in such a splendid point of view: in the ruins of Tentyra the Egyptians appeared to me giants.

These monuments, which imprinted on the mind the respect due to the sanctuary of the Divinity, were the open volumes, in which science has unfolded, morality dictated, and the useful arts promulgated; every thing spoke, every object was animated with the same mind. The opening of the doors, the angles, the most

private recess, still presented a lesson, a precept of admirable harmony, and the lightest ornament on the gravest feature of the architecture revealed, under living images, the abstract truths of astronomy. Painting added a further charm to sculpture and architecture, and produced at the same time an agreeable richness, which did not injure either the general simplicity or the gravity of the whole. To all appearance, painting, in Egypt, was then only an auxiliary ornament, and not a particular art: the sculpture was emblematical, and, if I may so call it, architectural. Architecture, therefore, was the great art, or that which was dictated by utility, and we may from this circumstance alone infer the priority, or at least the superior excellence of the Egyptian over the Indian art, since the former, borrowing nothing from the latter, has become the basis of all that is the subject of admiration in modern art, and of what we have considered as exclusively belonging to architecture, the Greek orders, the doric, ionic, and corinthian. We should, therefore, be cautious of entertaining the false idea, which is so prevalent, that the Egyptian architecture is the infancy of this art, since it is in fact the compleat type.

I was particularly struck with the beauty of the gate which closed the sanctuary of the temple: all the ornaments which architecture has since added to this species of decoration, have only diminished the general style.

I could not expect to find any thing in Egypt more complete, more perfect, than Tentyra; I was confused by the multiplicity of objects, astonished by their novelty, and tormented by the fear of never again visiting them. On casting my eyes on the ceilings I had perceived zodiacs, planetary systems, and celestial planispheres, represented in a tasteful arrangement; the walls I had observed to be covered with groups of pictures exhibiting the religious rites of this people, their labours in agriculture and the arts, and their moral precepts; I saw that the Supreme Being, the first cause, was every where depicted by the emblems of his attributes. Our national impatience was dismayed with the constancy of application exhibited by the people who had executed these monuments; throughout was shewn equal care and equal assiduity, which would make one believe that these edifices were not the works of their kings, but that they were constructed at the expence of the nation, under the direction of colleges of priests, and by artists whose labours were circumscribed by invariable rules. A series of years might, indeed, have brought the arts to a higher degree of perfection in some particulars; but each temple is so equally finished in all its parts, that they appear all to have been

executed by the same hand; no one portion is better or worse than any another; there appears neither negligence nor the bold strokes of a more exalted genius, uniformity and harmony prevail throughout. The art of sculpture, here made subservient and attached to that of architecture appears to have been circumscribed in principle, in method, and in style of execution; a single figure expresses nothing when taken out of its exact station in the group in which it is a part; the sculptor had its design chalked out for him, and could not introduce any deviation which might alter the true meaning that it was intended to convey: it was with these figures as with the cards that we use for our games, the imperfection of design is overlooked, that no obstacle may arise in instantly distinguishing the value of each. The perfection given by the Egyptians to the representations of their animals, proves that they were not without an idea of that bold style which expresses much character in a few lines, and their execution tended to the grave, and to ideal perfection, as we have already remarked in the instance of the sphinx.

As to the character of the human figure, as they borrowed nothing from other nations, they could only copy from their own, which is rather delicate than fine. The female forms, however, resemble the figure of beautiful women of the present day, round and voluptuous, a small nose, the eyes long, half shut, and turned up at the outer angle, like those of all persons whose sight is habitually fatigued by the burning heat of the sun, or the dazzling white of snow; the cheeks round and rather thick, the lips pouting, the mouth large, but cheerful and smiling; in short, the African character, of which the negro is the exaggerated picture, though perhaps the original type.

The hieroglyphics, which are executed in three different manners, are also of three species, and may take their date from as many distinct periods. From the examination of the different edifices which have fallen under my eye, I imagine that the most ancient of these characters are only simple outlines cut in without relief, and very deep; the next in age, and which produce the least effect, are simply in a very shallow relief; and the third, which seem to belong to a more improved age, and are executed at Tentyra more perfectly than in any other part of Egypt, are in relief below the level of the outline. By the side of the figures which compose these tabular pieces of sculpture, there are small hieroglyphics, which appear to be only the explanation of the subjects at large, and in which the forms are much simplified, so as to

give a more rapid mode of inscription, or a kind of *short-hand*, if we may apply the term to sculpture.

A fourth kind of hieroglyphics appear to be devoted simply to ornament: we have improperly termed it, I know not why, the *arabesque*. It was adopted by the Greeks, and in the age of Augustus introduced among the Romans; and in the fifteenth century, during the restoration of the arts, it was transmitted by them to us as a fantastic decoration, the peculiar taste of which formed all its merit. Among the Egyptians, who employed these ornaments with equal taste, every object had a meaning or a moral, and at the same time formed the decoration of the friezes, the cornices, and the sur-basements of their architecture.

I have discovered at Tentyra the representations of the peristyles in caryatides, which are executed in painting at the baths of Titus, and have been copied by Raphael, and which we constantly ape in our rooms, without suspecting that the Egyptians have given us the first models of them.

I passed from object to object, distracted from one by the inviting appearance of the next; constantly attracted to new subjects, and again torn from them, I wanted eyes, hands, and intelligence vast enough to see, copy, and reduce to some order, the multitude of striking images which presented themselves before me. I was ashamed at representing such sublime objects by such imperfect designs, but I wished to preserve some memorial of the sensations which I here experienced, and I feared that Tentyra would escape from me for ever; so that my regret equalled my present enjoyment. I had just discovered, in a small apartment, a celestial planisphere, when the last rays of day-light made me perceive that I was alone here, along with my kind and obliging friend General Beliard, who, after having satisfied his own curiosity, would not leave me unprotected in so deserted a spot.

We galloped on, and regained our division, which was already at Dindera, three quarters of a league off Tentyra, where we slept. Every soldier, every officer, without giving or receiving orders, had turned aside from the route, and hastened to Tentyra; and the army had of their own accord remained there the rest of the day—a day of such pleasure, as to reward me for every danger incurred in obtaining it.

In the evening, Latournerie, an officer of brilliant courage, and of a refined and delicate taste, said to me: "Since I have been in Egypt deceived in all my expectations, I have been constantly heavy and melancholy, but Tentyra has cured me; what I have seen this day has repaid me for all my fatigues; whatever happens

to me in the event of this expedition, I shall all my life congratulate myself at having embarked in it, to have obtained the remembrance of this day, which I shall preserve all the rest of my existence."

## CHAPTER XII.

*Crocodiles in the River—Astonishing Effect of the first Approach to Thebes—General Site of the Monuments and the Necropolis—Colossal Statues of Memnon and Osymandyas—Names of eminent Visitors inscribed—Palace at Medinet-Abu—Singular Tamarisk Tree—Sudden Contraction of the Nile—Beautiful Portico at Esneh or Latopolis—Hieraconpolis—Etfu—First View of Apollinopolis Magna—Harassing March through the Desert—Village of Binban, and affecting Incident.*

We quitted Dindera on the 26th of January, continuing our route southwards, following the direction of the Nile, in a course opposite to its current. The country now exhibited a new scenery to our eyes: we saw palm-trees much larger than any which we had hitherto met with, gigantic tamarisks, villages half a league long, and yet the land, which had received the benefit of the inundation, remained uncultivated. Could it be that the inhabitants chose to grow no more than was sufficient for their own consumption, and thus deprive their tyrants of the profit of their superfluity? In the afternoon, as Desaix and myself were talking about crocodiles, being near that part of the Nile where they were met with, and opposite several low sand islands, their favourite resort, we saw something long and brown lying among a number of ducks; it was a crocodile asleep; he appeared about fifteen or eighteen feet long. We fired on him, and he gently entered the water, but some minutes after came out again; a second shot made him again plunge in, but he again returned to the island; his belly appeared much larger than that of animals of the same species, which I have seen stuffed.

We learnt that one party of the Mamelukes had passed along the right bank of the river, and that the other continued their route to Esneh and Syene. Desaix ordered the cavalry to set out at midnight to endeavour to come up with these latter.

We set out on the 27th, at two in the morning: at eight we found a dead crocodile on the shore of the river; it was still fresh; the length was eight feet: the upper jaw, which is the only one that as any motion, seems to close but indifferently with the under, but the throat supplies the deficiency, for it hangs as loose as a

purse, and its elasticity performs the office of a tongue, of which this animal is entirely destitute; the nostrils and ears shut like the ear-holes of a fish, and its small close-set eyes add much to the frightfulness of its general appearance.

At nine o'clock, in making a sharp turn round the point of a projecting chain of mountains, we discovered all at once the site of the ancient Thebes in its whole extent: this celebrated city, the size of which Homer has characterized by the single expression of *with a hundred gates*, a boasting and poetical phrase, that has been repeated with so much confidence for many centuries; this illustrious city, described in a few pages dictated to Herodotus by Egyptian priests, that have been since copied by every historian, celebrated by the number of its kings, whose wisdom has raised them to the rank of gods, by laws which have been revered without being promulgated, by science involved in pompous and enigmatical inscriptions, the first monuments of ancient learning which are still spared by the hand of time; this abandoned sanctuary, surrounded with barbarism, and again restored to the desert from which it had been drawn forth, enveloped in the veil of mystery, and the obscurity of ages, whereby even its own colossal monuments are magnified to the imagination, still impressed the mind with such gigantic phantoms, that the whole army, suddenly and with one accord, stood in amazement at the sight of its scattered ruins, and clapped their hands with delight, as if the end and object of their glorious toils, and the complete conquest of Egypt, were accomplished and secured by taking possession of the splendid remains of this ancient metropolis. The situation of this town is as fine as can well be imagined; and the immense extent of its ruins convinces the spectator that fame has not magnified its size; for the diameter of Egypt not being sufficent to contain it, its monuments rest upon the two chains of mountains which are contiguous, whilst its tombs occupy the vallies towards the west, far on into the desert.

Four large hamlets divide amongst them the remains of the antient monuments of Thebes, whilst the river, by the sinuosity of its course, seems still proud of flowing among its ruins.

Soon after noon day we arrived at a desert, which was the necropolis or city of the dead: the rock excavated on its inclined plane, presents three sides of a square, with regular openings, behind which are double and triple galleries, which were used as burying places. I entered here on horseback, with Desaix, supposing that these gloomy retreats could only be the asylum of peace and silence; but scarcely were we immerged in the obscurity

of these galleries, when we were assailed with javelins and stones, by enemies whom we could not distinguish, and this put an end to our observations. We since learnt that a considerable number of people inhabited these obscure retreats, and that probably, from the savage habits contracted there, they were almost always in rebellion against authority, and had became the terror of the vicinity. Too much in haste to make a fuller acquaintance with the inhabitants, we marched back with precipitation, and this time I only saw Thebes on the gallop.

It had been my lot to stay for months at Zaoyeh, at Benesuef and Girgeh, and to pass by without stopping at the magnificent objects which I had come to visit. We arrived presently after at a temple, which I took to be of the highest antiquity, from its ruinous appearance, its thorough antique hue, its construction, which was less perfect than the rest, the extreme simplicity of its ornaments, the irregularity of its outline, and especially the coarseness of its sculpture. Galloping after the troops, who were constantly marching on, I arrived at a second edifice much more considerable, and in a better state of preservation. I found in my way a statue of black granite; I call it granite, till it shall be determined what is the nature of that stone which has been long denominated basalt, and which is the material of the magnificent Egyptian lions, which are at the foot of the flight of steps leading to the Roman capitol.

At the entrance of this temple two square mounds flank an immense gate, and against the inner wall are engraved in two bas-reliefs, the victorious combats of some hero. This piece of sculpture is in the most irregular style of composition, without perspective, plan, or distribution, like the first conceptions of the unimproved human mind. I have seen at Pompeia rude sketches done by Roman soldiers on the stucco of the walls; they entirely resembled in style those which I am now speaking of, which are like the first attempts of a child, before he has seen any thing whereby to arrange his ideas. Here the hero is gigantic, and the enemies whom he is overthrowing are twenty-five times smaller than himself; if this however could be meant for a piece of flattery in the arts, it was certainly ill-contrived, since the hero could gain no honour by fighting pygmies.

At some paces from this gate are the remains of an enormous colossus; it has been wantonly shattered, for the parts which are left have so well preserved their polish, and the fractures their edges, that it is evident, if the spirit of devastation in mankind had trusted to time alone to ruin this monument, we should still

see it entire and uninjured. Suffice it to say, to give an idea of its dimensions, that the breadth of the shoulders is twenty-five feet, which would give about seventy-five for the entire height: the figure is exact in its proportions, the style middling, but the execution perfect; when overset, it fell upon its face, which hides this interesting part, the drapery being broken, we can no longer judge by its attributes whether it is the figure of a king or a divinity. Is it the statue of Memnon, or that of Osymandyas?—the descriptions hitherto given of this monument throw more confusion than light upon this question. If it is the statue of Memnon, which appears to me the more probable, every traveller for two thousand years must have mistaken the object of their curiosity, as will be seen by the inscription of the names on another colossal statue, of which I shall directly speak.

One foot of this statue remains, which is broken off and in good preservation; it may be easily carried away, and give those in Europe a scale of comparison of the monuments of this species, and will serve as a companion to the colossal feet which are in the court of the capitol at Rome. The spot where this figure stood might be either a temple or a palace, or both at the same time; for if the bas-relief would belong more properly to a royal residence, the figures of eight priests, which are in the front of two porticoes in the inner part, would peculiarly indicate a temple, except indeed they were introduced to remind the sovereign that, conformably to the law, the priests ought always to serve and assist in the exercise of monarchical power.

This ruin, which is situated on the slope of the mountain, and has never been inhabited in later times, is so well preserved in the parts that are still standing, that it appears more like a new and unfinished building: several columns are seen here to their very bases, their proportions are grand, but the style, though purer than that of the first mentioned temple, is however not comparable to that of Tentyra, either for the majesty of the general design, or for the delicacy in the execution of particular parts. It would have taken some time and examination to have made out the plan of this temple, but the cavalry were galloping on, and I was obliged to follow them closely, not to be stopped for ever in my researches.

Our attention was arrested in the plain by two large statues in a sitting posture, between which, according to Herodotus, Strabo, and those who have copied the relation of these writers, was the famous statue of Osymandyas, the largest of all these colossal figures. Osymandyas had prided himself so much on the execution

of this bold design, that he had caused an inscription to be engraven on the pedestal of this statue, in which he defied the power of man to destroy this monument, as well as that of his tomb, the pompous description of which now appears only a fantastic dream. The two statues still left standing, are doubtless those of the mother and the son of this prince, mentioned by Herodotus; that of the king himself has disappeared, the hand of time and the teeth of envy appear to have united zealously in its destruction, and nothing of it remains but a shapeless rock of granite; so that it requires the persevering look of the amateur, accustomed to this kind of examination, to distinguish any portions of the figure which have escaped destruction; and even those are so insignificant, that they can throw no light on its dimensions. The two statues still existing are in the proportion of from fifty to sixty-five feet in height; they are seated with their two hands on their knees; all that remains of them shews a severity of style, and a straightness of position. The bas-reliefs and the small figures clustered round the seat of the southernmost of these statues, are not without elegance and delicacy in the execution. On the leg of the statue the most to the north, the names of the illustrious and ancient travellers who came to hear the sound of the statue of Memnon are written in Greek. We may here see the great influence which celebrity exercises over the minds of men, since, when the ancient Egyptian government and the jealousy of the priests no longer forbade strangers to touch these monuments, the love of the marvellous retained its empire over the minds of those that came hither as visitors. Thus, in the age of Adrian, which was enlightened by philosophy, Sabina, the wife of this emperor, and herself a literary woman, condescended, along with the learned men who accompanied her, to acknowledge that she had heard sounds which no physical cause could have produced. But the vanity of inscribing one's name on such antiquities might very easily have produced the first on the list, and the natural desire of becoming an associate in this kind of glory might have added the rest, and this is doubtless the reason of the numberless inscriptions of names which we find here, with so many dates, and in so many languages.

I had hardly taken a glimpse of these colossal figures, when I found that I was left alone with these stupendous originals. Being alarmed at my unprotected situation, I hastened to rejoin my comrades, whose eager curiosity had already led them to a large temple near the village of Medinet-Abu. I observed as I passed by, that the ground about the tomb of Osymandyas was

cultivated, and that consequently the inundation reached as far; so that although the bed of the Nile was raised, there must formerly have been some dyke to prevent the water from flooding part of the ancient town, which, when we crossed it, was a vast field of green wheat, promising an abundant harvest.

At the right, adjoining the village of Medinet-Abu, at the bottom of the mountain, is a vast palace, built and enlarged at different periods. All that I could make of it in this my first examination on horseback, was, that the lower part of this palace which abuts against the mountain, is the most ancient in its construction, and is covered with hieroglyphics, cut very deep and without any relief; and that in the fourth century, the catholic religion converted it to sacred purposes, and made a church of it, adding two rows of pillars in the style of the age, to support a covered roof. To the south of this monument the Egyptian apartments, with ladders and square windows, the only building that I had yet seen here which was not a temple; and beyond this are edifices rebuilt with old materials, but left unfinished. The first eagerness of curiosity being satisfied, Desaix led us off at full gallop, as if there had been Mamelukes on the plain, and we went two leagues farther that night, till we got to Hermontes, where we slept, and for my part I was lodged in a temple.

The figure of Typhon or Anubis was so often repeated in the temple where I took up my abode, that I concluded the whole to have been dedicated to him. He is represented standing up, with a belly like a pig, and breasts similar to those of the Egyptian women of the present day. Two hundred yards to the east of this temple is a large reservoir, lined with fine stone, with four ladders for descending into it.

Four hundred yards further, in the same direction, are the ruins of a church, built in the fourth or fifth century, out of the ruins of the finest Egyptian antiquities: the nave was decorated with splendid columns of granite, but the whole is overthrown, and nothing is left standing but a few fragments of the choir, and the arches of the outer enclosure: this destruction is by the hand of man, for the church was too well built not to have resisted the wear of time to the present day.

At night I returned to my quarters, with my head confused by the profusion of objects which had passed before my eyes in so short a space of time. I felt as if I had been in a dream during the whole of this rich day; and, I could have found delicious and abundant food for curiosity for a whole month, in seeing what I had been obliged to pass over in twelve hours, without too having

it in my power to devote any part of the succeeding day to reflection.

In the morning of the 28th, I saw a tamarisk of an enormous size, planted on the bank of the Nile: it had been loosened at the root by progressive inundations, and at last overthrown; the greater number of its roots had ranged themselves upright, and produced leaves; the old branches on which the tree had fallen were fixed in the earth, and served as a footstool, so that the enormous trunk, which remained suspended horizontally, by a confusion in the system of circulation, vegetated in every direction, and gave it such a grotesque appearance, that the Turks had not failed to make a miracle of this vegetable monster.

At our halt we found another contraction of the Nile. The Lybian chain, turning suddenly towards the east; forces the Nile against the Arabian chain. The river, contracted between these two obstacles, has overcome the one which offered the least resistance, and the current has, in its various swells, undermined and worn through a bed of gravel which opposed its course, below the level of the base of the Lybian bank; the upper part, thus deprived of support, has torn itself off by its weight from the adjoining portion of the hill, and the rent has formed two projecting points of rock. This rock, which is called Gibelin, or the Two Mountains, serves as a boundary to one of the subdivisions of Upper Egypt; and under the late government became a barrier for the rebel beys, who were banished into Upper Saïd, a barrier which the exiles could not pass without becoming out of the protection of the law. Some years back, Osman-Bey, after being sent to Cosseir, accompanied with men who were secretly charged to murder him, instead of embarking him for Mecca, to which place he was sentenced to be exiled, prevented the plans of his assassins, possessed himself of the vessel, which was richly laden, escaped into Upper Egypt, and assembled a party of Mamelukes in his favour, who obliged Murad to come to terms, and to cede to him the sovereiguty of all the country between Gibelin and Syene.

After this contraction of the channel of the Nile, the valley expands, without, however, our observing any improvement in the agriculture. We saw large plains, worn by the current of the waters, which were in vain waiting for the seed which they would have returned to the cultivator with a vast increase.

On the 29th, we arrived early in the morning at Esneh, the last town of any importance in Egypt. Murad had been obliged to evacuate it a few hours before the arrival of our cavalry, and to

burn here a number of his tents and all his heavy baggage, which would encumber and slacken his march. We therefore had reason to suppose that he was determined to quit Egypt, and to bury himself in Nubia, in the hope of wearying us out, and dividing our forces; for as the country affords no resources for the supply of a large body men marching together, he might hope to be able here to rally his forces, and to advance through the desert to attack our detachments.

Esneh is the ancient Latopolis. Some remains are still visible of its port or quay on the bank of the Nile, which has been often repaired, but notwithstanding all that has been done for it, still remains in a very miserable condition. This town also contains the portico of a temple, which appears to me to be the most perfect monument of ancient architecture. It is situated near the bazar in the great square, and would make an incomparable ornament to this spot, if the inhabitants had any idea of its merit; but instead of this they have deformed it by the most miserable ruined hovels, and have devoted it to the vilest purposes. The portico is very well preserved, and possesses a great richness of sculpture: it is composed of eighteen columns with broad capitals; these columns are noble and elegant, though they now appear in the most disadvantageous light; the rubbish should be cleared to find if any part of the *cella* remains.

The hieroglyphics in relief, with which it is covered within and without, are executed with great care; they contain, among other subjects, a zodiac, and large figures of men with crocodiles' heads: the capitals, though all different, have a very fine effect; and as an additional proof that the Egyptians borrowed nothing from other people, we may remark, that they have taken all the ornaments, of which these capitals are composed, from the productions of their own country, such as the lotus, the palm-tree, the vine, the rush, &c. &c. I did not quit this temple till it was absolutely necessary to pursue our route; we left half our infantry and our artillery at Esneh, in order to march with less incumbrance through a country, the resources of which were diminishing every league, and soon dwindled to little or nothing. We slept three leagues and a half short of Esneh.

On the 30th, after marching three hours, we found, at the distance of three-quarters of a league from the river, on the edge of the desert, a small pyramid, fifty or sixty feet in the base, built with unhewn stones, but too small to have been able to preserve their place, and thus the facing has been shattered from top to bottom.

At half after two, a little before our arrival at Etfu, we found the ruins of Hieraconpolis, which consist of the remains of a gate belonging to an edifice of considerable magnitude; to judge by the size of the stones, the extent of ground occupied by the fragments, and the diameter of the defaced capitals, which are seen scattered on every side. The stone of which this temple is built, is of so friable a quality, that the form of the edifice is entirely lost, and none of the plan can be made out. Some yards further the ruins of another building can with difficulty be distinguished, owing to the great decay; the other remains of the town are only a few heaps of highly burnt bricks and some of granite.

We saw on the other side of the river, two hundred Mamelukes come down along with their attendants and equipage; we learnt since, that it was Edfey-Bey, who being wounded at Samanhut, had not chosen to pass the cataracts with the other beys. We were struck with admiration at the fine and advantageous site of Apollinopolis Magna; it commanded the river and the whole valley of Egypt; and its magnificent temple towered over the rest like a large citadel, which keeps the adjacent country in awe. This comparison is indeed, so naturally suggested by the situation of this edifice, that it is only known to the natives by the name of *the Fortress*. I foresaw with regret that we should only enter the town late, and quit it early in the morning. I pushed on to gain a little time to examine it before the day-light entirely left us. During this visit, I had only time to ride round this edifice, the extent, majesty, magnificence, and high preservation of which, surpassed all that I had yet seen in Egypt, or elsewhere; it made an impression on me as vast as its own gigantic dimensions. This building is a long suite of pyramidal gates, of courts decorated with galleries, of porticoes, and of covered naves, constructed, not with common stones, but entire rocks. Night was come on before I had time to visit the whole of this surprising monument, and I again regretted the necessity which I lay under to pass over with so much rapidity what merited such high admiration. The excellent preservation of this ancient edifice forms a wonderful contrast with the grey ruins of modern habitations built within its vast enclosure; a part of the population of this village is contained in huts built in the courts, and around the fragments of the temple; which, like swallows' nests in our houses, defile them without concealing or injuring their general appearance. Besides, this singular medley, that at first sight hurts the eye, produces a picturesque contrast, which at once gives a scale of comparison, both for men and for the lapse of time; and after all, we have no right to think it absurd

for ignorant people to shelter their feeble huts against splendid objects, which have never once attracted their curiosity, whilst in France we suffer the amphitheatre of Nismes to remain encumbered with hovels and heaps of rubbish.

Below Etfu, the cultivated country grows very narrow; so that there is only a quarter of a league in breadth between the desert and the river. At noon we halted on the banks of the Nile: the cavalry had gone before us, but at the moment when we were setting out, we learnt that we had a desert of seven leagues to cross; the day was too far advanced to allow us to undertake so long a march, and we therefore stopped the rest of the evening in a desolated village, where fortunately we found wood.

On the 31st, we continued our march at three in the morning. After passing for an hour through a cultivated country, we entered the desert by a mountain composed of decayed slate, free-stone, white and rose-coloured quartz, and brown flint, with several white carnelians. After marching five hours in the desert, our soldiers had their shoes torn, and were obliged to put what linen they could about their feet, and were tormented with a burning thirst. No water could be found but in the Nile, which was a league out of our way, for the banks were as arid as the desert; but the urgency of thirst prevailed, and we arrived at the river, exhausted with fatigue; but the camp equipage, the draft animals of which had had no food the night before, were so weakened by hunger, that but few of them were able to follow. What was the general distress when it was announced that there was nothing to eat! We looked at each other in mute consternation: but, after a while, a camel with a light load of butter came up, and some others, whose provision-sacks had been already emptied; but by shaking out every dust of meal from the bags, and rummaging every corner, we found enough to make a distribution of a handful of flour to each: directly we got firing from a neighbouring tree, made our flour into fritters, employment drove away our gloomy ideas, and French gaiety soon prevailed, and restored our usual courage. We set out again briskly after our refreshment; but our poor horses, who had not regaled upon fritters, fell down from under us through inanition: we could do nothing but lead and support them with our hands, or else we must have abandoned them; in short, we were compelled to march, and necessity alone made it practicable, and many are the resources contained in this single word necessity.

Half an hour after we had passed the first desert, we came to the ruins of Silsilis, which consist of broken fragments, bricks, and

the remains of a temple, the highest walls of which are now not more than three feet above the soil. One can just discover that the nave of the temple, which is covered with hieroglyphics, was surrounded with a gallery, to which, in a later period, a portico without hieroglyphics has been added. We returned a third time into the desert; a hyena followed the column for a considerable time.

The rocks here become granite, with flints of every colour and species, whose hardness would render them susceptible of a high polish: I also found there carnelian, jasper, and serpentine: the sand is formed of small fragments of all the primitive and constituent parts of the granite. We arrived at an elevated stage of the mountain, where we discovered a vast extent of country through which the Nile flows in a winding course: this river, after running along the Mokatam, returns to the north-west, and again changes its course to north. At this angle the ruins of a pharos may be perceived, which perhaps served as a light-house for this winding channel; at the other angle the heights of Ombos may be seen, with the fine monuments on its summit; at the elbow of the river one of its branches forms an inundated island, which, from this circumstance alone, is worth more than twenty square leagues of the neighbouring country, and its situation protects it from the incursion of the Mamelukes, as it did now from our visit. The inhabitants of the shore retired to it on our approach, abandoning to us the large village of Binban, which skirts the desert, and is equally gloomy in appearance. Here we arrived, after marching eleven hours. The drove of oxen which followed us had gone astray, and we had to wait for it, with the constant fear of its being carried off. The village offered us nothing but a few walls, which we ransacked to the very foundation. I here was witness to a scene which presented a striking contrast of savage brutality and the kindest sensibility.

Whilst I was looking at our people, whose necessities were as ingenious in bringing to light, as the care of the natives had been to conceal, a soldier comes out of a cave, dragging after him a she-goat, which he had forced out; he is followed by an old man, carrying two young infants, who sets them down on the ground, falls on his knees, and without speaking a word, points, with tears in his eyes, to the young children, who must perish if the goat is taken away from them. But want, which is both deaf and blind to other distress, does not stay his murderous hand for any entreaty, and the goat is killed. At the same moment, another soldier comes up, holding in his arms another child, whose mother

doubtless, had been obliged to desert it in her flight from us; and this brave fellow, notwithstanding the weight of his musket, his cartridges, his knapsack, and the fatigue of four days of forced marches, had picked up this little forsaken creature, had carried it carefully for two leagues in his arms, and, not knowing what to do with it in this deserted village, seeing one inhabitant left behind, with two children, he gently lays down his little charge beside them, and departs, with the delightful expression of one who has just performed a benevolent action.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Gazelles in the Desert—Approach to Syene—Beautiful View of the Island of Elephantina—Syene, and the Frontiers of Upper Egypt—Quarters of the Army—Temple of Cneph, and other Monuments of Elephantina—Trade of Syene—Encounter of the French Cavalry with Assan-Bey—Carved Blocks of Granite—Cataracts of the Nile—Island of Philoë—Ethiopian Village, and its Inhabitants.*

OUR march on this day, February 1st, offered new deserts to our eye. We found the rocks to consist alternately of granite and decomposed free-stone, forming a brittle friable crust, like scoria. In the vallies in which the sand abounds, the surface is smooth and tender like snow, so that the tracks of animals are perceived with the utmost ease, and one can easily make out those that have passed since the last wind. The most frequent prints of feet that one meets with are those of the gazelle, a beautiful little animal, which is so shy and timid, that, after having taken its food on the banks of the river, it retires to conceal its fears in the silence of the desert. It gives one a melancholy reflection to remark, that a beast of prey always follows the steps of this elegant and sprightly animal; the vast space of the desert does not secure it against rapacity. I saw this day two of these animals, who were of the most delicate and elegant species of this numerous family. We marched slowly and painfully, stopping every minute to pull off our shoes and to take breath. In the afternoon, I found in the middle of the desert the trace of a grand antique road, bounded with large masses of hewn stone, which led in a straight line to Syene. In the afternoon the troops were so much fatigued, that on quitting the desert, we halted at the first green spot which would afford food for our horses; I thought they would never be dragged from the place, nor our men again raised from the ground; as to myself I was quite wearied out, and remained all the night there, as if rivetted

to the soil. The next day, we had but three quarters of a league to march to rejoin our cavalry, which had only gone before to eat up all that the country would afford, before our arrival; at last, however, we were in sight of Assuan or Syene, the object of our destination. The soldier now forgot his fatigues, as if he had already arrived at the promised land, not remembering that, to return to a country of abundance, he must again cross the same painful desert which he had just left behind him; but the past is nothing to the soldier, when he can snatch a little present gratification. For myself, however, I had the most reason to be satisfied, since I was going, for the first time in my life, to sit down and take a little breathing time in this country, which abounded with interesting objects for my researches.

The first good news that we learned was, that the Mamelukes had not burned the boats, which they could not get over the cataracts. In the morning I ascended to the convent of St. Lawrence, which is but an indifferent ruin. Above is a watch-tower, from the lofty summit of which a most singular view presents itself to the eye; it seems to be the end of the world, or rather a chaos, from which the air has already separated, and the watery element appears to gush from the earth, running in numerous channels, which promise fertility to nature. The first effects of its bounties are seen around the granite rocks, in the hollows of which the sand and slime brought by the waves are deposited, forming a basis for vegetation, which continues to encrease, and to embrace a larger and wider field. At Elephantina, the cultivation, the trees, and the habitations, exhibit a picture of perfection in the gifts of nature, which has given rise to the Arabian name of Keziret-el-Sag (or *the Flowery Island*), for this island.

On the third of February we crossed over to the right bank of the river, to take possession of Assuan or Syene. Murad-Bey had passed the cataracts and divided his force over a considerable tract of country, in order to find subsistence for his Mamelukes and their horses. We were obliged to do the same with ours.

On the fifth, Desaix set out with the cavalry to go in quest of Elfy-Bey, whom we had left behind us at the right bank of the Nile. I had not quitted Desaix since we left Cairo, and I feel some pride in saying, that the moment of parting was attended with mutual regret; we had spent together so many agreeable hours, riding a foot's pace side by side for twelve or fifteen hours successively, not in idle chat, but in waking dreams, and often after such long marches we said to each other: "How many things shall we have to talk of during the rest of our lives!"

I went with General Beliard to take possession of the government of Syene. Our first employment was to get comfortably settled. We had very good quarters; it was the house of the kiachef, built of stone, with an upper story, terraces, and vaulted rooms: we here made beds, tables, and stools, and I found it a high luxury to undress myself, to sit and to lie down: our soldiers did the same. The second day of our establishment there were already in the streets of Syene, tailors, shoemakers, jewellers, French barbers with their poles, eating-houses, and *restaurateurs*, all at a fixed price.

The station of an army offers a picture of the most rapid exercise of every resource that industry can furnish; every individual sets all his abilities to work for the general advantage; but, what peculiarly characterizes a French army is, to establish superfluities and amusements at the same time and with the same care as necessaries; thus we had gardens and coffee-houses, in which we amused ourselves in games with cards manufactured at Syene. At one entrance of the village is a walk with straight rows of trees pointing to the north; our soldiers here set up a milestone with this inscription, *Route de Paris, No. onze, cent soixante sept milles trois cents quarante;* it was some days after, having received a distribution of dates for their whole ration, that they entertained such pleasant or philosophic ideas. Nothing but death can put a period to valour combined with gaiety, the greatest misfortune can do nothing towards it.

On this side of the river there are no other remains of the Egyptian town than a small square temple surrounded with a gallery, but so shattered and shapeless, that nothing can be seen but the embrasure between two pillars, with the capitals and a small part of the entablature; this fragment is what Savary, who confesses that he never was at Syene, relates on hear-say to be probably the remains of the antient observatory, in which, according to him, the nilometer should be sought for. I ascertained that this is an error, of which, however, this ardent and elegant writer is not the author, as he has related every thing, pointed out every thing, and has often painted in a surprizing manner even what he had never seen.

Near this ruin, among the palm-trees, are the fragments of an edifice, which I think must be attributed to the Greek catholics; two columns of granite are still left standing, and two door-cases of the same material, and on the ground are columns grouped against two faces of a single pilaster.

The island of Elephantina became at the same time my country house, and my palace of delight, observation, and research; I think I must have turned over every loose stone, and questioned every rock in the island. It was at its southern extremity that the Egyptian town and the Roman habitations were situated, and the Arabian buildings which succeeded them. The part occupied by the Romans can only now be made out by the bricks, the tesselated pavements, and the small images of porcelain and bronze, which are still found; the Arab quarter is only distinguished by the dunghills with which they have covered the soil, a common feature to all the ruins of the edifices of this people. Every thing posterior to this time has disappeared, so as to leave scarcely the least trace of its existence, whilst the Egyptian monuments remain, devoted to posterity, and have resisted equally the ravages of man and of time. In the midst of this vast field of bricks and other pieces of baked earth, of which I have just spoken, a very antient temple is still left standing, surrounded with a pilastered gallery, and two columns in the portico. Nothing is wanting but two pilasters, on the left angle of this ruin. Other edifices had been attached to it in a later period, but only some fragments were remaining, which could give no idea of their form when perfect, but only proved that these accessory parts were much larger than the original sanctuary. This latter is covered both within and without with hieroglyphics in relief, very well cut, and in good preservation.

Could this be the temple of Cneph, the good genius, that among the Egyptian gods who approaches the nearest to our ideas of the Supreme Being? Or is the temple of this deity one which is placed six hundred paces more to the north, of the same form and size, though more in ruins, all the ornaments of which are accompanied by the serpent, the emblem of wisdom and eternity, and peculiarly that of the god Cneph? To judge from what I have seen of Egyptian edifices, this supposed temple of Cneph is the kind which was used in the earliest times, and is absolutely the same species of temple as that of Kornu in Thebes, which appeared to me to be the most ancient of all in that city. The chief difference in the sculpture of this at Elephantina, which I have been able to discover is, that the figures have more life, the drapery is more flowing, and falls into a better form of composition. Of the last mentioned edifice nothing is preserved but a column of the portico, and one whole side of a gallery in pilasters.

In the middle of the isle there are two frames of a large outer door, made of blocks of granite, and ornamented with hieroglyphics

phics. These remains certainly indicate monuments of great magnificence, the extent of which might be made out by a little digging. At the east is another fragment of a very small and highly finished edifice: all that is seen of it is the west side of a narrow chamber, or a very small temple, and the hieroglyphics that remain are perfectly well sculptured. The ornaments are loaded with the lotus, particularly the flowers of this plant, whose drooping stem appears to be revived by a figure watering it. This figure is the same as one that I have found at Latopolis. This chamber or temple communicated with a narrower passage, which, to judge by the traces of a number of successive buildings, terminated on the gallery open to the Nile, and resting on a large embanked facing, which defended the eastern part of the island from being worn away by the current of the river. Three porticoes of this gallery remain, and a flight of granite stairs which dip into the river. May not this gallery, this adorned chamber, and this stair-case, be the observatory and the nilometer, which travellers have in vain fought for at Syene? Full of this idea, I examined carefully the stone facing of the stairs, but could find no traces of any gradation; the steps themselves, however, might serve as a scale, and the upper part of this stair-case being blocked up with ruins, it is possible that the measures may be marked in this part which I could not examine.*

All these buildings are founded upon masses of rock, covered with hieroglyphics engraved with more or less care. Further on, turning towards the north, are two portions of parapet, which leave between them an opening, through which one may descend to the river: on the inner side of the right parapet is a bas-relief in marble, representing the figure of the Nile, four feet in height, in the same attitude as a colossal statue of the same subject which is at Rome. This copy of the same idea proves both that the edifice is Roman, and that this people, in their establishment at Syene, having had opportunity of adding the ornaments of luxury and superfluity to works of the first necessity, had established rather a powerful colony there than a mere military post: the baths and valuable bronze utensils, which are daily found there, support this opinion of the richness and permanency of this colony.

* Strabo, who had observed Syene with care, and has described it minutely, says, that this nilometer was a well which received the Nile waters, and that the marks by which the height of the inundation was estimated were engraved on the sides of this well,

The island of Elephantina, defended on the south by breakers, has been doubtless much increased towards the north by alluvial soil. This soil becomes soon converted into cultivated lands and pleasant gardens, which being kept perpetually watered by means of wheels and buckets, produce here four or five crops yearly; and thus the inhabitants are numerous, in easy circumstances, and courteous. When I hailed them from the opposite shore, they would come across for me in their boats, and I was soon surrounded with all the children, who offered me for sale fragments of antiquity and rough carnelians. With a few crowns I made a great number of these little ones happy, and gained the good will of their parents, who invited me to them, prepared me breakfasi in the temples in which I had set up my drawing apparatus; in short, I appeared like the kind master of a garden, which contained in reality all that one seeks to imitate in decorated gardens in Europe: here were islets, rocks, deserts, plains, meadows, garden-ground, open groves, hamlets, dark woods, remarkable and numerous plants, a river, canals, mills, and sublime ruins; a spot still more enchanting, as, like the gardens of Armida, it was surrounded with all the horrors of nature, and those of the Thebaïs, the contrast with which encreased the enjoyment of this delightful island. Having all my senses and my imagination equally in activity, I never passed hours more deliciously occupied than those which I devoted to my solitary walks at Elephantina; an island which alone is worth more than the whole territory on shore of the country which lies adjacent to the town.

The population of Syene is numerous: the trade, however, is confined to senna and dates, and these two articles produce a sufficient return to pay all the other wants of the inhabitants, to maintain a kiachef, a governor, and a Turkish garrison. The senna which grows around Syene is of moderate quality; when sold, it is fraudulently mixed with that which grows wild in the desert, brought hither by the Barabra, and sold at nearly a hundredth part of what we give for it in Europe. It is true that it has to pay in its passage a number of duties, and it is one of the most important articles of the custom-houses of Cairo and Alexandria. The second article of exportation is that of dates; they are small and dry, but so abundant, that besides making the principal food of the inhabitants here, large boats loaded with them are daily going down the river to Lower Egypt.

We learnt by our spies that the Mamelukes had ascended the river, and remained at as little a distance as they could above the cataracts, ravaging the two shores of the Nile, which still supplied

them with some forage. They had hitherto drawn supplies of flour and dates from Deir and Bribes; but the aga who resided there signified to them that this source must be stopped. They occupied ten leagues in length on each bank; ther rear guard was no more than four leagues off us, so that they knew every step we took, as we in our turn were informed of all their movements, by the same means, and perhaps, even by the same emissaries, who served both parties faithfully with equal exactness.

General Davoust had met with Assan-Bey on the right bank of the river opposite Etfu, at the moment when he was coming down to the Nile for water: the imminent danger he was in of losing all his equipage made him charge with fury; the eagerness of our men to get possession of it, and a little contempt of the enemy, with which the battle of Samanhut had inspired them, made them attack with too much negligence. This battle of two hundred cavalry on each side, was rather an affray than a regular combat, and both parties gave proof of the highest valour. The charge lasted half an hour; the field of battle remained with the French; but Assan-Bey obtained his main point, that of saving his baggage: on our side, we had from thirty to forty killed, and as many wounded; twelve Mamelukes perished, and many of them were wounded; Assan was hurt in the leg, so that neither party had any thing to boast of by this encounter.

We went to seek for the barks which the Mamelukes had endeavoured to navigate above the cataracts, and we wished at the same time to visit these curious objects; we met in our way with the quarries in the granite rocks, whence the blocks were taken which formed the material of the colossal statues, that have been the object of admiration to so many ages, and the ruins of which still strike us with astonishment. It seemed as if the framers wished to preserve the memorial of the masses that have produced these blocks, by leaving on the place hieroglyphical inscriptions that perhaps record the event. The operation by which these blocks were detached must have been nearly the same as is employed in the present times, that is to say, a cleft is first cut out, and then the whole mass is split off by means of wedges of different sizes, all struck in at one time. The marks of these first operations are preserved so fresh in this unalterable material, that to look at them one would suspect that the work had been interrupted only yesterday.

A league and a half below the quarries the rocks increase, and form a bar in the river, where we found the Mameluke barks fixed between the rocks, up to the first well below the falls; the peasants

of the neighbourhood had taken out the rigging and the provisions. We here quitted the little boat in which we had come up, and walking by the side of the stream for about a quarter of an hour, we came to the part which is generally called *the cataracts*. This is nothing but a range of rocks, over which the river flows, forming in some places cascades a few inches in height; they are perfectly insignificant.

The mountains, the surface of which is broken by black and rugged projections, are reflected with their gloomy aspect on the clear mirror of the stream below, which is broken and divided by sharp points of granite that roughen its channel, and form long white lines of foam wherever any of these rocks cut its smooth surface. These rough shapeless masses, with their dark hues, form a striking contrast with the soft green of the groups of palm-trees that cluster around the irregular cliffs, and with the celestial azure blue of the clearest sky over the face of the earth. After passing the cataracts the rocks grow loftier, till the eye all at once discovers the magnificent monuments of the island of Philöe, which form a brilliant contrast. The Nile here makes a bend, where the monuments are only separated by tufts of palm-trees, or rocks that appear to be left merely to contrast the forms of nature with the magnificence of art, and to collect, in one rich spot, every thing that is most beautiful and impressive.

There were no inhabitants on the shore; they had quitted even the isle of Philöe, and had retired to a second and larger island, from which they sent loud and savage cries, which we were told were excited by their fears. We endeavoured to persuade them to send us a boat, which was moored to their bank, but without success.

Some days after we learnt that the Mamelukes of the right bank were coming to forage within two leagues of our posts. We prepared to resist them, and set out with four hundred men, advancing towards Philöe by land, taking the route across the desert. This road has one peculiarity, which is, that there are evident remains of its having been traced out, and raised as a causeway, and that there was much traffic on it in former times. This is the only part of Egypt in which a high road is absolutely necessary; but the Nile ceasing to be navigable on account of the cataracts, all the merchandize of the Ethiopian trade which is landed at Philöe must be transported by land to Syene, to be there re-embarked. All the large blocks of stone that we met with in the way were covered with hieroglyphics, as if they were put there for the amusement of the passengers. One of the most singular of

these presents the form of a seat cut out of the solid rock, with a flight of steps to climb up to it; and the whole ornamented with hieroglyphics, the greater number of which are executed with great care.

Another singular object near this road, is the ruins of military lines made of bricks baked in the sun, the base of which is from fifteen to twenty feet in thickness. This intrenchment extended along the valley by the road side, and terminated at rocks and forts near three leagues from Syene. Though the materials of which these walls were built were cheap enough, the expence of putting them together must have been very great, and shews the importance attached to the defence of this point. Can these be the remains of the famous wall raised by a queen of Egypt, named Zuleikha, daughter of Ziba, one of the Pharaohs, which extended from the ancient Syene to the place where El-Arish is now situated, the fragments of which the Arabs now call *haïf-el-adjowz*, or "the old woman's wall?"

We found the inhabitants of Philöe returned to their habitations, but fully determined not to receive us. We attributed this ill-will to the fear which we gave them of us, and we continued our journey. Beyond Philöe the river is quite open and navigable; but after having passed an Arab fort and a mosque of the same age, the shore of the Nile becomes impracticable for travellers; and instead of a profusion of monuments and inscriptions, we only saw a barren soil left to itself, and on the rocks a few habitations, which resembled the huts of savages. We entered a desert which cut an angle of the river, in order to shorten our way; and after having for several hours travelled allong valleys which were as deep and hollow as if the country were constantly exposed to storms and torrents, the Nile again opened upon us through a ravine which led to Taudi, an indifferent village on the bank of the river. At our approch the Mamelukes abandoned this village, leaving behind them their plates, their kettles, and even the soup they had made, which they intended to eat at sun-set, for it was the month of Ramadan, a kind of Lent, during which all the Mussulmans, even to the soldiers, eat nothing whilst the sun is above the horizon.

We sent out a spy during the night; and we learnt, that at day-break the Mamelukes who were at Demiet, four leagues higher than Taudi, thinking themselves too near us, had fed their horses and set out at midnight. Our object in driving them further off being fulfilled, we set out to return to Syene. I had already seen enough of Ethiopia, of the Gublis and their wives, whose extreme ugliness can only be equalled by the savage jealousy of their hus-

bands. I saw some of the women, for as I gave the men less apprehension than our soldiers, they put a number of them under my protection in a cabin, before the door of which I had taken up my quarters for the night. They had been taken by surprise at the sudden arrival of our people at the close of evening, and had not had time to fly and hide themselves in the rocks, or to swim across the river. They appeared to have the sullen stupidity of downright savages. A rugged soil, fatigue and insufficient food, must, doubtless impair in them all the charms of nature, and given them even in youth the marks of decrepitude. But the men seem to be of another species; for their features are delicate, their skin fine, their countenance lively and animated, and their eyes and teeth admirable. Lively and intelligent, they appear to throw so much clearness and conciseness in their language, that a short phrase is always a complete answer to questions that are put to them: their vivacity more resembles ours than that of the other oriental nations: they are quick in understanding and serving, still more nimble in thieving, and have a greediness for money, which keeps pace with their great frugality, and can only be justified by their extreme poverty. To these reasons we may impute their leanness, which is not at all connected with ill health, for their colour, though black, is full of life and blood, but their muscles are only tendons, absolutely without fat, so that I did not see a single person among them who was even plump.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Attack on Philöe and Expulsion of the Inhabitants—Monuments in the Island—Different Periods of Egyptian Architecture—French Fort built at Syene—Antient Monastery of Cenobites beyond the Cataracts—Voyage up the River above Syene—Monuments of Ombos—Celebrated Quarries of Gebel Silsilis, with sculptured Tombs adjoining—Crocodiles—Proceedings of the Mamelukes.*

WE could only keep our persevering enemy at a distance from us by starving the country between us and them. We therefore bought up all the cattle, paid for the green crops on the land, and the inhabitants assisted us themselves in pulling up from the ground every source of provision, and followed us with their domestic animals. Thus carrying off with us the whole population, we left behind us nothing but a desert. In returning, I was again struck with the sumptuous appearance of the edifices of Philöe; and I am persuaded that it was to produce this effect upon strangers en-

tering their territory, that the Egyptians had collected upon their frontier, such a splendid group of monuments. Philöe was the *entrepôt* of a commerce of barter between Ethiopia and Egypt; and wishing to give the Ethiopians a high idea of their resources and their magnificence, the Egyptians had raised so many sumptuous edifices on the confines and natural frontier of their empire, Syene and the Cataracts. We had another parley with the inhabitants of Philöe, and it was more explicit: they signified to us, that if we were to come there every day for two months successively, they would never let us land. We were obliged to submit this time to their determination; but as it would have given a bad example to the country to allow a handful of peasants to brave us with such insolence close by our establishments, we resolved on the next day to try if we could not make them change their determination. Accordingly on the morrow, we returned with two hundred men; as soon as they saw us, they put themselves in a posture of defence, and defied us in the manner of savages, with loud cries, which the women repeated. The inhabitants of the neighbouring larger island, immediately collected in arms, which they made to glitter in the sun like sword-players; some of them were quite naked, holding in one hand a sabre, and in the other a buckler, others had rampart-musquets with matchlocks, and long pikes, and in a moment all the east side of the rock was covered with enemies. We still cried out to them that we were not coming to do them any harm, and we only wanted to enter amicably into their island; they answered that they would never let us approach, or furnish us with the means of landing on their shores, and that they were not Mamelukes, to fly before us: this bragging speech was closed with loud shouts which resounded on all sides; they wished for the fight; they had defended themselves against the Mamelukes; they had defeated their neighbours; and they now wished to have the glory of resisting us, and even giving us defiance. Immediately the order was given to our sappers to level the huts on the shore, to furnish us with wood for a raft; this act was a declaration of war; they fired on us, and posting themselves in the clefts and caves of their rocks, they kept up a brisk and well-directed fire on us. At this moment one of our fieldpieces came up, the first sight of which carried their rage to the highest pitch; but from this time the communication between Philöe and the larger island was broken, the people of the latter drove off their herds and cattle, made them cross an arm of the river, and followed them into the desert.

We found that the palm-tree wood was too heavy and took water, which compelled us to defer the descent till the next day; and in the mean time our troops remained on the shore, and every necessary was collected in order to construct a raft to hold forty men. This business employed us the whole of the following day, and this delay encreased the insolence of these wretches, who dared to propose to the general to pay a hundred piastres to be allowed to come alone and disarmed into the island. The scene, however, was soon changed, when on a sudden they saw the larger island covered with our volunteers, whose descent had been protected by grape-shot; terror succeeded, as usual, to headstrong rashness; men, women, and children, all threw themselves into the river to escape by swimming; and preserving their ferocious character, we saw mothers drowning their children whom they could not carry away with them, and mutilating the girls to save them from the violence of the victors. When I entered on the island the next day, I found a young girl seven or eight years old, who had been cut with brutal cruelty in such a manner, as to prevent her from satisfying the most pressing necessity of nature, and it was only by a counter-operation and a bath, that I was able to save the life of this unfortunate little creature, who was very pretty. Others of a more advanced age had not recourse to such severities, and chose for themselves companions from among the victors. In a word, the population of the island was dispersed in a few minutes, having suffered a most serious and irreparable loss.

They had pillaged the boats which the Mamelukes had not been able to get above the falls, and had formed magazines of this booty, which had made them immensely rich, in comparison with their neighbours, and might have secured to them repose and easy circumstances for a number of years; in a few hours they were reduced to beggary, destitute of support, both for the present and the future, and were obliged to go and solicit an asylum from those on whom they had made war a few days before. Our soldiers were employed the rest of the day in evacuating the magazines of the larger island.

The ruins in this island consist of a small sanctuary, faced by a portico of four columns with very elegant capitals, to which had been added at a later period another portico, which doubtless was attached to the circumvallation of the temple. The most ancient part, which was also constructed with more care, was ornamented in a higher degree than the rest; the use made of it in the rites of the catholic religion has impaired the original character, by adding square arched door-ways. In the sanctuary, close to the figures

of Isis and Osiris, may still be seen the miraculous impression of the feet of St. Anthony, or St. Paul the hermit.

The next day was the finest to me of my whole travels: I possessed seven or eight monuments in the space of six hundred yards, and could examine them quite at my ease, for I had not by my side any of those impatient companions who always think that they have seen enough, and are constantly pressing you to go to some other object; nor had I in my ears the beating of drums as a signal to muster, or to march, nor Arabs nor peasants to torment me,

As soon as I could set foot in the island, I began first by going over all the inner part, to take a general survey of the various monuments, and to form a kind of topographical chart, containing the island, the course of the river, and the adjacent characteristic scenery. I found a convincing proof that this group of monuments had been constructed at different periods, by several nations, and had belonged to different forms of religious worship; and the union of these various edifices, each of them in itself regular, and crowded together in this narrow spot, formed an irregular group of most picturesque and magnificent objects. I could here distinguish eight sanctuaries or separate temples, of different dimensions, built at various times, and the limits of each had been respected in the construction of the succeeding ones, which had impaired the regularity of the whole. A part of the additions to the original buildings had been made with a view of connecting the old to the new, avoiding, with great dexterity, false angles and general irregularities. This kind of confusion of the architectural lines, which appear like errors in the plan, produce in the elevation a picturesque effect, which geometrical rectitude cannot give; it multiplies objects, forms elegant groups, and offers to the eye more richness than cold symmetry can ever command. I was here able to convince myself of the truth of a remark which I had before made at Thebes and Tentyra, which is, that the mode of building with the ancient Egyptians was, first to erect large masses, on which they afterwards bestowed the labour of ages, in the particulars of the decoration, beginning their work with shaping the architectural lines, proceeding next to the sculpture of the hieroglyphics, and concluding with the stucco and the painting. All these distinct periods of work are very obvious here, where nothing is finished but what belongs to the highest antiquity: whereas a part of the subordinate buildings, which served to connect the various monuments, had been left in many particulars without finish, without sculpture, and even incomplete in the building.

The great and magnificent oblong monument exhibits these different periods of workmanship; it would be difficult to assign any use to this edifice, if the presence of certain monuments representing offerings had not pointed it out to be a temple. It has, however, the form neither of a portico nor of a temple; the columns which compose its outer circumference, and which are engaged in the wall only half their height, support nothing but an entablature and a cornice, without roof or platform: it only opened by two opposite doors, without lintels, which made a straight passage through in a longitudinal direction. As it was doubtless built in the latter period of the Egyptian power, it shews the perfection of art in the highest purity; the capitals are admirable in beauty and execution, the volutes and the foliage are gracefully waved, like the finest Greek architecture, and are symmetrically diversified like those of Apollinopolis, that is to say, differing from the contiguous capitals, and similar to the corresponding ones, and all are exactly kept within the same parallel.

It gave me no little trouble to clear, in my imagination, from the surrounding fragments, these long galleries, encumbered with ruins, to follow the lines of the quays, to raise up the sphinx and the obelisks, to restore the broken communication between the steps and staircases. Urged on at once by every kind of curiosity, and fearing to impart my erroneous conjectures to those to whom I intended to give an account of my sensations and my researches, I wished to trace on my plan the precise state of the ruins, and the confused heap of fragments, and from such a plan to discuss the mumerous points which were involved in doubt and uncertainty. What could be the meaning of this vast number of sanctuaries, so contiguous to each other, and yet so distinct? Were they consecrated to different divinities, were they votive chapels, or places devoted each to particular ceremonies of religious worship? The innermost temples contained still more mysterious sanctuaries, such as monolithic temples, or tabernacles, of a single stone, containing, perhaps, what was most precious and most sacred to the worshippers; perhaps even the sacred bird, which represented the presiding deity of the temple; the hawk, for example, the emblem of the sun, to whom the building might be consecrated. On the ceilings of the same portico were painted astronomical pictures, the theories of the elements; on the walls, religious ceremonies, images, priests, and gods, by the side of the gates gigantic portraits of certain sovereigns, or emblematical figures of strength or power, threatening a group of suppliant fignres, which they hold with one hand by the hair of the head. Can these be rebel-

lious subjects, or vanquished enemies? I should incline to the latter opinion, because the figures, which certainly represent Egyptians, have never long hair.

Besides this vast enclosure, in which these numerous temples were connected and grouped together by dwellings for the priests, there were two temples standing apart; the larger of the two I have already spoken of, the smaller is one of the most beautiful that can be conceived, in perfect preservation, and so small, that it almost gives one the desire of carrying it away. I found within it some remains of a domestic scene, which seemed to be that of Joseph and Mary, and suggested to me the subject of the Flight into Egypt, in a style of the utmost truth and interest. If ever we should be disposed to transport a temple from Africa to Europe, this which I am speaking of should be selected for the purpose; for besides the practicability of such an operation afforded by its small dimensions, it would give a palpable proof of the noble simplicity of the Egyptian architecture, and would shew in a striking manner, that it is character, and not extent alone, which gives dignity to an edifice.

Besides the Egyptian monuments, Greek and Roman ruins are found at the south east of the island, which appear to me to be the remains of a small port, and a custom-house, of which the wall of the façade is decorated with pilasters and arcades of the doric order: some standing fragments of columns shew an open gallery, or a kind of portico in front; between these ruins and the Egyptian monuments, the sur-base of a catholic church may be remarked, which is built of antique fragments, mixed with crosses and Greek ornaments of later ages; for in these countries catholicism has been too poor to remove entirely her own worship from the pomp of idolatrous temples. After having established her saints in the face of the Egyptian deities, she has often painted a St. John, or St. Paul, by the side of the goddess Isis, and disguised Osiris into St. Athanasius; or else, quitting the heathen temples altogether, she has dilapidated them, and taken the ready-made materials to construct her own edifices of religious worship.

What a profusion of objects of curiosity!—but the time was gliding by so fast, that I wished to stay the course of the sun. Having employed many hours in observation, I began to make drawings and measurements; but I saw that our people had finished clearing the enemy's magazines, and I could not hope to return to Philöe, for I had not here such kind friends as at Elephantina, and the troops had already been too much fatigued with the siege of this little island. I at last quitted this spot, with

my eyes tired out by so many objects, and my mind filled with the various recollections attached to it: I left it at night, loaded with my treasures, and bringing with me my little girl, whom I entrusted to the sheik of Elephantina, to restore her to her parents.

The plan was formed of fortifying Syene; the engineer Garbé had chosen an eminence on the south of the city on which to construct a fort, which should command all the approaches, and overlook the adjacent country. There were neither shovels, pick-axes, hammers, nor trowels, but all these articles were forged; bricks could not be made for want of wood, but they were collected out of all the old Arab buildings in the place. Our brave twenty-first regiment, like the Roman cohorts who had inhabited the same place, knew no difficulties, or surmounted them all. Every individual was required to make two journeys daily to the spot, in order to transport materials: many of the men could with difficulty drag their legs to the spot, but not one failed in complying with the requisition; the bastions were traced out, and the labour was conducted with so much speed, that in a few days the fortress began to appear above the foundations; and at the same time we bastioned and embattled an old Roman building, which had been a bath, and was in very good preservation, and which, from its situation, had the double advantage of protecting and commanding the river.

The termination of the march of the French through Egypt was inscribed on a granite rock beyond the cataracts. I took advantage of a reconnoitring party being pushed to the desert on the left bank, to go and visit the quarries of which Pocock speaks, and an ancient monastery of cenobites. After marching an hour, we discovered this monument in a small valley, surrounded with shattered rocks, and with sands produced by their decomposition. The detachment, pursuing its destination, left me alone in this spot.

They were hardly gone when I was alarmed at my solitary situation. I was lost among long corridors, and these melancholy vaults echoed with the sound of my feet, the only noise with which this profound silence had been disturbed perhaps for ages. The cells of these monks resembled the cages of animals in a menagerie; they were recesses seven feet square, and only enlightened by a dismal window, six feet from the ground: this refinement of austerity, however, only concealed from the eye of the recluse the view of the vast expanse of heaven, an equally boundless horizon of sand, and a bright uninterrupted light, as melancholy as night, and more wasting to the corporeal frame, and perhaps more impressive of the gloomy picture of their solitude.

In this dungeon a bed of bricks, and a recess, serving as a closet, were all the conveniencies which had been added to this space between four walls; and a tower placed by the side of the gate, shews also that even the austere repast of these cenobites was taken in solitude. Nothing indicated the remains of the habitation of man, but some short sentences written on the walls; and I could trace in these inscriptions their last sentiments, and the only memorial which they would leave to those who were to succeed them---a vain attempt, which time, that destroys every thing, has entirely frustrated. I presented them to my imagination as dying and still striving, with fluttering speech, to utter a few words. Oppressed with this succession of gloomy objects, I hastened to the court, a space enclosed with losty embattled walls, covert ways, and embrasures for cannon: every thing announced that the storms of war had succeeded the horrors of silence in this fatal place; that this edifice, torn from the cenobites, who had raised it with so much zeal and perseverance, had at different periods served as a retreat to the vanquished, or as an advanced post to the victorious army.

The differences of style in its construction may serve as a history of this monument. Being begun in the first ages of catholicism, all that was then raised still bears the mark of greatness and magnificence: what war has afterwards added has been done hastily, and is still more in ruins than the original construction. In the court a small church, built of unbaked bricks, shews further, that a smaller number of recluse have returned, after a considerable time, to resume possession of these walls; and finally, a more recent destruction seems to indicate that it is only a few ages since this spot has been entirely given up to the silence and desolation that prevails all around this gloomy edifice.

The detachment which had left me here now came back for me, and it was like rising from the tomb. With regard to the quarries which I found in the neighbourhood, they are not those out of which the obelisks were cut, for these are always of granite, and the granite rocks are at a distance from this spot. The rocks here are free-stone; the only objects of curiosity are the fragments of the inclined roads, over which the masses of stone were rolled, and thus conducted to the river, to be there embarked for the different edifices where they were to be employed.

We learnt that the Mamelukes, who had fled before us at Damiet, had taken the desert on the right bank of the river, and were going down the stream to rejoin Assan-Bey; that Murad, after violent debates, had collected all the provisions which the upper country

could furnish, and was returning by the left side through the desert, leaving behind him only the aged Solyman, who kept possession of Bribe with eighty Mamelukes. Having nothing more to do at Syene, we left it the 25th of February. I could still have willingly remained there a fortnight longer, but I should have feared to wait for the burning winds of the spring, and my health had already had a painful attack; three days of east wind in January had made the atmosphere as oppressively hot as it is with us in the dog-days; to this had succeeded so cold a north wind, that in four hours it had given me a fever. In hopes of some rest, I had put myself on board the barks; they were to sail as high up as the troops, who were resuming the journey which I had just taken: and I hoped in travelling by the river to see Ombos, and the quarries of Gebel Silsilis, which I had passed at some distance to my left, in my excursion up the stream.

I was hardly embarked, when I experienced all the inconveniencies of this mode of conveyance. The contrary wind, the stupidity of the natives, who could not be made to work the vessels, and the fruitless cries of our provençals, every thing conspired to torment us. We were a long while working up to Com-Ombos, and just then the wind became favourable for passing it; our flotilla were in too much haste for me to venture to propose stopping there a single hour, so that I had only time to give it a glance in sailing by, and to observe the general site, and the fine position of the monuments. The ancient Ombos, where the crocodile was revered, is still called Com-Ombos (the mountain Ombos), and it is situated on an eminence, which commands the country, and projects out to the very margin of the river. If all the fragments which are here seen belonged to a single edifice, it must have been immense. In the centre is a grand portico of columns with wide capitals, in very large proportion; on the south, one gate is preserved entire; it joined a wall of circumvallation, which is destroyed: at the west, and on the bank of the Nile, an enormous mole was raised, which is at present in ruins at its upper part; the inundations of the river have laid bare its foundations for sixty feet in depth; they were constructed with the same solidity and magnificence as the ornamental part. Towards the north, in the same direction, the remains of a temple or gallery may be seen, in smaller proportion, with columns and capitals. In the open space between these two last edifices, was a parapet made of hewn stone, which opened to the view the grand temple in the middle, and must have produced a theatrical and magnificent effect. It is very well proved that the Egyptians were more attached to magnitude, even in producing

picturesque beauties, than to regular symmetry; they supplied the want of this latter by noble piles of buildings, by richness, by beautiful parts, and by impressive effect. Were they wrong in this idea? The question is of considerable magnitude. However this may be, and whatever composed the remainder of the ancient town of Ombos, it could not but offer a very majestic view when entire; since, dilapidated as it is, and encumbered with vile huts, the forms of beauty which it displays produce a most magic picture of splendid ruin to the beholder.

The next day I was more fortunate: we anchored opposite the large quarries of freestone cut in the mountains, which form the banks of the Nile here on either side. This spot is called Gebel Silsilis, and is situated between Etfu and Ombos. The stone of these quarries being of an equal grain and uniform texture throughout, blocks may be cut out of them as large as can be desired, and it is doubtless to the beauty and unalterability of this material, that we owe the vast size and fine preservation of the monuments which are our admiration at the present time, so many centuries after the date of their construction. From the immense excavations, and the quantity of fragments which may still be seen in these quarries, we may suppose that they were worked for some thousand of years; and they alone might have supplied the materials employed for the greater part of the monuments of Egypt. The distance would in fact, prove no obstacle to the working of these quarries, since the Nile, during its inundation, would constantly come and float the boats which were loaded during the dry season, and carry them to the place of their destination.

The mania of erecting monuments among the Egyptians, shews itself on every side in these quarries; which after having furnished materials for the erection of temples, were themselves consecrated by monuments, and decorated with religious edifices. On the shore of the Nile may be seen porticoes with columns, entablatures, and cornices, covered with hieroglyphics, all cut out of the solid rock; and likewise a large number of tombs, also hollowed out of the mountain. These tombs are still very curious, though they are disfigured with trenches and rubbish.

In several of these tombs small private chambers are sound, many of which contain large sealed figures; these chambers are adorned with hieroglyphics traced on the rock, and terminated with coloured stucco, representing constantly offerings of bread, fruits, liquors, fowls, &c. The ceilings, also of stucco, are ornamented with painted scrolls in an exquisite taste; the floor is inlaid with a number of tombs of the same dimensions and form as are given to the

cases of mummies, and equal in number to the sculptured figures: those that represent men have small square beards, with a head-dress hanging behind over the shoulders; the women have the same dresses, but falling down in front over their naked necks. These latter are commonly represented with one arm passing within the arm of the figure beside them, and the other holding a lotus flower, a plant of Acheron, the emblem of death. The tombs that contain but a single figure are probably those of men who have died in celibacy; where three are contained, they represent perhaps a husband who had two wives, either at one time or successively. The access to these tombs being alway made by violence, I could not observe how they were intended to open and shut; all that I could distinguish in the fragments that remained was, that the doors were all decorated with jambs covered with hieroglyphics, and surmounted with a coping, which forms a cornice, and an entablature on which a winged globe is always sculptured.

On the side of these doors I have often met with the figure of a woman in the attitude of grief; perhaps a widow lamenting the loss of her husband.

The choice of this situation for the habitations of the dead, shews, that at all times in Egypt, the silence of the desert has been the asylum of death, since even now the Egyptians carry their dead into the desert three leagues from their habitations, that the dryness of the sands may preserve them from corruption; and they go thither every week to pray over these tombs.

In approaching Esneh, we again found crocodiles: they are not to be seen at Syene, but re-appear above the cataracts: they seem to prefer certain reaches of the river, and particularly from Tentyra to Ombos; they abound most of all near Hermontis. We here saw three of them; one, much larger than the rest, was nearly twenty-five feet long; they were all asleep, so that we could approach them within twenty paces, and we had time to distinguish all the peculiarities which give them such a hideous aspect: they resembled dismounted cannon. I fired on one with a heavy musquet, the ball struck him and rebounded from his scales; he made a leap of ten feet, and dived into the river.

Four leagues short of Esneh, I saw a quay faced with stone, on the edge of the river, and two hundred yards further was a pyramidal gate much in ruins, along with six columns of the portico and gallery of a temple, which must have been dedicated to Chnubis. We had a fair wind, and half a league lower we saw four other crocodiles.

At day-break we arrived at Esneh. On landing I heard the drums beat to muster the forces. I had already had enough of travelling by water, so that in ten minutes after setting foot on shore I was on horseback, turning my back on Apollinopolis and Latopolis, many particulars of which I still had to examine. But such was the chance of war; and I ought to think myself very happy that the obstinacy of Murad had caused me to visit Syene. He appeared to have had no other plan than that of constant perseverance, following every day the impulse of the moment, and the event of circumstances.

The coalition of the beys was already broken; Solyman had remained at Dëir; Assan, with forty Mamelukes, had separated from Murad as high as Esneh, and gone up still higher to Etfu; all the sheiks on the left side must have parted from him lower down; and Murad himself, left alone with his three hundred Mamelukes, had been about to descend below Siut, but being met at Suhama, below Girgeh, by General Friand, who had broken the assembly of troops, which he was again collecting, he took the road to Eluah, one of the oases, where he remained, waiting to see what might turn out in his favour. There had been two actions between the Mecca soldiers and General Friand on the left bank, between Thebes and Kous; six hundred of these adventurers had perished in the two encounters; but it was said that the sheref of Mecca himself was advancing with six thousand troops to join the eight or nine hundred that remained out of the first crusade.

## CHAPTER XV.

*Arrival at Hermontis—Visit the Necropolis of Thebes—Arrive at Kous—Capture of the Flotilla by the Meccans—Battle of Benhute—Fortress stormed—Critical Situation of the French Army—Reach Keneh—Attempt to surprise the Enemy—Retreat of the Mamelukes into the Desert—New Position of the Army.*

We arrived at Hermontis in the morning of the 4th of March. We there halted, in order to procure intelligence of the Mamelukes, the Meccans, and the several detachments of our army, which was at this moment distributed over a considerable extent of country.

I had now a better opportunity of observing the site of the ancient town, which had had a wall of circumvallation, and several temples. But for ever temples! not a single public edifice, not a single house, nor even royal palace, which had been able to resist the ravages of time! What then were the people, and who the

sovereigns! It should seem that the former were composed of slaves, the latter pious leaders, and the priests humble and hypocritical despots, concealing their tyranny from the people by the name of a vain monarch, and possessing all the science that was then known, which they wrapped up in emblem and mystery, to put a barrier between them and the people. The king was served by priests, counselled by priests, fed by them, instructed by them; every morning, after having dressed him up, they read to him the duties of a sovereign towards his religion; they then led him to the temple; and the rest of the day, like the doge of Venice, he was never without six counsellors who still were priests. With such precautions, they might perhaps be tolerably secure of never having a very bad king; but what was the gain for the people, if the priests supplied his place? The only two sovereigns who, according to history, dared to shake off the yoke, were Cheops and Cephrenes, who shut up the temples for twenty years: but these were regarded as impious and rebellious princes, and were recorded as such in the annals which the priests composed and handed down to posterity.

The palace with a hundred chambers, the only palace mentioned in the history of Egypt, was the work of a new form of government, in which the priests could no longer possess the same influence. The famous canals, of which history speaks so pompously, have preserved no magnificence, have neither causeways nor sluices, and the only facings and quays that I have met with on the banks of the Nile are very trifling works, compared to those colossal and immortal temples, whose precincts occupied a very large proportion of the space included within the walls that surrounded the towns. The jesuits of Paraguay, perhaps, might have let us into the secret of theocratic dominion; and in this case I should see in the rich country of Egypt nothing but a gloomy and mysterious government, weak kings, and a sad unhappy people.

On the 8th we set out on our march to meet Osman-Bey, who, we were informed, was to pass the Nile at Keneh. I had again the mortification of crossing the ground occupied by the ancient Thebes, with still less opportunity of examining it than at first; without measuring a single column, without approaching a single monument, we followed the course of the Nile, avoiding both the temples of Medinet-Abu, the Memnonium, the temples of Kurnu, which I passed on my left, and those of Luxor and Karnak on my right—still temples---nothing but temples! and not a vestige of the hundred gates so celebrated in history; no walls, quays, bridges,

baths, or theatres; not a single edifice of public utility or convenience; notwithstanding all the pains which I took in the research, I could find nothing but temples, walls covered with obscure emblems, and hieroglyphics, which attested the ascendency of the priesthood, who still seemed to reign over these mighty ruins, and whose empire constantly haunted my imagination.

The space occupied by this incomprehensible town, now infolds four villages and as many hamlets, which appear thinly scattered over vast fields: as a few wild shoots recal to the passenger the existence of some stately tree, celebrated by the majesty of its shade, or the abundance of its fruit. Quitting with regret this famous district, we halted in the village on the west side, the quarter of the ancient necropolis, where I again found the inhabitants of Kurnu disputing our entrance into the tombs, which they had taken as their asylum. We must have killed them before we could persuade them that we did not mean them any harm, and we had not time to enter into dispute; we therefore contented ourselves with blockading the openings, whilst we took a short repast on the spot.

Towards the evening one of our spies gave us notice, that the soldiers from Mecca, united to Osman-Bey, were intrenched at Benhute, three leagues before Keneh, where they were waiting for us: he told us further, that they had artillery with them, and that they were determined on hostilities, and on taking the chance of a battle; and added, that they had stopped several of our barks on the Nile; and after an obstinate combat, in which many of the peasants and Meccans had been killed, the French had been overpowered by numbers, and had been all massacred. We slept on the banks of the river, and this was to be passed before we could come up with the enemy; so we waited for our barks to come up. We soon were convinced, beyond a doubt, that we were seen by the enemy from the opposite shore, for we perceived armed horsemen constantly passing and repassing. We then marched back to meet our convoy, which we soon joined; and all the rest of the day was employed in the passage of the river, which we made good at El Kamoutch. On the 10th we resumed our march, and on our arrival at Kous, the report which we had heard in the evening was confirmed.

Kous, which is placed at the entrance of the opening of the desert which leads to Berenice and Cosseir, is still beautiful on the south side. Its immense plantations of melons, and its numerous and abundant gardens, must make it appear delicious to the inhabitants of the shores of the Red Sea, and to the thirsty travellers who have

just crossed the desert. It has succeeded to the commerce and catholic establishment of Copthos; for the Copts are still its most numerous inhabitants. Their zeal induced them to come and give us all the intelligence which they had been able to collect, and they accompanied us in person, and followed us with their good wishes to the very confines of their territory. I was struck with the sincere interest which the sheik expressed for our fate, who, believing that we were marching on to certain death, gave us the most circumstantial advice, without concealing from us any of the dangers to which we were exposed, advised us with great judgment on every particular which could render the encounter less fatal to us, followed us as far as he could, and parted from us with tears in his eyes. Desaix had before been a week at Kous, and had seen much of the sheik; and the tender interest which the latter shewed for us, was the natural result of the favourable opinion which he must have formed of the frank and communicative disposition of our leader, and of that mild and unvarying equity which afterwards obtained for him the title of *the Just*; the most honourable appellation which could be obtained by a conqueror and a stranger, arrived in an enemy's country on purpose to make war.

We took but little heed of the battle which it was said our boats had been engaged in, and we were far from having a just idea of the importance of the intelligence given us. We were now but four leagues off the enemy; an hour after our march through Kous we observed at the foot of the desert, the ruins of Copthos, famous in the fourth century by its commerce with the east: nothing of its ancient splendour can be distinguished; but the extent of the heaps of ruins with which it is surrounded, points out that of the site of the ancient city. All that remains of the old town, is as dry and uninhabited as the desert, on the border of which it is situated.

We were scarcely past Copthos, when we were informed that the enemy had begun their march; we halted, and after a slight repast, resumed our course to meet them. We soon perceived their standards, which were distributed over more than a league of ground; we continued to advance in the order that we had first taken, that is to say, a square battalion, flanked with a single three-pounder field-piece, and fifteen cavalry: we looked like a single point coming across a line. We soon heard the shouts of the enemy, and we came to action at a village, which the extremity of their line had just occupied: we detached our marksmen, who immediately were closely engaged with them; but, notwithstanding several shot from our field-piece, they did not give way, for their rash valour supplied the want of sufficient arms. After this

advanced body had been cut to pieces, rather than routed, we found more resistance in the villages, where the enemy were more on an equality with us, by having some fire-arms, and the protection of walls; we however repulsed them as far back as another village a quarter of a league farther off. At this moment the Mamelukes began to parade before us, and to make a feint of charging our right, to divert us from pursuing the advantage that we had just gained over their ally: however, we marched straight up to them, without discontinuing the engagement with the Meccans: our determined advance, and some discharges of cannon, delivered us from the Mamelukes, who were not so much in earnest as the Meccans, and only wished to try if the number and valour of their allies would compel us to detach against them so many of our men as would weaken our grand square, and allow them to charge us with advantage. Having dislodged the infantry of our enemy from the second village, we came to a small plain before Benhute, where we knew that the greater body of the enemy was intrenched, and to which all the fugitives had retired. We expected to have a bloody battle, but not to be cannonaded in form by a battery which fired both grape and bullets, which reached our square, and even went beyond us. I now saw death close at my side; in the short time of ten minutes that we stopped, three persons were killed whilst I was speaking to them. I dared no longer speak to any one, for the last was struck by a ball, which we both saw coming up ploughing the ground before it, and appearing to be almost spent. My friend lifted up his foot to let it pass him, when a sudden leap of the ball struck him on the heel, and tore the muscles of his leg, making a wound which the next day proved fatal to this young officer, as we wanted the necessary instruments for amputation.

We fancied that, according to the custom of the country, their unmounted pieces were capable but of one direction: we were, however, not a little surprised on perceiving that their balls followed our movements, so as to oblige us to quicken our pace in posting ourselves in front of the village, where we maintained the action, while the carabineers and chasseurs proceeded to turn their battery, and to carry it at the bayonet's point. The moment the drums beat to charge, the Mamelukes came forward to the attack of our carabineers, who, after having received them with a discharge of musketry, by which they were repulsed, stormed and carried the battery, making a general massacre of all those who served the guns. These guns were French; and were found on inspection to have belonged to the *Italie*, the commodore's bark of

our flotilla. We were in hopes that after this important capture the battle would terminate, by the dispersion or flight of the army of Meccans: a part of this army, however, maintained its ground for a considerable time in a small grove of palm-trees; while the other part, which was still more numerous, made a kind of retreat, which we dared not harass, since, whenever we passed beyond the thickets and enclosed grounds to make a rapid movement, the Mamelukes, by whom we were constantly flanked, had it in their power to attack and drive us back. It was therefore necessary to march in order of battle, and with the troops formed to receive them. During six hours we had been unceasingly engaged with an enemy, undisciplined it is true, but brave, fanatic, and tenfold our number, who attacked with fury and made an obstinate resistance, never retreating unless in a body, insomuch, that it became necessary to cut off in detail the detachments as they advanced. Worn out, and panting with the extreme heat, we stopped a momont to take breath. We were utterly destitute of water, of which we never had stood so much in need. I recollect finding, in the heat of the action, a jug of water at the extremity of a wall, and that, not having time to drink, I poured the water on my bosom, to allay the burning heat by which I was tormented.

So long as our enemies kept possession of their batteries, they retreated confidently, having supplies of men on whom to depend. We were then of opinion that it was their intention to bring us, by a feigned retreat, within the reach of these batteries. But when we had lost them, we considered that, as the small wood to which they had retreated, was become their last and only point of defence, they would either try the chance of a decisive action, or would swim across the Nile, or, lastly; would join the Mamelukes, and disappear with them, which it was impossible for us to prevent. On drawing near to the wood, we perceived, however, that it contained a large village, with a fortress belonging to the Mamelukes, provided with bastions and battlements, the approach to which was rendered still more difficult, as the enemy were provided with arms and ammunition of every description, which we found to have belonged to us, both by the distance to which the balls were sent, and by the balls themselves. We were employed for upwards of two hours in attacking this fortress on every side, without being able to find any point from which the enemy did not assail us successfully. We had sixty men killed, and as many wounded. On the approach of night we set fire to the houses in the vicinity, took possession of a mosque, cut off the enemy's retreat by the Nile, and endeavoured to mount afresh the guns that we had re-

captured. On their side, the besieged were employed in augmenting the number of their battlements, in constructing low batteries, and in pointing guns which they had not as yet brought into use. Several peasants, who had escaped both from the fire of the besiegers and from that of the besieged, found their way to us, and informed us, that on the day after the departure of General Desaix in pursuit of Murad-Bey, the Meccans, who had recently quitted the desert, attacked the *Italie* and the flotilla under her protection; and that, after a severe conflict of twenty hours, the crew of the commodore's bark had run her aground, and, from an apprehension of being boarded, had set fire to her, and gone on board the small barks. That having been prevented by a gale of wind from keeping out to sea, and being exhausted by the numbers and impetuosity of the assailants, the whole of these unfortunate men had been killed. They added, that since that time the Meccans had been employed in collecting all the means of attack and defence with which their conquest supplied them. That they had sunk one of our vessels, to force all those who should navigate the river to pass within reach of their battery; and had thus rendered themselves masters of the Nile. And lastly, that, notwithstanding all the losses which they had sustained in men, they were still very numerous and very resolute.

At day-break we began to batter the fortress, with a view of making a breach: as it was, however, constructed of unbaked bricks, each bullet simply made a hole, without bringing down any part of the buiding. The flames at the same time made no progress, on account of the court-yards, which separated the principal building from the circumvallation. At nine in the morning the Mamelukes advanced with their camels, as if with a view to throw succours into the place. A party was sent out against them, and they retreated after a slight resistance. General Beliard, perceiving that the result of the palliative means which had hitherto been employed had been a loss of time and of men, gave orders for an assault, which was given and received with unexampled valour. The first circumvallation was opened under the enemy's fire; and, notwithstanding the incessant discharges of musquetry of the besieged, by whom a sortie was made, combustible matters were introduced which annoyed them in their retreat. One of their magazines blew up, and the flames extended themselves in every direction. As they were without water, they extinguished the fire with their feet and hands, and even endeavoured to smother it by throwing themselves on it. They were seen, black and naked, running through the flames, and resembling so many devils

in hell: I could not view them without an emotion of horror blended with admiration. Intervals of tranquillity succeeded, during which a solitary voice was heard, which was answered by sacred hymns and warlike shouts. They then rushed on us from all sides, notwithstanding the certainty of death.

Towards the close of the evening we stormed; and this operation was long and terrible. Twice we penetrated into the interior of the fortress, and twice we were driven back again. I was not so much terrified by the losses we sustained, as by the reflection that we had fresh efforts to make against an enemy whom we could not intimidate. I knew besides, that we were reduced to our last box of cartridges. In the latter of these two attempts to storm, Captain Bulliot, an officer of distinguished bravery, but rash, heedless, and imprudent, perished. Having a foreboding of his approaching dissolution, he drew me towards him, squeezed my hand, and bade me a mournful adieu. A moment after, I saw him dragging himself along on his hands and feet, and endeavouring to snatch himself from the jaws of death.

When night drew on, hostilities were suspended. As we had been engaged during two days, it was necessary to take a little breath.

Painful duties succeeded to the dangers of the combat. We heard the cries of the wounded, to whom we had no remedies to administer, and on whom we could not perform the most urgent operations for want of instruments. Our loss in men had been very considerable, and we had still many enemies to subdue. The necessity of sparing our gallant troops made us substitute to an attack by storm the expedient of setting fire to the enemy's buildings. For this purpose two fires were kindled; posts were stationed at all the avenues: and these posts were relieved from time to time to render the duty less severe. As our danger required an exactness of service and discipline, the troops reposed in battle array. Towards the middle of the night, an ass, followed by a she-ass, entered the quarters at full speed. In a moment every one was up and at his post, amid a silence and a good order as striking as the occasion was ridiculous.

An unfortunate coptic bishop, a prisoner in the fortress, made his escape, under shelter of the darkness of the night, with a few followers, and, having been exposed in his flight to the fire of our advanced posts, reached us, covered with wounds and contusions. After having taken some refreshments, he entered into a detail of the horrors from which he had just escaped. During the last twelve hours, the besieged had been without water; their walls

were heated through; their swollen tongues choked up the passage of the air; and, in short, their situation was terrible. In reality, a few minutes after, and an hour before the break of day, thirty of the besieged, who were the best armed, forced a passage through one of our advanced posts. At day-break our troops entered by the breaches that the fire had made, and put to the sword those who, notwithstanding they were half roasted alive, still offered a resistance. One of them, who appeared to be a chief, was brought to the general. He was in so swollen a state, that in endeavouring to stoop to seat himself, his skin cracked in every part. "If," said he, "I am brought hither to be killed, I beg that you will hasten to put me out of my misery." He was accompanied by a slave, who regarded his master with so deep an expression of grief, that I felt an esteem both for one and the other. The dangers by which this slave was surrounded could not draw aside for a moment his affectionate concern for his master. He lived for him alone: he viewed him; and could see no other object. What looks? how tender and how deep a melancholy! How good must he have been, who was thus cherished by his slave! However deplorable his lot, I could not help envying him who was thus beloved. Recurring to my own situation, I said to myself:—To satisfy an idle and vain curiosity, here I am, at the distance of a thousand leagues from France, surrounded by my valiant countrymen, among whom I seek a friend. Yesterday I was in the company of warriors, whose excellent qualities I esteemed, and whose transcendant bravery I admired: to-day I attend their funeral; and to-morrow I shall abandon their remains on the foreign soil to which my ill-fated steps have drawn me. It was but just now that a young man, replete with health and courage, braved the enemy whom he was about to combat. I saw him attack where the danger was the most imminent: I saw him fall; and I heard the accents of grief which succeeded the expressions of his valorous impetuosity. He called in vain; and as he dragged himself along, the fire communicated to the cartridges he had about him. His body and limbs were mutilated by the explosion; but still his voice was heard. I saw him expire; and to-morrow—to-morrow the post that he held will console for his loss the companion by whom he is to be succeeded. O man! from what source do you draw your virtues, if such ignoble passions lurk in the most honourable of all professions? This is a cruel egotism which misfortune does not correct, and which becomes atrocious, seeing that danger forbids it to be concealed. In a state of warfare it is best appreciated,

and its terrible effects more particularly felt. Let us direct our views, however, to the advantageous side of the profession.

On the morning of the 23d of March, General Beliard had the happiness to bestow a pardon on the prisoners that he had made, and, by dismissing them, to make them acquainted with our generosity, and with the difference of our customs from theirs. Several of them, impressed with gratitude, and with tears in their eyes, asked permission to follow us.

The Mamelukes again made their appearance. On our going out to meet them, we found that this was a false attack which they had contrived, to give them time to load their camels with water. As we had put an end to the siege, we pursued them to the desert, where we had an opportunity of seeing all their forces collected together. They consisted of a thousand horses, as many camels, and about two thousand foot. The rest of their army was made up of the Meccans, whom they had so perfidiously drawn into their quarrel, and whom they afterwards abandoned in so dastardly a way. We fancied at first that they were about to penetrate into the desert; they however took up their station on the rising ground, regulating their movements by ours, and having in their rear horsemen, who apprised them by discharges of musketry of the halts which we made, as well as of our advances. We felt more than ever of how little utility it was to pursue them when they would not fight, and how impossible it was to surprise them in a country where they had, on each side of the river, a retreat always open to them, and which would be secured to them so long as they should be superior in cavalry, and should be able to protect their camels. We therefore gave up an useless pursuit, and very wisely returned to secure and protect our barks. The remainder of the day was spent by the general in collecting together and putting on board the guns, ammunition, and warlike implements which we had recaptured.

It is not until the paroxysm is past that the sick man finds the fever to have exhausted his strength. While the enemy had fired on us with our own powder and balls, we had not calculated how much of these articles it was necessary to expend, to exhaust or recover what had been taken from us. But now that we were more tranquil, we reckoned an hundred and fifty men in killed and wounded, that is to say, that we had gambled in a lottery in which every seventh ticket was a blank; and we found that, having been at the expence of supplying both sides with ammunition, we had scarcely enough left to venture on a combat. Lastly, we considered that the ammunition which was to supply our consumption had

been destroyed, together with all those by whom it was guarded; and that we were an hundred and fifty leagues from Cairo, where our necessities were altogether unknown. During a conflict of three days and two nights, I could not sufficiently admire the coolness and intrepidity of General Beliard! and I was not less edified by his intelligence in the administration of affairs during the interval which followed this conflict, less brilliant in its nature than it was perilous. The slightest misconduct would have put the finishing stroke to the misfortune of the loss of our fleet, a disaster which his prudent intelligence could not repair, but the worst consequences of which it had at least the effect of averting.

While the fate of those inhabitants of Benhute who had remained quietly there was under discussion, as well as that of those who had fled, I was not a little surprised at finding at the posts that we occupied in the village, several women in the company of our soldiers, whose ease and gaiety I considered as an illusion. I could scarcely persuade myself that they were not familiar with our language. Each of them had made her choice freely, and they all appeared perfectly well satisfied. Some of them were very pretty; and it was so novel a thing to be fed, attended, and well treated by their conquerors, that I am of opinion they would willingly have followed the army. To *belong* is so entirely their destiny, that nothing but a sense of obedience could have induced them afterwards to return under the domination of their fathers and husbands. In such a strange predicament, they are not received with that scrupulously inexorable jealousy which characterizes the orientals. "It was owing to the war," say they; "that we were unable to defend them. They have submitted to the law of the vanquishers, and are not more tarnished on that account, than we are dishonoured by the wounds that we have received." In this way they again enter the harem; and there is never any altercation about what has passed. By such nice distinctions as these jealousy is refined, and becomes a noble passion, of which man may even boast.

We were informed that the sheik who commanded, or rather who exhorted the Meccans, had made his escape towards the close of the preceding night; and that during the siege he had prayed without fighting, quitting his retreat from time to time, and saying to his followers: "I pray heaven for you; it is your duty to fight for the divinity." It was after these exhortations that we heard the pious hymns, which were followed by warlike shouts, sorties, and general discharges of musquetry.

On the 11th of April we marched towards Keneh, to ascertain whether there were any Meccans in that quarter, and what was

become of General Desaix. Our progress was interrupted by those particular winds, which, notwithstanding the sky is clear and unclouded, fill the air with so much sand, that it is neither day nor night. Our barks not being able to proceed, we were obliged to stop within a quarter of a league of that fatal Benhute, the recollection of which was so distressing to us. At nine in the morning of the following day we reached Keneh, where we found letters from General Desaix, who was ignorant of our situation, and of the loss of our fleet. The city had been freed from our enemies, and the inhabitants came out to meet us.

Keneh has succeeded Kous, as Kous had succeeded Coptos. Its situation has this advantage, that it is immediately at the entrance of the desert, and on the bank of the Nile. It has never been so flourishing as the above-mentioned cities, because its existence is dated after the commerce of India had been diverted, and in a manner annihilated, either by the discovery of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, or by the tyranny of the government of Egypt. Its commerce being confined to the passage of the pilgrims, was very inconsiderable, unless at the time when the great caravan was on the road. It is here that the pilgrims of the oasis in Lybia, together with those of Upper Egypt, and a few Nubians, take in their supplies, providing not only what is necessary for the passage across the desert to Cosseir, but also for the journey to Gidda, Medina, and Mecca, as well as for their return thence. They are under the necessity of doing this, because, the above cities being situated on a flinty desert, the inhabitants have no other resource except the gold which they amass,* insomuch that if, thanks to fanaticism, Mecca has continued to be a point of contact between India, Africa, and Europe, it has likewise become an abyss, in which a population of an hundred and twenty thousand souls absorbs the gold of India, of Asia Minor, and of every part of Africa.

Our movements towards Syria, and our war with Egypt, having ruined the caravan of 1798, and broken up, for the following year, all those of Europe and of Africa, at the same time that the Indians could find nothing to barter for the commodities which they had been at the pains of bringing to Mecca, the commerce of that city, which had been falling off for a considerable time, must have sustained during those two years an almost irreparable loss. In certain cases, when the spring of an old machine breaks, the machine itself tumbles in pieces. It is therefore not surprising, that

* At Mecca the pound of bread costs from eight to ten sous, (from four pence to five pence,) which is an enormous price in the east.

when interest was blended with fanaticism, the crusade of Mecca should have been got ready with so much celerity, and should have opposed to us all the fury which the most violent passions can kindle.

General Beliard would have pursued the terrified Mamelukes and the vanquished Meccans, but could not take the field without ammunition, of which we were entirely destitute. We were under the necessity, during our stay at Keneh, of fortifying the house in which we lodged, and which became the head-quarters. We could learn nothing of any of our detachments, not even of General Desaix; and the country was covered by enemies, dispersed in every direction, who either fell in with and murdered our emissaries, or prevented them from pursuing their way, keeping us in an insolated state, so as to excite no small apprehensions. The indefatigable Desaix had, in the mean time, pursued the Mamelukes to Siut, had forced Murad-Bey to seek shelter in the oasis, and had detached General Friand to the right bank of the Nile, to preserve a line parallel to his own, and to pursue Elfi-Bey and the dispersed bodies of Mamelukes. After these operations, he paid us a visit at Keneh, and afforded us the means of again taking the field.

We proceeded towards Kous, where the Meccans had posted themselves, and whence they made incursions into the villages on both sides the river, plundering and putting to death both Copts and Christians, and carrying off others to oblige them to pay a ransom. We quitted Keneh during the night, with an intention of surprising them, and, in order to deceive their advanced posts, marched along the desert. When we reached the village where they had been encamped, they were no longer to be found, having set out thence at the same time that we had left Keneh. They had taken the desert with the Mamelukes, and had repaired to the Kittah.

*To take the desert* in Upper Egypt is, in the soldier's phrase, not only to quit the cultivated grounds, and proceed to the sands, by which they are bounded to the right and left, but also to penetrate into the straits which cross the two chains; hence these become positions, and, in a manner, posts which it is of importance to occupy and defend. The Mamelukes had the advantage of us, in consequence of being acquainted with all these positions, and of knowing the number of fountains which might there be met with. In the valley which leads from Cosseir to the Nile, there are four of these fountains; one at the distance of half a day's journey from Cosseir, the water of which is fit for camels only;

the second, at the distance of a day's journey and a half from the preceding; and next to that of the Kittah, at the same distance with the second. The latter is of great importance when the desert is to be occupied, since it is situated at a point where three roads branch out. The first of these roads, which runs to the south-west, leads to Redisi, where it terminates. The second, which runs almost due west, terminates at Nagadi; and the third, which takes a north-west direction, leads to Birambarr, where the fourth fountain is situated. From Birambarr three roads of the same length lead to Kous, to Keft or Coptos, and to Keneh.

General Desaix conceived the plan of blocking up the Mamelukes in the desert, or at least of cutting off their communication with the Nile, and of impeding their movements, preventing them from separating their forces without a risk of being cut off, and reducing them at length by famine. After having left three hundred men and several field-pieces at Keneh, he took up his position at Birambarr, with several corps of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. On our side, we were sent, after having been reinforced by the twenty-first brigade of light-infantry, to occupy the passage of Nagadi. Redisi was imprudently neglected; or, rather, apprehensions were entertained that the troops might be too much dispersed. If the strait of Redisi could have been occupied, all the Beys on the right bank of the river would have been forced to surrender; Murad-Bey would have been the only one whom we should have had to pursue, and no further diversions could have been dreaded.

The hopes of seeing Thebes, in the direction of which we were to march, made me joyfully turn my back once more on Cairo. It was my destiny to attach myself to those who were to proceed the greatest distance up the country; and I accordingly followed General Beliard. I was soon after to join once more General Desaix; and on the evening before we parted we formed a thousand projects for the future. Our adieus were, however, of a melancholy cast; and on this occasion our separation was to me more distressing than ever. Could I imagine that, young as he was, it would fall to his lot to leave me in the career which I had to run, and that I should remain to regret his loss? We separated, and I have never seen him since. Our detachment had proceeded a league, when the brave Latournerie galloped up to me: he came back to bid me adieu. We had a great affection for each other; and, moved as I was by this mark of his tenderness, I was, notwithstanding, struck by his emotion. We did not embrace each other without shedding a few tears. The profession of arms may harden those whose temperament is cold and frigid; but its hor-

rors do not weaken the sensibility of tender souls. Connexions formed amid the hardships and dangers of an expedition such as that of Egypt become unchangeable. The parties enter into a bond of fellowship: and when this union is cemented still more by a conformity of character, fate cannot destroy it without embittering the remainder of life.

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Ruins of Kous and in the Neighbourhood—Arrival at Nagadi—Wretched state of the inhabitants—Dispersion and Massacre of the Meccans—Skirmish with the Mamelukes—Return of the Bey to the Desert—Arrival of the Army at Thebes—Temple at Karnak—Temple at Luxor—Pass through Salamieh and Esneh—Ancient Temple at contra Latopolis—Arrival at Chenubis, Ruins there—Temple at Apollinopolis.*

IN passing through Kous, which I had not entered when I descended the Nile, I found in the middle of the square the summit of a large and well-proportioned gate, sunk into the gound to the cornice. This single fragment, which must have belonged to a great edifice, proves that Kous was built on the site of Apollinopolis parva. The bulk and magnitude of this ruin present a contrast with all the objects that surround it, which speaks more to the purpose on the subject of Egyptian architecture than would twenty pages of encomium or dissertation. This fragment alone appears larger than all the rest of the city.

In the village of Elmecieh, distant half a league from Kous, I found the bases of several edifices of Egyptian free-stone, on which were hieroglyphics. I was in doubt whether these edifices had belonged to a small city, which tradition has not handed down to us, or whether they anciently constituted an isolated temple. Their ruins were too much degraded to enable me to give any idea of them by a drawing, or to make a plan of any of the parts. On proceeding half a league further, I saw more distinctly, on a small eminence, the base of a temple absolutely remote from any other ruins whatever. I could perceive three layers of large stones, which had formed a kind of pedestal extending to the pavement of the temple, in the front of which was a portico of six columns connected at the lower extremity of their shafts. Quitting this monument, we arrived, after an hour's march, at Nagadi, a large and dull village, situated at the entrance of the desert. It had been plundered by a party of Mamelukes about twelve hours before. Previously to entering the desert, we sent off scouting parties,

who took several camels, and killed thirty Meccans, stragglers. We proceeded to an enclosure, which had in the first instance been an intrenched convent inhabited by Copts, which had afterwards become a mosque, and had been latterly employed as a burial ground. After having taken up our lodging within this enclosure, we employed ourselves in driving away the bats, and in throwing down the tomb-stones. A fortress, a desert, and tombs! We were surrounded by the most dismal objects in the world; and if, with a view to banish the melancholy impression with which these scenes had inspired us, we occasionly went out at night to breathe for a few moments a purer air, our respiration was the only sound that disturbed the tranquillity of the void by which we were terrified. The wind, fleeting over this vast horizon without meeting with any other objects than ourselves, brought to our remembrance, in its silent motion, and amid the darkness of the night, the immense and dismal vacuity by which we were surrounded.

A few merchants, who had had the good fortune to save their packets from the grasp of the Mamelukes, were not without their apprehensions relative to us. Having been denounced by the shieks of Nagadi, they brought us presents, and were still more terrified by our refusal to accept them. Being accustomed to the sight of persons covered with gold, by whom they were laid under contribution, and seeing us pretty nearly in the garb of a banditti of robbers, they fancied that we were going to plunder them. It was at the same time impossible for them to conceal their riches. Our portmanteaus having been captured on board the flotilla, we were in want of linnen, and requested them to open their bales. Every hope on their side was now vanished. We made choice of what would suit us, and asked them the price of the quantity of each article which we should need. They replied, that they left this entirely to ourselves; but on our persisting to know the lowest price, which we paid them as soon as they had satisfied us, they were so surprised, that they felt their money, to be certain that what had passed was not a dream. Armed men, with the power in their hands, who paid!—they might have passed through every part of Asia and of Africa, without meeting with any thing so extraordinary. From that moment we acquired their full esteem and confidence. They came to prepare our breakfast, brought us Indian and Arabian sweetmeats, and cocoa-nuts, and made us the best coffee it was possible to drink. This combination of wretchedness and luxury, this motley state in which we lived, was not destitute of its share of interest. There is no situa-

tion in the world which cannot boast its enjoymets; and for this truth I appeal to the tombs of Nagadi.

Nagadi is a point which it is important to occupy; and mus naturally become the most frequent route of the desert, since it is the shortest by one day. A messenger who sets out from Cosseir may reach Nagadi in two days by the help of a dromedary, and in three days on foot. As nothing is to be found at Cosseir, the merchant who lands there, in returning from Gidda, is very anxious to reach the bank of the Nile; and the most expeditious means appearing to him to be the best, he sends to Nagadi to procure camels, which may reach him on the sixth day. When we were there, the price was a dollar for the conveyance of an hundred weight of merchandize, each camel carrying four hundreds:—a price which varies according to the more or less flourishing state of commerce, as does also that of the camels, which would at that time bring twenty dollars only, instead of sixty, which they cost before our arrival in Egypt. This may give an idea of the distressed state of affairs, and how much Mecca, Medina, and Gidda, must have suffered from the disturbances in that country. We who boasted that we were more just than the Mamelukes, committed daily and almost necessarily a great number of iniquitous acts. The difficulty of distinguishing our enemies by their exterior form and colour, was the cause of our continually putting to death innocent peasants. The soldiers who were sent out on scouting parties, frequently mistook for Meccans the poor merchants belonging to a caravan, with whom they fell in; and before justice could be done them, which in some cases the time and circumstances would not allow, two or three of them had been shot, a part of their merchandize either plundered or pilfered, and their camels exchanged for ours which had been wounded. The gains which resulted from these outrages, fell invariably to the share of the bloodsuckers of the army, the civil commissaries, Copts, and interpreters; the soldiers, who sought every opportunity to enrich themselves, being constantly obliged to abandon and forget their projects, by the drum beating to arms, or the trumpet sounding to horse. The situation of the inhabitants, for whose happiness and prosperity we were no doubt come to Egypt, was no better. If, through terror, they had been obliged to quit their houses on our approach, on their return, after we were withdrawn, they could find nothing but the mud of which the walls were formed. Utensils, ploughs, doors, roofs, every thing, in short, of a combustible nature, had been burned for cooking; and the earthen pots broken, the corn consumed, and the fowls and

pigeons roasted and devoured. Nothing was to be found except the bodies of their dogs, killed in endeavouring to defend the property of their masters. If we made any stay in a village, the unfortunate inhabitants who had fled on our approach, were summoned to return, under penalty of being treated as rebels who had joined the enemy, and of being made to pay double contributions. When they submitted to these threats, and came to pay the *miri*, it sometimes happened that they were so numerous as to be mistaken for a body of men in arms, and their clubs considered as muskets, in which case they were sure of being assailed by several discharges from the riflemen and patroles, before an explanation could take place. Those who were killed were interred; and the survivors remained friends with us, until a proper opportunity presented itself for retalition. It is true that, provided they did not quit their dwellings, but paid the *miri*, and supplied the wants of the army, they not only spared themselves the trouble of a journey, and avoided the unpleasant abode of the desert, but saw their provisions eaten with regularity, and might come in for their portion of them, preserving a part of their doors, selling their eggs to the soldiers, and having few of their wives and daughters ravished. In this case, however, the attachment that they had shown us was considered as culpable, insomuch that when the Mamelukes came after us, they did not leave them a crown piece, a horse or a camel; and frequently the sheik of the village forfeited his life for the pretended partiality which was imputed to him. It was very necessary for these poor wretches that such a state of things should terminate, and a new one be established: but how could this be done while the Mamelukes refused to fight us, and while fanatic and half-starved bands, such as those of the Meccans, resorted to their standard?

On the third day after our arrival at Nagadi, we learned that three hundred Meccans had come to a resolution to penetrate, by carefully avoiding our troops, across the desert to Cairo, and there disperse themselves among the immense population of that city, until they should be enabled to return to their native country by the caravans, or until an opportunity should present itself of revenging themselves on us. We were told that their chief, when dying had recommended to them to take this step, and had advised them to avoid us in the field; but that the emir's nephew, who had succeeded him in the command, being desirous of preserving his authority over them, and of seizing the remains of the plunder which the capture of the French barks had afforded, had persuaded them that the treasures which had been found on board these barks

were still in the fortress of Benhute, and that as soon as our troops should be withdrawn to a sufficient distance, he would conduct them thither to recapture these treasures. In the mean time, as it was necessary to obtain subsistence, he divided them into small bands, and sent them out to plunder the villages. In these predatory excursions they were more or less successful, and of course the peasants, to whom they were a great annoyance, traced their steps and hunted them like so many wolves. When they were fallen in with by our patroles, they were collected together, and shot and destroyed like animals obnoxious to society. They were thus taught that Mahomet did not approve their crusade.

On the second of April, General Desaix sent for three hundred men belonging to our half brigade, and for fifty of our cavalry, to do duty at Birambarr, where they were to relieve the troops which he was about to detach thence, and with which he was to proceed to strengthen the post of Keneh. On the same day we learned by our spies that the Mamelukes and Meccans had quitted the Kittah, and that it appeared by the route which they had taken to be their intention to pass out of the desert, in a northern direction, at Keneh or at Samata. The best dispositions were made on that side, either to oblige them to keep within the boundaries of the desert, or to surprise them on their attempting to quit it. These measures were, however, frustrated by the ardour of our soldiers, and by the confidence of their officers. The scouting party belonging to the detachment with which General Desaix was proceeding to Keneh, fell in with the rear-guard of the Mamelukes, and charged. The corps of cavalry endeavoured to support the scouts, but having imprudently left the infantry too much in the rear to be itself supported, was in a few minutes charged by the Mamelukes, who closed on our horsemen sabre in hand. Two chiefs of battalion, who had thus imprudently rushed on, lost their lives, as did also twenty dragoons. The artillery would have been a great resource, but was too far advanced. The Mamelukes, who dreaded its being called back, pursued their way, perfectly well pleased at having escaped the ambush that we had laid for them: they had not only saved their camp-equipage, but had proved to our horsemen that they manœuvred quicker, and understood the use of the back-sword better than they did. Two hundred infantry and a single field-piece would have converted this skirmish into a victory of great importance to us, at a moment when the beys and kiachefs, dispersed and deserted by a part of their Mamelukes, were greatly distressed. A heedless confidence, however, and a want of unity in the march, produced a want of combination in the attack: and

Desaix's orders being either misinterpreted or received too late, cost several brave officers their lives. Duplessis, a chief of brigade, an officer of distinguished talents, who had commanded in India, where he had rendered important services to his country, but who laboured under the odium of not having signalized himself during the war of the revolution, seized with avidity the present opportunity, the first which had presented itself to display his prowess. Forgetful of the orders that he had received not to quit the impregnable position which he occupied on a height, he darted forward, without waiting for his men to come up, and penetrated into the midst of the enemy's ranks: then selecting the most conspicuous of his foes, he galloped up to him. It was Osman, the most valiant of the beys: the two horses encountered, and the one on which Duplessis was mounted recovered from the shock. He threw himself up on his saddle, took Osman round the body, and strangled him in his arms. During this conflict, which was worthy of the times of ancient chivalry, the unfortunate Duplessis, who was not supported, was surrounded, and pierced by a lance. He fell on the body of his adversary, whom he still held in his grasp.

Notwithstanding it had been imprudently combined, the battle of Birambarr was productive of consequences which nearly brought about the dissolution of the remainder of the coalition of the beys. By our spies who visited the field of battle, we learned, that on the inspection of four dead bodies, it appeared that two of the deceased had worn beards, and were consequently kiachefs at least, the common Mamelukes being shaved, and not being permitted either to marry, or to allow the beard to grow, until certain dignities have been bestowed on them, in consequence of which they become freed men. We were afterwards informed that one of these was Mustapha Kiachef Aboudiabe, that is to say, father of the beard, each of the beys and kiachefs having a fighting name, which is either an honourable title or a nick-name, and which, as it is changed according to the circumstances, becomes alternately glorious or ridiculous. We were also told that Assan-Bey had received a gun-shot wound in the neck, and a sabre wound in the arm; and that Osman-Bey had lost nearly all his fingers. It was added, that twelve of the bravest of his Mamelukes had fallen; and, what was of still greater importance, that notwithstanding the beys had had the advantage in this action, the dread of meeting with the infantry on their way, and of losing their baggage, had induced them to turn back, and to seek shelter once more in the desert. We learned from the persons whom we had sent to the Kittah, that they had returned thither to procure water, and had taken the road which

leads to Redisi, directing their course towards Upper Egypt. I must confess, that the military arrangements which were to bring me to the vicinity of Thebes, and to the right bank of the Nile, appeared to me to be the best; and accordingly I fancy that I was the only one who was pleased at the order which we received to go in pursuit of them, and to drive them beyond Redisi. We set out from Nagadi, proceeding in front of the mountains, at the back of which the Mamelukes were on their march; and we learned by several of their followers, who had quitted them at the Kittah, that they were in a most deplorable condition, and would all of them perish, provided they could not reach Redisi within three days.

Towards noon we reached the territory of Thebes; and at the distance of three quarters of a league from the Nile, saw the ruins of a large temple, which has not been noticed by any traveller, and which may give an idea of the immensity of that city, since, if we suppose that it was the last edifice on the eastern side, it is more than two leagues and an half distant from Medinet-Abu, where the most western temple is situated. This was the third time of my passing through Thebes; and only passing it. At length we arrived at Karnac, a village built on a small part of the site of a single temple, the circumference of which would require half an hour to walk round. Herodotus has given a correct idea of its grandeur and magnificence. Diodorus and Strabo, who examined it in its ruinous state, appear to have given the description of its present condition; and all the travellers by whom they have been copied, have mistaken a great extent of masses for beauty, and, having allowed themselves rather to be taken by surprise than charmed on an inspection of the largest ruin in the world, have rashly preferred this temple to that of Apollinopolis at Etfu, that of Tentyra, and the simple portico at Esneh. It is probable that the temples of Karnac and Luxor were built in the time of Sesostris, when the flourishing condition of the Egyptians gave birth to the arts among them, and when these arts were perhaps displayed to the world for the first time. The vanity of erecting colossal edifices was the first consideration of opulence; and it was not as yet known, that a perfection in the arts bestows on their productions a grandeur which is independent of their magnitudes. It has, in after ages, been ascertained that the small rotunda of Vicenza is as perfect an edifice as that of St. Peter at Rome. It is therefore the sumptuousness alone of the Egyptians which is to be seen at Karnac, where not only quarries, but mountains are piled together, and hewn out into massive proportions,

the traits of which are as feebly executed, as the parts are clumsily connected; and these masses are loaded with uncouth bas-reliefs, and tasteless hieroglyphics, by which the art of sculpture is disgraced. The only objects there which are sublime, both with regard to their dimensions, and the skill which their workmanship displays, are the obelisks, and a few of the ornaments of the outer gates, the style of which is admirably chaste. If in the other parts of this edifice the Egyptians appear to us to be giants, in these latter productions they are geniuses. I am accordingly persuaded that these sublime embellishments were added in an after age to the colossal monuments of Karnac. It must however be granted, that the temple is noble and grand. The art of contriving beautiful plans, has, in architecture, invariably preceded that of the fine execution of the details, and has constantly survived for several centuries the corruption of the latter, as is proved by a comparison of the monuments of Thebes, with those of Esneh and Te ntyra, as well as by that of the edifices of the reign of Dioclesian with those of the time of Augustus.

To the known descriptions of this great edifice of Karnac should be added, that it was but a temple, and could be nothing else. All that exists at present in a somewhat entire state relates to a very small sanctuary, and had been disposed in this way to inspire a due degree of veneration, and to become a kind of tabernacle. On beholding the vast extent of these ruins the imagination is wearied with the idea of describing them. Of the hundred columns of the portico alone of this temple, the smallest are seven feet and an half in diameter, and the largest twelve. The space occupied by its circumvallation contains lakes and mountains. In short, to be enabled to form a competent idea of so much magnificence, it is necessary that the reader should fancy what is before him to be a dream, as he who views the objects themselves rubs his eyes to know whether he is awake. With respect to the present state of this edifice, it is, however, necessary at the same time to observe, that a great part of the effect is lost by its very degraded state. The sphinxes have been wantonly mutilated, with a few exceptions, which barbarism, wearied with destroying, has spared, and on examining which it is easy to distinguish that some of them had a woman's head, others that of a lion, a ram, a bull, &c. The avenue which leads from Karnac to Luxor was of this latter description; and this space, which is nearly half a league in extent, contains a constant succession of these chimerical figures to the right and left, together with fragments of stone walls, of small columns, and of statues. This point lying in the centre of the

city, the part which was the most advantageously placed, there is reason to suppose that the palace of the grandees or kings was situated there.

Luxor, the finest village in these environs, is also built on the site of the ruins of a temple, not so large as that of Karnac, but in a better state of preservation, the masses not having as yet fallen through time, and by the pressure of their own weight. The most colossal parts consist of fourteen columns of nearly eleven feet in diameter, and of two statues in granite, at the outer gate, buried up to the middle of the arms, and having in front of them the two largest and best preserved obelisks known.

A peculiarity belonging to the temple of Luxor, is, that a quay, provided with an epaulment, secured the eastern part, which was near the river, from the damages that the inundations might otherwise have occasioned. The epaulment, which since its original structure has been repaired and augmented in brick work, proves that the river has not changed its bed; and its preservation is an evidence that the Nile has never been banked by other quays, since no traces of similar constructions are elsewhere to be met with.

While I was busied in viewing this scene, our cavalry was engaged with a small party of straggling Mamelukes, two of whom were killed. The others escaped by swimming across the river, leaving behind them their arms, horses, and accoutrements, which fell into our hands.

We set out at two o'clock, and reached Salamieh at the expiration of thirteen hours, as if this space of time had been a regulation for our day's march, on all the occasions when we were to pass through Thebes. On the following day we again entered the desert, and arrived before Esneh pretty early. When setting out the day after, we found a small temple, in a very ruinous state, but notwithstanding, very picturesque and singular in its plan, as well as in several of its parts. It consists of a portico with four columns in front, two pilasters, and two columns in the depth, with a sanctuary in the middle, and two lateral apartments, one of which, on the right hand, is scarcely to be traced. Within the portico is a door cut out of the lateral wall to the right, which must have been the entrance of a small sanctuary in which the offerings were made. Another singularity in the elevation of this edifice is, that the capitals of the two columns in the middle of the portico are in relief at their summit, while those of the columns at each extremity are guttered. This building is in a more ruinous state than any other which I have seen in Egypt; and the

decay has undoubtedly arisen from the nature of the free-stone with which it was built. The parts which have been added are in a better preservation than in the other temples, a circumstance which is to be ascribed to the superior quality of the bricks that were employed. The circumvallation of the temple, within which were contained the lodgings of the priests, may be pretty distinctly made out; and the whole of this enclosure is somewhat elevated above the very small city of Contra-Latopolis, which was built round the compass of this monument. It would appear to have been the practice that all the great cities on the bank of the Nile should have a small city or port on the opposite bank, which was probably placed there for the convenience of commerce. It was scarcely day-break when the troops were marched off; and I regretted that I had not a better opportunity to study the details of the plan of this temple, and of the buildings which had been posteriorly added.

We proceeded in the direction of the mountains. In this latitude the part of Egypt which lies to the right is so narrow, that the chain extends, in two instances, to the Nile, insomuch that our artillery was conveyed over with difficulty, and the greater part of the day lost. On the other side of these passages the rocks become of a different nature: we found several quarries of free-stone, which no doubt supplied materials for the city and temples of Chenubis, where we arrived an hour after. Within a quarter of a league of this city are two tombs hewn out of the rock, and a small sanctuary surrounded by a gallery, having a portico in front. This monumeut is unconnected with any other, and is situated in the same way as the catholic chapels which are to be met with in Europe. I next proceeded to view the temple or temples of Chenubis, the ruins of which, as well as those of the city itself, are in so disjointed a state, and so varied in their proportions, that it is very difficult to form any correct idea of their plan. The most considerable and most elevated parts consist of six columns, the capitals of three of which belly out, while those of three others, which are parallel to them, are guttered, and united by an entablature, as far as I could distinguish in passing in a bark. On a nearer view I could perceive, that they had not been built at the same time, and that those which have guttered capitals have never been finished, and were added as a gallery to the others. In the front of this fragment of ruins, to the south, are the bases of a portico, which also appears not to have been finished: and, in the same direction is a block of granite which seems to have belonged to a colossal statue. In an

eastern direction I met with a basin of water, the circumference of which is lined and decorated by a gallery formed of columns. In the western part of the city the gate of a sanctuary presents itself, together with two very minute fragments, of the nature of which I could not satisfy myself. In the front is a lining in the form of a quay on the Nile. Among these architectural ruins are several ruins of sculpture, among others a group of two figures coupled together, three feet in height, the heads of which have been broken off. What is most noticeable at Chenubis is an enclosure, the walls of which are built of unbaked bricks, and are of a conical shape, having at their base a thickness of upwards of twenty-seven feet. This extraordinary work, of which history makes no mention, is in many parts in an entire state. I apprehended at first sight, that it was of Arabic construction: but as there are no ruins nor traces of Arabic edifices on the site of Chenubis, it is presumable that it is a work of high antiquity, and in this case there is no occasion to construct fortifications of any other description in Egypt, with the exceptions of the jambs and embrasures, together with such other parts as are exposed to friction. In this instance all the great masses have completely resisted the ravages of time, and may still be employed in any defensive measures.

I was obliged to quit this spot precipitately, cursing the war, the soldiery, and the importance of their operations, which invariably forced me to abandon the most interesting objects, to set out on the ineffectual pursuit of an enemy, who made more progress in one day than we did in three, and to whom we had left all the passages open. At day-break we were on foot, and at night at no greater distance than three-quarters of a league from Chenubis; it was for such a purpose that this vain speed had been so imperiously commanded. On the following day, after having marched during an hour, we found lying on the ground the remains of two temples, the plans of which could not be traced. These ruins seemed to be deposited there merely to point out the site of the city of Juno Lucina, which the infallible d'Anville has laid down in this latitude.

We at length reached by the desert the pass of Redisi, which is a fourth opening from the Kittah. It has never been frequented by the merchants, and was fatal to the Mamelukes, almost the whole of whom, by taking this road, lost their horses, together with a part of their camels, a considerable number of their attendants, and twenty-six women, out of twenty-eight, whom the bey had taken with them. Their march was traced by their disasters, and by what they left behind them; tents, arms, clothing,

the carcasses of horses starved to death, camels which were no longer able to support their burden, attendants, and their women, whom they abandoned to their fate.

We encamped near the river, where we took up our residence among tombs, and in the vicinity of two withered shrubs of acacia. All those who could be spared were ordered to proceed to Etfu; and I accompanied this party, in the hope of viewing at my leisure the sublime temple of Apollinopolis, the most beautiful of all Egypt, and, next to those of Thebes, the largest. Being built at a period when the arts and sciences had acquired all their splendour, the workmanship of every part is equally beautiful, the hieroglyphics are admirably executed, the figures more varied, and the architecture of a higher order than the Theban edifices, the building of which must be referred to an earlier age.

This superb edifice is seated on a rising ground, so as to overlook not only its immediate vicinity, but the whole valley, and at the foot of this greater temple, but on a considerably lower level, is a smaller one, at present almost buried: the only part still visible is in a hollow, where may be seen a little portico of two columns, and as many pilasters, a peristyle, and the sanctuary of the temple inclosed within a pilastered gallery. A single column, with its capital rising from the ruins, to the height of forty feet above the portico, and the angle of a wall a hundred feet beyond, shew that there formerly existed a court in front of the temple. It is remarkable of this monument, notwithstanding the skill displayed in its construction, that the gates are not exactly in the middle of the sides. It seems to have been dedicated to the evil genius, for the figure of Typon is seen in relief on the four sides of the plinth, which surmounts each of the capitals. The whole frieze, and all the paintings within, appear descriptive of Isis defending herself against the attacks of this monster.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Quit Etfu and arrive at Esneh—Return towards the Desert, and pass again through Thebes—Historical Bass-reliefs at Karnac, and various Ruins—Intense Heat—Pass by Guedime—Reach Kous—General Submission of the Inhabitants, and Arrival of the Caravans—Architectural Remains at Kous—Arrive at Keneh—Particulars concerning the Route to Tombuctoo—Hostile Assembly at Beneadi—Massacre there, and Plundering of the Caravan—Failure of Murad-Bey's Projects—Crocodiles—Ruins at Dendera—Ancient Zodiac.*

GENERAL Beliard arrived during the second day, and we set forward the next morning. At a short distance from Etfu, I found by the water-side the remains of a quay, near the entrance of a large canal: no other ruin accompanies this fragment, but from the appearance of a double flight of steps down this mound to the river, it is obvious that it was not constructed solely for the purpose of resisting the current, but was probably a wharf for some town or village, now ruined and forgotten. We again passed by the ruins of Hieraconpolis, of which I have already spoken, and spent the evening four leagues from Etfu. At one in the morning our march was recommenced, and on the 23d of March we arrived at Esneh, worn out with fatigue. I had flattered myself with the hope of enjoying here a few days of repose, and was much disappointed to find that the troops from Mecca, in conjunction with some Mamelukes, were on their march from Girgeh; that although they had been met and beaten at Bardis, regardless of this check, they had nevertheless proceeded to Girgeh, to plunder the market: here one division had been intercepted and beaten again, but the remainder were still formidable, from their influence over the inhabitants; we were therefore obliged to return, and occupy the passes of the desert. An entire night was spent in passing the river; and when our march began, the sun was risen, and was already very oppressive: we halted during the hottest part of the day, and reached Salamieh in the evening. On the following day, after marching a few hours, I came for the fourth time in sight of the majestic ruins of Thebes.

We stopped at Karnac, and I lost no time in profiting of my good fortune. The fragments in the highest preservation are the following. A hero, perhaps a Pharaoh, Memnon, Osymandyas, or Sesostris, is seen combating alone from a car in pursuit of people at a distance, with beards, and clothed in long tunics; he forces

them into a marsh, and obliges the rest to take shelter in a fortress. In one fragment he overthrows their chief, already wounded with an arrow. In a second compartment he returns bringing back the captives. In a third, he presents them fettered to the three divinities, by whose protection he has obtained the victory; for it is to be observed, that in all the above actions his arms are always accompanied and guarded by one or two emblematical hawks. The divinity to whom he presents the fruit of his conquest is that of Abundance, under the figure of Priapus, holding a flail in his right hand, a god to whom the temple of Karnac, the largest in Thebes, and probably one of the greatest and oldest that was ever constructed, is dedicated. From the very sanctuary to the outer walls of the building this divinity is represented by his least equivocal characteristic. The day was advancing, and we had not yet taken any refreshment. While we were thus employed, the sun gained so far upon us, that we resolved to pass the night at Karnac. I immediately returned to my interesting task; and surveyed the ruins.

I had not time to measure the extent of ground occupied by these buildings, but I found repeatedly that twenty-five minutes were required to encompass them on full trot. The passage through the circumvallation or exterior wall was by six gates that yet remain, three of which were preceded by avenues of sphinxes: within the circuit was contained not only the great temple, but three others entirely distinct from it, having each its own gates, porticoes, courts, avenues, and boundary wall—What was their use? Were they temples or palaces? Were their sovereigns lodged in the porticoes of the temples, or were their palaces similar in construction to the sacred edifices. Their accommodations, at least in these out-skrits of the temples were not to be envied. Large courts with open galleries, and porticoes formed by narrow intercolumniations, could not be very pleasant to live in: the few chambers that there are, of small dimensions, destitute of air and light, and covered with allegories, were but little calculated to attract the eye or please the imagination. Another objection is, that some of these dark chambers contained little tabernacles, in which, no doubt, were inclosed either the figure of the divinity or the particular animal emblematical of it, or the sacred treasure; and to any of these none but the priests would be admitted. Probably, therefore, the vast circuits of these buildings were occupied by numerous colleges of priests, the depositaries of the science, the power and the influence of the country.

What monotony! what melancholy wisdom? what austere gravity of manners! I still wonder at such a government; its stupendous remains yet excite a mingled sensation. The divinity, in sacerdotal habits, holds in one hand a hook, and in the other a flail; the former no doubt, to restrain, and the latter, to punish: every thing is measured by the law, and enchained by it. The fine arts, subject to the same severe restrictions, bend under the weight of fetters, and their soaring genius is pinioned to the earth. The unveiled emblem of generation traced even in the sanctuary of the temples, announces, that to destroy pleasure it was converted into a duty: not a single circus, not a single theatre, not a single edifice for public recreation; but temples, but mysteries, but initiations, but priests, but sacrifices; ceremonies for pleasures; and luxury only in sepulchres. Surely, in the evil hour of France, some demon evoked the gloomy ferocious soul of an Egyptian priest to animate the monster, who imagined, by making us sullen, to render us happy.

In traversing the building, I found myself at the south-western extremity of the circumvallation, where the other smaller temples are situated. I entered one of them, and was struck with a new sensation of astonishment. Behind two buttresses is an open portico of twenty-eight columns, ungraceful in its proportions, but rendered imposing by its severity of style: so true is it in architecture, that where the lines are long, few, and uninterrupted, the effect is always grand and striking. At the end of this first portico, is a large open door, leading to a second colonnade of eight pillars in two rows, still more grave in their proportions, and whose character is rendered more impressive by their awful depth of shade, beyond this is a long narrow passage, succeeded by two others, each darker than the preceding, and at the extremity of all is a subterranean sanctuary, which appears to the imagination as the asylum of terror, the temple of the Eumenidæ. The whole of this monument is separated from the rest by a boundary wall.

The heat was so intense, that my feet were scorched through my shoes, and I was unable to sit down for the purpose of drawing, till I had placed my servant between the sun and myself, in order to intercept the rays, and procure me a little shelter; the very stones were become so hot, that wishing to collect some carnelian agates, which are found in great abundance in the outskirts of the town, I was obliged to lay each hastily in my handkerchief as if it was a hot-coal. Harassed and fatigued, I betook myself to a small Arabian tomb, which was to serve for our night's lodging, and which appeared to me a delicious *boudoir*, till I was

told, that in our former march through this place a French soldier, who had loitered behind the column, was stabbed in this very spot: the marks of the assassination yet visible upon the walls filled me with horror; nevertheless I lay down, I slept, and so weary was I, that I could even have reposed on the very carcass of this ill-fated victim.

We departed on the morrow before day-light. At day-break I found myself sufficiently near Guedime to see the ruin there, consisting of four columns, still surmounted by three massy stones of the entablature, in front of which are visible the foundations of two buttresses, at present a shapeless mass of fragments. These are the only remnants of a monument, whose chief merit at present is to serve as a fixed point from which to compute the vast extent of the Theban monuments. At noon we reached Kous, where we were informed that the troops sent against us from Mecca had been routed by all our detachments, and in their flight had been intercepted at Tata by our cavalry, who, to secure the tranquillity of the country, had put them entirely to the sword.

At an equal distance from Elfi-Bey, who had descended the river, and from Osman, who had returned up it as far as Syene, we rested ourselves a few days at Kous, where I contemplated a gate, the only remnant that is left of the ancient Apollinopolis parva. This single fragment appears larger than all the rest of the town, and offers a striking picture of the duration that characterizes the Egyptians architecture. The other parts of the edifice are doubtless buried under the mountain of rubbish that is occupied by the modern town. The inscription itself was posterior to the monument, and afforded a curious example of skilful flattery in a prefect of Upper Egypt, at the time of the Ptolemies, who, on account of some repairs, twenty or thirty centuries after the first building of the temple, ventured to dedicate it to his masters, to inscribe the gate with their names, and thus transmit them to posterity.

I found in the fields near the lower part of the town, a fragment of a tabernacle, or single-stone temple, which, after having been broken, had served for the drinking trough to a cistern; one of its window frames still remaining entire, bore a hieroglyphical inscription, admirably executed, and in a perfect state of preservation. Such a fragment as this is of itself a monument of the culture and intelligence of the nation to which it formerly belonged.

We left Kous, and arrived at Keneh, where we found a number of merchants of all nations. By intercourse with the natives of different countries, remote distances seem to be contracted; and when w

begin to reckon the days required for the journey, and the necessary means of effecting it, the space to be passed over ceases to be immense; we no sooner find ourselves actually engaged than many difficulties, formidable at first, insensibly diminish, and at length disappear. The Red Sea, Gidda, Mecca, seemed like neighbouring places to the town where we were; and India itself was but a short way beyond them. In the opposite direction the oases were actually no more than three days' journey off us, and ceased to our imagination as an undiscovered country. From oasis to oasis, by easy marches of one or two days, we arrive at Sennaar, one of the capitals of Nubia, which separates Egypt from Abyssinia and Darfur, the latter of which countries is in the road to, and trades with, Tombuctoo, whose inhabitants are still the chief object, in Africa, of European curiosity, and whose very existence was a short time ago problematical. It is true, indeed, that though the journey to Darfur may be accomplished in forty days, a hundred more are required to reach Tombuctoo. A merchant whom I found at Keneh, and who had often been to Darfur, where the caravans arrive from Tombuctoo, gave me the following itinerary, which I subjoin in the note.* Here also we found many Turkish, Meccan, and Moorish merchants, come to exchange coffee and Indian cottons for corn.

* *Route from Siut to Darfur and Sennaar by Dongola.*—From Siut by the desert, in a south-westerly direction, four days are required to reach Korg-Eluah, the most populous and best cultivated of the oases: here is a stream of fresh water, which, rising out of the ground, is, after a short course, lost in it again: there is a fortress, and a large village.

From Korg Eluah to Bulague, another oasis, half a day's journey: here is a small village, and well tasted water, which, however is apt to disagree with those who are not accustomed to it.

From Bulague to El-Bsactah, one day: brackish water.

From El-Bsactah to Beris, half a day's journey. Here there is a large village, and tolerably good water.

From Beris to El-Mekh, two hours. Here it is necessary to lay in a stock of water, for the oases cease at El-Mekh, and nothing but salt or brackish water is to be met with for several days. Travelling from this place in the same direction as at first, after six days, we reach Desir.

From Desir to Selima, three days: salt water, but not quite undrinkable.

From Selima to Dongola, where we again met with the Nile, four days. Here a fresh supply of water and provisions must be laid in.

From Dongola, bearing away more to the west for four days we arrive at El Goyah.

From El Goyah to Zagaoneh, six days: brackish water.

From Zagaoneh to Darfur, ten days, without meeting with either village or water.

Beneadi, a town two miles long, and containing twelve thousand inhabitants, always rebellious against every government, from its situation on the verge of the desert, had called in the Arabs: a caravan from Darfur was also just arrived here. Murad-Bey, profiting of this concurrence, had found means, by working on their religious fanaticism, on a sudden to excite the whole to arms. Immediately upon intelligence of this being received, General Davoust was dispatched with the cavalry to Beneadi: the common tranquillity required the destruction of a volcano that was incessantly threatening us: the troops, animated with the hope of plunder, in an instant swept away the whole village: those of the inhabitants that escaped joined the remnant of the Meccans, marched against Miniet, and were put to the sword in a second encounter.

Among the booty of Beneadi was an immense number of women, partly inhabitants of the place, and partly slaves brought by the caravan: those to whose share they fell in the division of the spoil sold them in open market; from one they passed to another, rising in value with every change of masters, till at length they were purchased again from their last owners by their fathers, their husbands, or their former masters: meek and modest, they submitted with impassive resignation to their lot, and were reinstated in their domestic relations without any questions being asked. A conduct so little consonant to the usual habits of Mahomedan jealousy, inducing us to express our surprise, we were answered very sensibly, "What fault of theirs is it that we have not been able to defend them?"

While at Keneh, I had to regret the death of a crocodile, which some peasants having surprised asleep, had bound and brought alive to the officer who commanded during the absence of General Beliard: the animal being yet young, and fettered by an iron circle between the shoulders and belly, could not be very formidable: we might have observed and become acquainted with his habits, which are unknown even in his native country, so much is he an object of terror! It would have been curious to see his manner of eating, to ascertain what kind of food he lives on, whether mastication is necessary to him, and if so, how it is effected in an

The other route from Dongola to Darfur requires seventeen days march in a southerly direction to Sennaar, and hence to Darfur twelve days travelling due west.

It is above all essential in such a journey, to be sufficiently well mounted, to keep up with the caravan, as this stops for no one, and he who goes slower than the rest is necessarily left behind.

animal possessed only of cutting teeth; how his throat supplies the place of a tongue, and whether advantage might be taken of his voracity to render him tame. He might, perhaps, have been brought alive to France, and might there have been submitted to the examination of the naturalists and the curiosity of the Parisians. In my wanderings on the banks of this river I have seen a great number of all sizes, from three to twenty-six or twenty-eight feet in length: many officers worthy of credit assured me that they met with one no less than forty feet long. They are by no means so ferocious as is pretended: their favourite resorts are the low islands of the river, where they are seen basking in the sun (the most intense heat of which appears highly grateful to them) by numbers at a time, asleep and motionless as so many logs of wood, surrounded by birds, who appear totally unmindful of them. What is the food of these large animals? Many stories are related of them, but we have not yet had an opportunity of verifying a single one. Daring even to imprudence, our soldiers set them at defiance; even I myself bathed daily in the Nile; for the tranquil nights that I thus obtained, rendered me regardless of dangers which we had not as yet verified by a single fact. If the crocodiles had devoured a few of the carcasses which the war left at their disposal, such a food, it might be imagined, would only excite their appetite, and engage them to pursue when alive so favourite a prey; and yet we were never once attacked by them, nor did we ever meet with a single crocodile at a distance from the water. Hence it appears probable that they find in the Nile itself a sufficient quantity of easily procurable food, which they digest slowly, being, like the lizard and serpent, cold-blooded and of an inactive stomach. When I left Keneh, General Beliard had a young one in his possession no more than six inches long, which yet already began to show its native ferocity. I was afterwards informed by the general that it lived four months without eating, without appearing to suffer, without appearing to grow, or to become leaner, and to the last was as untractable as ever.

Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote in the time of Julian, has recorded, that, from the remotest antiquity, the Egyptians considered themselves as dupes, if they paid their debts without being compelled to it by actual force or fear: fortunately for me, the people of Dendera had not degenerated from their ancestors.

From the window of my apartment at Keneh, I saw the ruins of Tentyra, two leagues off, on the other side of the Nile; those ruins, the recollection of which inspired me with so much interest, mixed at the same time with regret, at not having had an oppor-

tunity to make a leisurely survey of a zodiac, which clearly proved the deep knowledge of the ancient Egyptians in astronomy.

The Denderites refusing to pay the tribute, a hundred men were sent thither, whom I accompanied. From Dendera to the ruins of Tentyra is only twenty minutes' ride; this latter place from its ancient mouuments, is called by the Arabs, Berbeh. We arrived at the town in the evening, and the next morning, with a guard of thirty men, I went to the ruins, and this time took possession of them in the fullness of repose and quiet. I was first of all delighted to find that my enthusiastic admiration of the great temple was not an illusion produced by the novelty of its appearance, since after having seen all the other Egyptian monuments, this still appeared the most perfect in its execution, and constructed at the happiest period of the arts and sciences: every thing in it is laboured, is interesting, is important. It would be necessary to draw the whole in its most minute detail, to possess ourselves of all that is worth carrying away; nothing has been made without some end in view, without contributing in a greater or lesser degree to the perfection and harmony of the whole. As my time here was very limited, I began with what had been the principal object of my journey hither, the celestial planisphere, which occupies part of the ceiling of a little apartment, built over the nave of the great temple. The floor being low and the room dark, I was able to work at it only a few hours in the day; but neither this, nor the multiplicity of the details, and the great care required in not confounding them by the necessity of viewing them in so inconvenient a posture, abated my ardour; the desire of bringing to the philosophers of my native country the copy of an Egyptian bas-relief of so much importance, made me patiently endure the tormenting position required in its delineation. I copied also the rest of the ceiling, which is divided into two equal parts, by a large figure that seems to be an Isis: her feet rest upon the earth, her arms are extended towards heaven, and she appears to occupy all the space between. In another part of the ceiling is a large figure, probably representing heaven or the year, with its hands and feet on the same level, and enfolding with the curvature of the body fourteen globes, placed on as many boats, distributed over seven bands or zones, separated from each other by numberless hieroglyphics, but almost totally covered with stalactites and smoke.

Behind this first chamber is a second, which receives light only through the door; this also is covered with most interesting and admirably executed hieroglyphical pictures. It is difficult to

imagine what could be the use of this little edifice, so carefully finished, and ornamented with pictures so evidently scientific: those on the ceilings appear to relate to the motions of the heavenly bodies, and those on the walls have probably some reference to the earth, and the influences of the air and water. The earth is universally represented by the figure of Isis, who was the presiding divinity in all the temples of Tentyra, and whose emblem or figure is found in every part: her head is seen forming the capital of the columns belonging to the portico, and the first chamber of the great temple: it is also in the centre of the astragal, and sculptured in gigantic proportions, on the outside of the foundation wall: it is the distinguishing object in the ornaments of the frieze and the cornice, and is conspicuous in all the pictures with her proper attributes. It is Isis to whom all the offerings are made, when they are not presented by herself to her husband Osiris: her figure is inscribed on the outer gates of the enclosure, and to her are dedicated the little temples that are there represented. In that on the right hand of the entrance, she is triumphing over two evil genii; in that which is behind the great temple, she is variously described as holding Horus in her arms, defending him from every hostile attempt, entrusting him only to figures like cows, and suckling him at every age, from infancy to puberty.

I employed much time in measuring the capitals and columns, in making plans and elevations, and taking views of the gates. There are now neither doors nor even hinges to these gates, which formerly secluded from profane eyes those mysteries of which the priests were so jealous, and also, perhaps, concealed the treasures of the state. The chambers consecrated to eternal night, the mysteriousness of the worship, obscure as the temples themselves, the secret initiations, so difficult to be obtained, and for ever shut against strangers, and the sudden overthrow, both of the government and religion, as soon as Cambyses had violated the sanctuaries, overthrown the divinities, and carried off the treasures, all combine in announcing that, within these temples was contained the essence of all: and that hence emanated all the civil and religious authority of the state.

My inquiries, and my observations, were cut short by the eagerness of the sheik of the village to rid the district of our presence: after the first day he brought in his contribution, the general recalled the troops, and thus ended my expedition.

Just before setting off, I took a general view of the site of Tentyra, and the group of monuments that overlook the town, with the mountains rising in the distance. I also copied an inscrip-

tion in beautiful and large Greek characters, placed like that at Kous on the listels to the right and left of the top of one of the outer gates, to the south of the great temple. The following, according to the literati whom I have consulted, is the translation of the inscription.

"On account of the Emperor Cæsar, the Divine, the son of Jupiter the Deliverer, when Publius Octavius being governor, Marcus Claudius Postumus commander in chief, and Tryphon general, the deputies of the metropolis consecrated, in virtue of the law, the propylæum to Isis, the greatest of the goddesses, and to the associated gods of the temple, in the thirty-first year of Cæsar, on the sacred day of Thoth."

There is another inscription on the listel of the cornice of the great temple; but I was unable to distinguish the characters sufficiently well to copy them. These few Greek characters, in the midst of innumerable Egyptian inscriptions, form an extraordinary and striking contrast.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Present State of Copthos—Kamsin Wind, or Hurricane of Egypt—Swarm of Locusts—Defeat of Selim-Bey—March across the Desert to Cosseir—Biralbarr—Fountains of Kittah and El-More—Description of Cosseir—Arab cooking—Return to Mokatam—Feast at Abumanah—Egyptian Servants.*

SOME days after my return from Tentyra, the cavalry was sent to protect a military chest, which was to be conveyed from Esneh to Keneh. I took advantage of this escort to go and visit Keft, or Copthos, which I had passed at a distance three times before, without having had opportunity to stop and visit this town, or even to ride through it. I wished to know whether Copthos, which was so celebrated by the calamities which it underwent in the time of the persecutions by Dioclesian, possessed any vestiges of higher antiquity. I was struck in entering the town with the good preservation of its different monuments; the ancient part still remains in the state in which it was left by the conflagration which terminated the long siege that destroyed it in the third century; the old limits of the city have been abandoned, and to this has succeeded an Arab town, with a boundary wall of unbaked bricks, beyond which, verging to the west, was built the village of Keft, which still exists. Was Copthos the ancient name of this town? And did the ancient Copts take their name from that of Copthos, where zeal collected their numbers, and made them sustain so obstinate and disastrous a siege in the time of

Dioclesian? One may evidently distinguish the different ruins of two temples of high antiquity, and those of a catholic church, in which taste and art in the construction were certainly less remarkable than the magnificence and richness of the materials employed: the fragments of porphyry and granite columns and pilasters, scattered over a vast space of ground, remain to attest the opulence and luxury of the first believers; but the sculpture on the doric friezes, some fragments of which are still visible, shew that at this period the efforts at embellishment, which art could command, only impoverished the sumptuous magnificence of the materials. All these monuments lie without form and order on the ground, excepting a few portions still left standing.

I had often heard speak of the *kamsin*, which may be termed the hurricane of Egypt and the desert; it is equally terrible by the frightful spectacle which it exhibits when present, and by the consequences which follow its ravages. We had already passed with security one half of the season in which it appears, when in the evening of the 18th of May, I felt myself entirely overcome by a suffocating heat; it seemed as if the fluctuation of the air was suddenly suspended. I went out to bathe, in order to overcome so painful a sensation, when I was struck on my arrival at the bank of the Nile, with a new appearance of nature around me; this was a light and colours which I had not yet seen. The sun, without being concealed, had lost its rays; it had even less lustre to the eye than the moon, and gave a pale light without shade; the water no longer reflected its rays, but appeared in agitation; every thing had changed its usual aspect; it was now the flat shore that seemed luminious, and the air dull and opaque; the yellow horizon shewed the trees on its surface of dirty blue; flocks of birds were flying off before the cloud; the frighted animals ran loose in the country, followed by the shouting inhabitants, who vainly attempted to collect them together again; the wind, which had raised this immense mass of vapour, and was urging it forward, had not yet reached us; we thought that by plunging our bodies in the water, which was then calm, we could prevent the baneful effects of this mass of dust, which was advancing from the south-west; but we had hardly entered the river when it began to swell all at once, as if it would overflow its channel, the waves passed over our heads, and we felt the bottom heave up under our feet; our clothes were conveyed away along with the shore itself, which seemed to be carried off by the whirlwind which had now reached us; we were compelled to leave the water, and our wet and naked bodies being beat upon by a storm of sand,

were soon encrusted with a black mud, which prevented us from dressing ourselves; enlightened only by a red and gloomy sun, with our eyes smarting, our noses stuffed up, and our throats clogged with dust, so that we could hardly breathe, we lost each other and our way home, and arrived at our lodgings at last one by one, groping our way, and guided only by the walls, which marked our track. We could now easily conceive the dreadful situation of those who are surprised with such a phenomenon of nature, when crossing the exposed and naked deserts; and we were so accustomed to the serene sky of Egypt, that we could hardly bear with any patience such a sudden transition.

Two days after this disaster, we were told that the plain was covered with birds, which were passing on from east to west, like the close files of an army; and, indeed, we saw at a distance the fields appear to move, like a broad torrent flowing through the country. Thinking that they might be some foreign birds we hastened out to meet them; but instead of birds we saw a cloud of locusts, who just skimmed the soil, stopping at each blade of grass to devour it, then flying off to new food.

Desaix, in order to drive Murad from his retreat, was preparing at Siut an expedition for the oasis; the command of it was to be given to his aid-de-camp Savary, whilst General Beliard was getting ready the detachment which we were to send to Cosseir. We collected a great number of camels, I say *we*, because by degrees one identifies one's-self with those that one lives with, and I was a party concerned in every event that happened to the division of Desaix, and more particularly to the twenty-first demi-brigade. Our caravan was composed of three hundred and sixty-six of our men; we had each of us a camel to ourselves, which also carried the baggage and water necessary for each individual; and besides, two hundred camels were loaded with articles of the first necessity for us on our arrival at Cosseir. The chiefs of the Arabs, who had just made alliance with us, joined our caravan, making advantage of this opportunity to ingratiate themselves with us by serving as guides, escort, and rear-guard; the whole party might amount in all to a thousand or eleven hundred men, and as many camels. It was entertaining for us to see each other mount our beasts; the camel, who is in general so deliberate in all his actions, mounts on his hind legs first very briskly as soon as the rider leans on his saddle to spring up, and throws him first forward and then backward, and it is not till the fourth motion, when the beast is entirely on his legs, that the rider can find his balance. None of us

had been able to resist the first shake, and we each had to laugh at our neighbours till we were all well fixed on our seats.

We left Keneh the 26th of May, at ten in the morning, and arrived at four in the afternoon at Birambarr or Biralbarr *(the Well of Wells)* a village on the edge of the desert, about as high up as Copthos, and opposite to the defile which leads to Kittah, a fountain, of which I have spoken above, and which is the radiating centre of all the different roads that lead to Cosseir. We halted at Birambarr, and after the camels had eaten and drank as much as they chose, they were compelled to swallow a second allowance of beans and barley, which was forced into their mouths.

The name of Biralbarr, or *Well of Wells*, arises doubtless from the two fountains, which are the only resources which this village offers. The water is sulphureous, but sweet and refreshing, owing to the nitre which it contains. I had been apprehensive of the swinging pace of the camel, and the prancing of the dromedary had made me fear being thrown over his head, but I was soon agreeably undeceived. When once fixed in the saddle, one has only to give way to the motion of the beast, and one soon finds that it is impossible to be more pleasantly mounted for a long journey, especially as no attention is requisite to guide the animal, except in turning him out of his strait forward direction, which very seldom happens in the desert and amidst a caravan. The camel very rarely trips, and never stumbles except where the ground is wet: the dromedary is among the camel tribe what the greyhound is among dogs; they are only used for the saddle: a ring is passed through their nostril, to which a thong is tied, and this serves as a bridle to guide and stop him, to make him kneel when the rider wishes to dismount. The pace of the dromedary is light, the opening of the angle of his long legs, and the flexible spring of his lean foot renders his trot easier than that of any horse, and at the same time full as swift.

In quitting Biralbarr we turned to the east, and entering a long wide valley, forming an extensive plain, at the extremities of which appear some points of rocks, which shew that one is travelling along a chain of hills. I regretted that I had not Dolomieu with me in this journey, but M. Roziere supplied his place. We marched thus till ten at night in good order, so that on stopping at any time we could immediately form in military array. We then each spread our carpet beside our camel, supped on it, and slept. At one in the morning the moon rose, the drum was beat, and in five minutes' time we were all again on our march without any confusion or trouble.

At day break we arrived at the Kittah, a very singular fountain, since it is situated on a higher level than all the surrounding ground; this fountain consists of three wells six feet in depth. There is here a small mosque, or caravansary, which serves for shelter to travellers when they are not very numerous.

One may here be convinced of the importance of those wells which are so often mentioned in the Old Testament, and the history of the Arabs. We continued to march the rest of the day through the same kind of country, but it insensibly rose, and the ranges of mountains on either side approached nearer to each other. We then encamped during the evening, and resumed our march as on the day before.

At day-break we found the appearance of the country changed; the valley continued to grow narrower, and the rocks on every side more lofty. At noon we had reached the first half of our journey. Having passed some rocks, we began to descend again, till we reached a fountain called *El-More*, which is only a small hole under a rock. The water was excellent, but not sufficient for our numerous caravan; we passed on to a second watering-place, composed of several wells, under a rock, which had the appearance of the antique green marble. This was the only spot for about forty paces in which the road was narrow and difficult, and gave us some trouble to get our artillery over; all the rest was like a well sanded walk in a garden.

This variety of form and colour began to break the uniformity of the desert, and gave it almost a rural appearance; the country became sonorous; the noise of our party began to echo in the valleys, and appeared like the wakening of nature, for our troops had crossed the sandy plains in silence; hardly had they began to converse when in the valleys, but when arrived among the hills, they made them resound with mirth and gaiety. This second fountain, though abundant, was too limited to supply the wants of our whole troop; we therefore pushed on to that of El-Adoute. We dug a well, which directly gave water of an excellent quality; we replaced with it what was in our water-vessels, and took in a supply to last us to Cosseir. With a fortified tower, a cistern, and a caravansary established here, the passage from Cosseir to the Nile would be as easily practicable as any other road.

In proportion as we descended, the mountains diminished in height. We stopped to sleep some hours, after having marched eighteen. At day-break we found the valley much enlarged, and soon arrived at the fountain Ambagi, where we saw seven or eight palm-trees, which form the only grove that is to be seen for fifty leagues around.

I perceived by the lightness of the air that we were approaching the sea; and soon saw the waves breaking on the reefs which line the shore. A mist on the horizon pointed out to us the Asiatic coast, which, however, was too far to be at all discerned. The Ababdes Arabs, who had preceded us, had gone on before to give notice of our arrival to the inhabitants of Cosseir, and we saw them return with the sheiks of the town and their followers, driving before them a flock of sheep, the first offering of peace and homage. The costume of the Cosseirans is the same as that of Mecca; the Ababdes were many of them naked, except a girdle round their loins, with a lance in their hands, and a dagger attached to the left arm; they sat with their legs crossed on their meagre dromedaries, forming a singular contrast with the Meccans, who had a graver air, wore a head-dress like the ancient Roman augurs, were wrapped up in long garments with broad stripes, and were mounted on large camels. As soon as the different parties met, every one dismounted: our troops put themselves in order of battle, and after an amicable conference of a few minutes, we went altogether to take possession of the castle, on which the white standard of peace was waving. I had formed such an idea of a pitiful town and ruined castle in Cosseir, that when I came to them, I thought the former almost splendid, and the castle, a fort. The latter is an Arab edifice, built in the times of the caliphs, in the style of the fortifications of Alexandria, forming a square with four curtains, flanked with as many bastions, without ditches. The port and road of Cosseir is formed by reefs, which defend it from the north-north-west winds, and a head-land that protects it from the south-south-east. It is open on the east and south-east. This head-land, or cape, is entirely of late formation, and is composed of nothing but madrepores, the greater number of which are of an enormous size. Nothing can describe in adequate terms the severe sadness of the country, the ridgid aspect of the soil, and the insupportably dazzling reflection of the sun from the white shelly shore; and to see human beings in bustle and agitation in this barren spot, gives one a striking picture of the privations which avarice will endure in order to obtain a superfluity. The Arab houses are composed of a few pieces of wood that support some miserable mats, under which the inhabitants live on shell-fish, and form all their household utensils of the shells; and even work them into boxes, which are not without elegance. It would have been interesting to have reconnoitred the road of Berenice, which was made at a vast expence by the Ptolemies, forty leagues to the south, and afterwards abandoned for that of Cosseir, which, how-

ever, will only hold a small number of merchant-ships of inferior size, as the depth of water is only two fathoms, and two and a half where it is the deepest. To load the vessels, they are obliged to carry the goods in the arms of men a hundred and fifty paces from the shore, to put them on board boats, which afterwards have to take them to the vessels which are to be freighted. With all these inconveniencies, it might at first appear surprising, to find still some commercial activity in the huts and rubbish of Cosseir; but when one considers, that it is, after all, the best known port in the Red Sea, that it furnishes corn to Mecca, and receives the coffee of Yemen, that is the point of contact between Asia and Africa, and might become the entrepôt of the merchandize of these parts of the world, one is still more astonished that any government can be so wastefully blind to its own resources, as to have thought of nothing but harassing, and vexing by impositions, a commerce, which would return such large interest for all that might be advanced to it. Neither custom-house, nor magazines, nor even a single cistern, are to be found at Cosseir. When we arrived at this port there was no other water than what was brought from Asia, and this cost a sous a goblet; but the activity of our soldiers made them find springs in twenty-four hours; and we got for nothing water better than that which was sold so dear, though it could not be kept or heated without acquiring an almost insupportable bitterness.

The coast all about Cosseir is frightfully poor and barren, but the sea is rich in fish, shells, and corals; the latter are so numerous, that it might have been here that the whole sea acquired the name of *Red*, whilst the sand on the shore is so white. The reefs are only coral and madrepores, as well as all the rocks which lie in these seas, to within half a league of the actual shore.

Two days after our arrival, that we might not waste the provisions of those who were left behind, we set out on our return; we were still preceded by our Arab friends, to whom the desert seemed by right to belong. They neglected none of the products of their empire; for we perceived two gazelles flying into the desert, upon which four of our allies set out in pursuit of them, with indifferent match-lock guns; some minutes after we heard only two shots fired, and we saw them return with both the gazelles, who where as fat as if they had been fed in the richest pasture. I was invited to partake of them; and being curious to know how their cookery was carried on, I went to their quarter: the leader, who was as proud as a sovereign, had no other decoration than the belt which we had given him; his palace was wherever he spread his

carpet; his kitchen utensils consisted of two plates of copper, and a pot of the same metal: butter, flour, and two sticks of wood, completed his table equipage: in a few minutes he had struck a light, collected old camel's dung for fuel, made dough of his flour, and cooked some fritters, which were very good when hot; and this, with the soup of the flesh, the bouillie, and broiled meat, made up a very tolerable repast for one who had any appetite, which, however, was not my case, for I had not the least in the desert, and I lived almost entirely on lemonade. Our Arabs were acquainted with every corner of pasturage; they knew to what forwardness of growth such and such plants should have attained at a league's distance from the regular track, and sent their camels to feed upon them: these poor animals had nothing else in the whole day but a single feed of beans, which they ruminated for the remainder of the day, either on their journey, or lying down on the scorching sand, without testifying the least impatience.

Our return was still more rapid than our journey out. We returned in two days and a half; but, for the last half day we were quite overcome with fatigue and drought, and I could only quench my thirst by eating largely of melons, and plunging in the Nile. After travelling for eight days in the desert, the senses are awakened by the slightest impressions; and I still remember the delight which I felt on again spending the night reclined on the banks of the Nile, hearing the wind rustling in the leaves of trees, and feeling the refreshing coolness that it acquires in brushing through the long leaves of the palm, which it gently agitates; every thing was alive, and gave animating sensations; life was in the air, and nature seemed to respire. However, I became fully convinced by this journey, made in the hottest time of the year, and the hazard of which had been much exaggerated to us, that the undertaking it is what requires the effort of courage, and the danger flies from those who brave it. I will here add a note of the hours of march in our route, which are not liable to vary, as the pace of every loaded camel is the same: no other alteration can occur in this reckoning than what arises from accidents, and from the greater or less time spent in halts and night encampments. However, every other season of the year is preferable to that which we were obliged to take for this expedition: in winter the traveller may be refreshed in the mountains by a rain of several hours, which furnishes abundance of water, and renders the journey only a promenade on a large plain of sand; but, during the time of the kamsin, one may be assailed by these hurricanes, which, however, we had the good fortune to escape.

*Hours of March of our loaded Camels from Keneh on the Nile to Cosseir.*

| | Hours. | Min. |
|---|---|---|
| From Keneh to Byr-al-Barr | 3 | 50 |
| To the halt for the night in the desert | 4 | 45 |
| To Kittah | 3 | 30 |
| To the night-halt | 4 | 30 |
| To the first fountain | 9 | 35 |
| To the second, called El-ad-Houte | 0 | 45 |
| To the night-halt | 4 | 30 |
| To the fountain of Ambagi | 8 | 45 |
| To Cosseir | 1 | 45 |
| Total | 41 | 55 |

On our return we were eager to enjoy the favours of the Nile, and we were going to plunge our parched bodies in its salutary wave, when we found its usual appearance was quite changed: during the latter days of the kamsin, the current of the Nile becomes sluggish, the waters lose their usual salubrity and transparency, and become green, throwing up flakes of foul mud, which exhale a mephitic odour: in short, it is then no longer the bountiful river; but it grows heavy in its motion, and would alarm the inhabitants of the banks, if its periodic restoration to its usual state was not as constant a phenomenon for them as it is surprising to the curious traveller. It keeps falling till the 17th of June, remains in stagnation for two days, and on the 19th it begins to rise.

It is at this period that the residence in Upper Egypt is almost insupportable; the winds are variable, and are constantly changing from the east to the south, or the south-west: this latter is terrible, for it troubles the atmosphere, obscures the sun with a white, dry, and burning vapour, parches with thirst, dries up every thing, inflames the blood, irritates the nerves, and makes life itself painful: it also oppresses the lungs so severely, that one involuntarily seeks for cooler air to breathe in, feeling as if the mouth was an oven of fire: if one inhales the air by the nostrils, it affects the head, and in again exhaling it, it feels like a gush of blood rushing over the air-passages; every thing that one touches is burning, and iron even in the night acquires the same heat to the touch as it would in France in the dog-days, exposed to the noon-day beams of the sun.

During these latter days we made an expedition to Sahmateh and Abumanah, frontier places of the government of the The-

baid, to settle with the inhabitants for the necessary labours of dykes and canals. Our general was received like the governor of a province; the kaimakan, or general of the armed inhabitants, who was a rich man, had prepared for us on one of his estates a large court, well watered, which in some degree quelled the burning heat of the season. In the evening he gave a supper to ourselves, the sheiks of the province, the detachment which accompanied us, and for the numerous servants who had made themselves part of our suit.

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Arab Council—Further Particulars of the Remains at Tentyra—Inundation of the Nile—Hot Weather—Visit Thebes and Etfu—Coptic Monastery—Rise of the River—Tombs of the Kings near Thebes.*

ON the next day there was an assembly of the sheiks of the villages, for the purpose of discussing a method to reconcile the interest of government with that of the cultivators, and of offering premiums to those who should distinguish themselves in the ensuing year (for in Egypt the year may be said to commence with the preparation of the canals to receive and distribute the waters of the inundation, every thing being then concluded relative to the past, and the operations for the future crop being about to begin). It is not in my power to give the particular deliberations of this council, but I was informed that no innovations were introduced without previously consulting the will of the inhabitants, to whom every possible encouragement was promised. When the session broke up, to the honour of these brave men be it spoken, they said, "This is like an assembly of the time of Sheik Prince Ammon, in which the consultation was not about arbitrary impositions, but the best means of promoting the public welfare." This Prince Ammon was a powerful Arab chief, who, during the troubles of Egypt, had rendered himself the independent sovereign of all the Upper Thebais from Girgeh. The Mamelukes, whom he sheltered in their misfortunes, had no sooner thrown off the authority of the Porte than they looked upon him as a rebel and protector of the mal-contents, whom they therefore attacked, enfeebled, and at length destroyed. We have already seen the unhappy end of the last prince of this house, after the battle of Samahute.

The following day we were feasted with equal abundance by the villages of Abumanah, though their manners were by no means so polished as those of our former hosts; for, notwithstanding they

had themselves of their own accord furnished this plentiful repast, they waited impatiently till we had finished, in order to carry away what was left, and make a great scramble of it.

M. Gerard, and eight members of the committee of arts, being about to proceed up the Nile, to make a chart of its course, offered me an opportunity of renewing my travels, and in this journey it was that I made a drawing of the zodiac, which is on the ceiling of the portico at Tentyra; that I enriched my collection of these new proofs of the skill of the Egyptians in astronomy, with a number of drawings and hieroglyphical inscriptions, which, compared, examined, and discussed in the tranquillity of the closet, ought to reveal their mysteries, or convince us that they are not to be found out. I procured also many particulars relative to the state of the fine arts in particular, by the discovery of a canon of proportions traced upon a human figure with red chalk, and afterwards covered by a thin stucco, a method, no doubt, adopted by the Egyptians to give a finer finish to their bas-reliefs, and render their paintings indestructible. I made an outline drawing of the bas-relief and the lines, by which the figure was divided into proportions; hence we may infer the principles which they had adopted, their mode of applying them, and, in short, their method of proceeding, which, to the advantage of preventing at once all errors, all unharmonious combinations, and ignoble proportions, unites that of attaining the constant equality observable in their works; an equality, which, if it is detrimental to the sallies of genius and the expression of delicate sentiment, tends at least to the perfection of uniformity, converts drawing into a mechanical art, and reduces sculpture to an accessary proper for the decoration and enriching of architecture, to a method of expressing ideas, in short, to writing. It is worthy of remark that, according to the Egyptian canon the human figure was divided into twenty-two parts and a half, of which the head took up two and two-thirds, or the eighth of the whole, corresponding in this respect with the heroic style among the Greeks.

I observed also among the bas-reliefs a little votive temple, with a pediment, which is never used in Egyptian architecture, a small figure holding a rabbit shows that in merely ornamental works the Egyptian artists could occasionally deviate from their usual severity; a statue modelled from this very figure would be a Greek faun. I compleated also my collection of animals, a kind of sculpture in which they excelled, and where the grandeur and simplicity of the lines often comes up to the ideal abstract of beauty: it was generally in neglected corners, in pieces condemned

to everlasting obscurity, that I found the most laboured and best preserved specimens, and therefore in copying them I had to experience peculiar difficulties. A constant subject of astonishment is afforded by the equality of care observable in all the parts of so vast a whole, by that minute exactness of execution, and that perfect finish, the fruits of an obstinacy and an inflexible perseverance which characterises the monastic spirit, whose zeal neither perishes nor even cools, and whose pride is not individual but corporate. Probably the artists themselves were a constituent part of the colleges of priests; for it is scarcely to be supposed that these would have allowed the arts, that elevate and adorn the human mind, to be entrusted to any cast but their own.

On the 26th of June the Nile began to rise, and on this and the two following days had attained the heighth of three inches, it then increased at the rate of two inches a day, and afterwards at three inches; the water now filled the banks, ceased to be green, without, however, becoming muddy. It was proposed to make a tour, in order to examine the canals and the intended improvements.

The heat was extreme on the first of July, two soldiers fainted while we were leaving Keneh, and on the next morning fifteen others were obliged to be left behind; and if we had not by this time been a little accustomed to the climate, not an individual would have been able to resist it; as it was, we were obliged to make shorter days' journies, and to march only in the morning. The country, notwithstanding the heat, was quite alive; the whole population, under the direction of the sheiks, was busily employed in clearing out the canals, and opening them to admit the inundation.

We rested one day at Kous, and on the third arrived by sunrise at Karnac. Among the new discoveries which I made while traversing the ruins of the temple, may be mentioned a figure that I perceived on the outer walls of the small buildings by the side of the sanctuary: the figure represents a person making an offering of two obelisks. I saw also delineated the gate of a temple, with two folding doors, shut by exactly the same kind of wooden bolts that are at present made use of.

To the several descriptions that I have already given of this gigantic monument, I may add, that on the south side of the first court there is a particular edifice comprised within the general circumvallation, consisting of a boundary wall and a gate, opening into a court surrounded with a pilastered gallery, in front of which are figures with their arms crossed, and holding in one hand a scourge and in the other a kind of hook; there are besides two lateral gal-

leries, five anti-chambers on the basement, with five chambers behind them, the whole terminated by another gallery abutting on the side courts of the large temple. This was, perhaps, the palace, or rather the splendid prison of the kings, and the idea is rendered probable by the sculptured figures on the side of the gate, representing heroes holding by the hair conquered prisoners, and presented by the divinities with new arms for future victories. Would not this be consonant to what Herodotus informs us of the regulations concerning the kings, of the obligation that they were under to be served, advised, and always accompanied by priests, obliged every morning to hear a lecture on their duties, and then to offer in the temple the homage of their authority to the Divinity, and acknowledge that they held it of him, and could only preserve it by his assistance.

At Luxor, where we dined, the people brought to the general a little crocodile, only five inches long; the inbred terror with which this animal inspires the Egyptians had induced the man who found it to kill it, notwithstanding its inability at so tender an age of doing any injury; but fear is revengeful, so that we again lost an opportunity of observing the manners of this inhabitant of the Nile.

We proceeded on the morrow to Salamieh, and arrived in good time the next day at Esneh. General Beliard wished to extend his researches still higher, and I was unwilling to part with him; besides, I had still to take a side view of the temple at Apollinopolis, whither I resolved to go, notwithstanding the fatigue of such a journey in this sultry season. We went to pass the evening at Bassalier, a country house of Assan-Bey, situated on the high and steep bank of the Nile, without a single tree to refresh the eye, and directly opposite to the barren and scorching rocks of the chain of Mokatam. It is difficult to imagine what motive could induce a man to build a pleasure-house in such a situation: nor does the interior of the building offer any compensation for the inconveniencies without; sorry walls and miserable gate-ways are all the architectural charms of this palace, into which it is impossible to enter without stooping, where every staircase is a precipice, and the view from the window offers no living or moving objects but crocodiles, which are both large and numerous in this part of the river; on our arrival there one of these animals was lying on the shore, which from his size I took for the trunk of a palm-tree, till I saw him move off into the water.

While following the course of a canal between Bassalier and El-Moëcat, our notice was drawn by a hillock of bricks, called Com-el-Achmart; at the southern extremity of this we discovered

the foundation of an Egyptian temple, and a few courses of the basement of a portico, the whole covered with hieroglyphics. This unknown ruin had hitherto escaped geographers and travellers, both ancient and modern. Are not these, probably, the remains of Silsilis?—a town whose name has been transferred to the neighbouring quarries.

I was now, for the third time, at Etfu, and its temple appeared more magnificent than ever. I had the promise of being allowed a whole day here, but was obliged to content myself with an afternoon. The air was still so scorching that I could scarcely endure it. I discovered a way through the ruins into one of the interior chambers, which appeared to be the second behind the portico, and immediately preceding the sanctuary; all that the heaps of ruins allowed me to see of the sculpture was highly finished in excellently good taste; the freestone of which the building was constructed being finer than any other that I had seen, all the work engraven upon it had retained its original boldness and delicacy, as if the material had been marble.

We set off again at night, and returned, without stopping, to Esneh, thoroughly fatigued: we were, however, glad to find that, notwithstanding the vertical position of the sun, the most insupportable heats had finished with the kamsin, and that, although the north wind becomes heated in its passage up the valley of the Nile, before the inundation, while the fields and cultivated lands are bare, it is by no means so oppressive as the squalls from the east, and the desolating whirlwinds from the west. I could not allay the smarting of the eruptions caused by the weather in any other way than frequent bathing, which I did even in the presence of the crocodiles, whom I had learnt by this time to despise; to these repeated ablutions I added a vegetable diet, wholly abstaining from flesh-meat, and taking very little of any thing else, and yet even with this regimen, I could with difficulty procure a few hours of broken sleep.

The Nile, after having risen for some time at the daily rate of two inches, came at length to an increase of a foot each day, at which period the water began to be muddy, which appears to shew, that the Nile, in its course, traverses some large lakes, whose limpid waters are forced down the stream by the torrents of rain from the Abyssinian mountains, and that the discoloration of the Nile does not happen till the arrival of these last in Egypt.

On returning from Esneh, I went to visit the temple which is in the plain to the right of the road to Harment; the moving sands, or a defect in the foundation, have caused partial sinkings, by

which several of the columns are thrown out of the perpendicular, and the ceiling of the portico is much damaged.

The parts beyond the portico are trivial and negligent as to their decorations. The sanctuary is totally destroyed; but, from what remains of the outer wall, there seems to have been an exterior gallery quite round the temple. Some of the rubbish has lately been removed by Assan-Bey, and this has discovered some underground buildings, which shew that the temple formerly extended beyond the portico: the remains of this last consist of eight columns, with broad capitals, differing from each other in the ornaments that they bear; in one it is the vine, in another the ivy, in a third the palm-leaf. Some enormous and very well made bricks announce that the edifices which surrounded the temple had been carefully constructed. Could it have been Aphroditopolis, which Strabo places hereabouts, though, in my opinion, too near to Latopolis, the modern Esneh? Probably not; for the fragments that remain have so little extent, that they were to all appearance merely dependencies of one large building. Nor is there any reason to suppose that there are any adjoining temples buried in the sand, for the ground is here quite level, very hard, and constantly swept by the wind: besides, nothing is easier than to recognise spots that have formerly been the seat of a numerous population. We may therefore suppose that there were monasteries, sanctuaries, and detached chapels near the Egyptian towns, as there are in the catholic countries of Europe, madonnas, saints, and miraculous grottoes, where religious zeal was enlivened by silence and mystery. The small temple near Chnubis, and another on the right bank of the river, opposite Esneh, are other examples of the existence of these kinds of religious edifices: the hieroglyphics which cover the outer walls, and the inside of the portico of this unknown ruin, are in an ordinary style, and of indifferent execution; a few astronomical figures are observable on the ceiling of the portico, coarsely executed, but which serve to shew that the exterior of these temples was devoted to astronomy, to the history of the heavens and the seasons, and of those epochs formed by the revolution of the stars.

On the 9th of July, at day-break, we departed: our road lay by the side of Asfun, two leagues and a half from Esneh: this village is built on vast heaps of rubbish, among which it appears more natural to look for the ruins of Aphroditopolis, Asphinis, or Asphunis, than among those of the temple just described. What Strabo says of this town agrees better with its distance from Latopolis, and the resemblance of the name Asfun, to Asphunis, in

clines me to be of this opinion. Sofinis, indeed, half a league further on, has also eminences, though less considerable; but as neither village is possessed of any monuments above ground, we must wait for some excavations to be made, before it can be decided to which belongs the honour of having been the city of Venus. We marched all day in the sun, and arrived nearly roasted at Hermontis; the heat of the air was become less suffocating, but yet the rays of the sun were not less scorching; the season, however, of the inundation, during which the north winds are prevalent, is that in which the summer temperature of Egypt is the most endurable: it is enough to avoid the rays of the sun during six hours, namely, from nine till three, and for the rest of the day, the air is light, and the nights are clear and cool: the object of our journey, however, being a survey of the canals, and the establishment of a regular system of husbandry, obliged us to travel in the heat of the day, in order to find the labourers at work. Several of our people died of heat in this expedition: nothing is more frightful than this kind of death; a person suddenly falls sick, which symptom, in spite of every assistance, is succeeded by faintings, in which the patient soon dies: our horses also were subject to like accidents.

We were approaching Thebes, and I was this time to visit the tombs of the kings. I galloped before the party, to take a view of the ruined temples of Medinet-Abu, where I had settled to rejoin the troop. I arrived here an hour before the rest, and employed myself in taking a view of the temple which adjoins the village: to the right is a square monument that probably was a palace contiguous to the temple, very small indeed, but of which the neighbouring porticoes might serve as prolongations, in a climate where open galleries and terraces answer the purpose of apartments. I saw a small palace, the character of which is entirely different from that of the other edifices, both in its plan, and a sort of balconies supported by four heads in the attitudes of caryatides. These sculptures, as well as those in that part of the temple of Karnac, which I suspect to have been a palace, represent the figures of kings menacing groups of prostrate captives.

Keeping still before the troop, who had however gained ground on me, I hastened to the two colossal statues, and took a view of them with the effect of the sun-rise, at the same hour as strangers used to resort hither to here the musical sounds from the colossus of Memnon. I then proceeded to the solitary place called the Memnonium. While I was thus absorded in observation, my companions forgot to call for me; then perceiving the detachment

half a league ahead of me, I galloped up to rejoin them. The troops were tired, and I found them debating whether they should not give up the expedition to the tombs. For my own part, vexed as I was, I said not a word, and I profited more by my silence than I should probably have done by giving loose to my feelings, for we at length resumed our journey without any further discussion. We first passed through the village of Kurnu, the ancient Necropolis, and in approaching these subterranean habitations, we were for the third time saluted by the incorrigible inhabitants with a volley of musketry. This was the only place in Upper Egypt which held out against our government. Strong in their sepulchral retreats, they came out like spectres, fortified in their disobedience by the obscurity of these excavations, which are so numerous, as of themselves to attest the immense population of ancient Thebes. It was across these humbler tombs that the kings were carried two leagues from the palace, into the silent valley that was to become for the future their peaceful and lasting abode: this valley to the north-west of Thebes becomes insensibly narrower, and flanked as it is with perpendicular rocks, whole ages have been able to produce only very slight alterations of its ancient form. Towards the extremity, the opening between the rocks even now offers scarcely space enough to pass by the tombs, so that the sumptuous processions which no doubt accompanied the ceremony of royal interment, must have produced a striking contrast with the frowning asperity of these wild rocks: if, however, they went by this road, it was probably only for the purpose of obtaining a longer space, in which to roll the full tide of funereal pomp, for the valley even from its commencement tending towards the south, the spot where the tombs are, cannot be a great distance from the Memnonium. It was not till after marching three quarters of an hour in this desert valley, that in the midst of the rocks we observed, all at once, some openings paralled to the ground: these openings at first displayed no other architectural ornaments than a door in a simple square frame, with a flattened oval in the centre of the upper part, in which are inscribed in hieroglyphics a beetle, the figure of a man with a hawk's head, and beyond the circle two figures on their knees in the act of adoration. As soon as the threshold of the first gate is passed, we discover long galleries twelve feet wide and twenty in height, cased with stucco, sculptured and painted; the arches of an elegant elliptical figure, are covered with innumerable hieroglyphics, disposed with so much taste, that, notwithstanding the singular grotesqueness of the forms, and the total absence of demi-tint, or

aerial perspective, the ceilings make an agreeable whole, and a rich and harmonious association of colours. It would have required a stay of some weeks, in order to discover or form any system concerning the subjects of so many and such mysterious paintings, and unfortunately I was only allowed a few minutes; even these were not granted to me with the best possible grace. I asked questions on all sides with impatience; preceded by torches, I had merely time to pass on from one tomb to another: at the end of the galleries were the sarcophagi unconnected with each other, composed of a single block of granite, twelve feet long by eight in breadth, ornamented with hieroglyphics both within and without; at one end they were rounded, and at the other squared, like that in the mosque of St. Athanasius at Alexandria: the tombs were covered by a lid of the same material, and of an enormous mass, shutting with a groove; but neither this precaution, nor these vast blocks of stone, brought from such a distance and at so great an expence, have been able to preserve the relics of the sovereigns from the attempts of avarice; all the tombs are violated: on the lid of the first sarcophagus that we met with, the figure of the king, or of some protecting divinity, is sculptured; but the figure itself is so worn, that it is impossible to distinguish by the dress whether it is a king, a priest, or a divinity. In other tombs the sepulchral chamber is surrounded by a pilastered portico, whose galleries, bordered with recesses supported in the same manner, and laterial chambers hollowed into the rock, are covered with a white and fine stucco, on which are coloured hieroglyphics in a most wonderful state of preservation; for, except two of the eight tombs that I visited, which have been injured by water trickling down them, all the rest are still in full perfection, and the paintings as fresh as when they were first executed: the colours of the ceilings, exhibiting yellow figures on a blue ground, are executed with a taste that might decorate our most splendid saloons.

The trumpet had already sounded to horse, when I discovered some little chambers, on the walls of which were represented all kinds of arms, such as panoplies, coats of mail, tiger's skins, bows, arrows, quivers, pikes, javelins, sabres, casques, and whips: in another was a collection of household utensils, such as caskets, chests of drawers, chairs, sofas, and beds, all of exquisite forms, and such as might well grace the apartments of modern luxury; as these were probably accurate representations of the objects themselves, it is almost a proof that the ancient Egyptians employed for their furniture Indian woods, carved and gilt, which they covered with embroidery; besides these were represented various

smaller articles, as vases, coffee-pots, ewers with their basons, a tea-pot and basket. Another chamber was consecrated to agriculture, in which were represented all its various instruments, a sledge similar to those in use at present, a man sowing grain by the side of a canal, from the borders of which the inundation is beginning to retire, a field of corn reaped with a sickle, fields of rice with men watching them. In a fourth chamber was a figure clothed in white, playing on a harp with eleven cords. How was it possible to leave such precious curiosities, without taking a drawing of them? I earnestly demanded a quarter of an hour's grace: I was allowed twenty minutes; one person lighted me, while another held a taper to every object that I pointed out to him. I observed many figures without heads; I even found some with the head cut off: these all represented black men, and those who had cut the heads off, and were still holding the sword, the instrument of punishment, were coloured red. Could these be human sacrifices? Was it the custom to immolate slaves to the tombs; or was it the representation of an act of justice, and the punishment of the guilty? I carefully observed every thing that I met with, and carried off with me all the fragments that were portable, making afterwards an inventory of them. I found a beautiful little patera of baked earth, a fragment worthy of the finest period of the arts, in the most civilized nations. I also found some fragments of divinities cut in sycamore wood with uncommon elegance, and a small foot of a mummy, which does no less honour to nature, than the other fragments do to the arts. It was no doubt the foot of a young woman, a princess, a lovely creature, the perfect form of which had never been cramped by the absurdity of fashion. At length with much regret I quitted these tombs, where I had remained three hours, and could easily have found subjects to occupy me for as many days. The mystery and magnificence observable within these excavations, the number of doors by which they are protected, convince me that the religious worship which had scooped out and decorated these grottoes, was the same as that which raised the pyramids. At length we quitted in haste these retreats, where so many interesting objects combined to detain us, in order to arrive in good time at Alicate, where nobody had any thing to do. I found on this occasion, as on all others, that a visit to Thebes was like the attack of a fever, it was a kind of crisis which left behind an impression of indescribable impatience, enthusiasm, irritation, and fatigue.

## CHAPTER XX.

*Balasse, and the porous earthen Vessels manufactured there—Sudden rise of the Arabs at Demenhur—Defeated—Expedition against the Caves at Kurnu—Tombs of the King of Thebes—Immense subterranean Grottoes, and beautiful Paintings and Sculpture within them—Flights of Vultures and Kites, their Rapacity and Dexterity—Sculptured Procession in the Tombs—Discovery of ancient Manuscript in the covering of a Mummy—Porticoes of Medinet-Abu—Retreat of a Jackal—Colossal Statues of Memnon and Osymandias—Further Particulars concerning Mummies and the ancient Egyptian Mode of Sepulture.*

WE arrived next morning early at Nagadi, a rich town, peopled with christians; the coptic bishop with his crozier in his hand, came to meet us at the head of his church, and conducted us to a house in which a breakfast had been prepared for the etat-major and all the detachment; it was doubtless meant in return for our services in delivering the country from the invasions of the Meccans, and in particular for having released the bishop from the captivity in which we found him in the castle of Benhute. We slept that evening at Balasse, a place which has given its name to the earthen jars, with which it supplies not only the whole of Egypt but Syria, and the isles or the Archipelago. They have the property of allowing water to transude through their pores, whereby it becomes clear and cool; they are made at very little expence, and are sold so cheap that they are sometimes used to construct the walls of houses, and the poorest inhabitant may supply himself with them in abundance. Nature gives the material in the neighbouring desert, which requires no further preparation; it is a fat, fine, soapy and compact marl, which only requires moistening and working in the hands to be perfectly ductile and tenacious, and any vessels that are formed of it, when dried in the shade and half baked in the sun, only require burning for a few hours with a little straw fire, to be completed. The people make rafts of these pots, which have been described by every traveller into Egypt; they are thus carried down the Nile, part of them are sold on the way, and the remainder are embarked at Rosetta and Damietta to be sent abroad. The spongy nature of this earth makes the water transude, whilst the slimy particles suspended in it are attracted to the side of the vessel, and the outer surface being always moistened by the transudation, where there is the least breath of wind to promote evaporation, the water within the jar becomes as cool

as if it were iced. They are sometimes fumigated with benzoin, or perfumed with orange flower or other aromatics, to vary the insipid taste of the water, which however, when drank from these vases, is the best in the world. I have often been at Balasse, and have been astonished at the immense cargoes of these jars, which are either piled up on boats, or made into rafts, like the large floats of wood on our rivers, which are borne by the stream, and at the same time carry their owners, who dispose of them to good advantage. The use of these jars appear to be of great antiquity, for I have seen them represented of the same form as they are at present, standing on the same tripods, and employed for the same purpose, in hieroglyphic paintings, and on ancient manuscripts.

The next day we arrived in good time at Keneh, where we found the Nile six feet higher than when we were there before.

We learnt that Murad-Bey had quitted the oasis, that he had descended, by the road of Siut, to the environs of Miniet, had kept up a correspondence with Lower Egypt, as far as the north of Africa, and had received an emissary thence who had landed at Derne. This emissary was no other than the angel El-Mahdi, announced and promised in the Koran, and was recognized by an adgi, who was at the head of two hundred Mongrabins. Immediately the standard of the prophet was unfurled, and prodigies were announced; it was given out that the guns, and even the cannon of the French, could not hurt those who followed this sacred banner; a crowd of Arabs joined this first assemblage, who suddenly appeared in the province of Bahira, and got possession of Demenhur, which was garrisoned only by sixty French. At this first success, the partisans of this new expedition increased, the Bedouins flocked to it from every side, and the crowd became innumerable; like the whirlwinds that traverse the desert, raising in their march pillars of sand and dust, that seem to threaten heaven and earth, but as soon as their base is struck by any object they stop, waver, and presently are lost in the space of the desert. So it was with our enemies, a detachment was sent against them, Demenhur was retaken; fifteen hundred of the revolters were killed, and the rest dispersed; the angel El-Mahdi himself was wounded and escaped with difficulty, the illusion ceased, and both the phantom and the army disappeared.

The news of the return of our army from Syria was now announced. I calculated that as Upper Egypt had been conquered and secured by us, and as Lower Egypt was about to be covered with water, and would thereby for a long time be secure from any descent, Bonaparte would find himself without any operation of

great importance on his hands, and would turn his view towards Europe. I had not, however begun to look that way myself, and as Bonaparte, when he brought me with him, had promised to bring me back again when he returned, the remembrance of this gave me some trouble and impatience.

However, General Beliard had not forgotten the shots which had been fired on us by the inhabitants of Kurnu, and the time for punishing them was now arrived. As soon as he returned to Keneh he began to prepare an expedition against them, in order to surprize them, take their flocks, blow up their retreat, expel them and carry off their sheik. This expedition would, of course, require some residence at Thebes—Thebes! at the mention of which I was agitated by opposite inclinations: however, this uncertainty soon ceased, and my passion for the arts, which appeared to me in the light of a duty, prevailed. I therefore returned to visit, for the seventh time, this great Diospolis, which I had always seen in such haste, that regret was mingled with the gratification which I received. I hoped this time to increase at least, if not to compleat my collection relative to this most important object of curiosity, and to verify the accuracy of my former observations on this metropolis of the ancient world, this focus of knowledge, which during so many ages, enlightened every nation that wished to emerge from barbarism.

When we had got as high up as this part of the river, a signal was made to us, but we passed on as if we were bound for Esneh. This feint succeeded; we then anchored at Luxor, and the next day, before morning, returned in the same track, but the manœuvre only ended in a mistake, for the officer who commanded persisted in the opinion that we should meet with the inhabitants in a small grove to the south of the grottoes, and accordingly our people surrounded and entered it, but only a single unfortunate passenger was found, who had taken up his abode in it for the night; he was wakened by the noise of our soldiers, and endeavoured to escape; he was armed, and they attacked him; however, he only received a sabre wound which cut his wrist; the poor wretch accused nothing but his ill luck and went his way. I gave him two piastres, for which, such was his misery, he thought himself my debtor.

The dogs had discovered us, and by the first light of the day we saw our mistake, and perceived the inhabitants flying into the desert, preceded by their sheik on horseback, and followed by their flocks; a part of the latter were intercepted, some women were stopped, and we began to besiege each tomb. We collected

all the combustibles that we could find, and lighted fires before the grottoes, to force out by the smoke the people that were within; we were resisted with stones and javelins; the greater number of these retreats, communicating one with the other, had two entrances; a surprise would have happily terminated our expedition, but it was begun with aukwardness, and led our party to use cruelty; we could only take three hundred cattle, four men, as many women, and eight children. Those who had fled into the desert were without provisions, and could obtain none from the neighbouring villages, with whom they were at war, whilst those that remained in the grottoes wanted water. We took a position to form a double blockade, and we sprung a mine; it produced but little effect, except to terrify the inhabitants, who now began to parley; it was like making war with the gnomes, and our terms and articles of accommodation were shouted through the vaults in the rocks: we demanded their sheiks, but they would not give them up; and they informed themselves of the state of their prisoners, their wives, children, and cattle, for whom their solicitude seemed to be equal. We permitted them, however, to send a messenger into the desert, and the war was suspended for the present.

I now began my researches, accompanied by some volunteers. I examined the grottoes which we had taken by assault: they were constructed without magnificence, consisting of a regular double gallery supported by pillars, behind which was a row of chambers, often double, and tolerably regular. If we had not observed tombs, and even some remains of mummies, we might be tempted to believe that these were the dwellings of the primitive inhabitants of Egypt: or rather that, having first served for this purpose, these subterranean caves had become the abode of the dead, and had, at last, been restored by the inhabitants of Kurnu to their original destination.

In proportion as the height of these grottoes increases they become more richly decorated; and I was soon convinced by the magnificence both of the paintings and sculptures, and of the subjects which they represented, that I was among the tombs of great men or heroes. Those which are believed to belong to ancient kings (which in my last journey I went to visit three quarters of a league in the desert) are only distinguished from the others by the magnificence of the sarcophagi, and the mysterious solitude of their situation: the others immediately overlook the great buildings in the town. The sculpture in all is incomparably more laboured and higher finished than any that I had seen in the temples; it was like the work of the chisel itself, and I stood in asto-

nishment at the high perfection of the art, and of its singular destiny, to be fixed in places devoted to silence and obscurity. In the working of these galleries beds of a very fine grained calcareous clay have occasionally been crossed; and here the lines of the hieroglyphics have been cut with a firmness of touch, and a precision, of which marble offers but few examples; the figures have an elegance and correctness of contour, of which I never thought Egyptian sculpture susceptible. Here too I could judge of the style of this people, in subjects which were neither hieroglyphic, nor historical, nor scientific, for these were representations of small scenes taken from nature, in which the stiff profile outlines, so common with the Egyptian artists, were exchanged for supple and natural attitudes; groups of persons were given in perspective, and cut in deeper relief than I should have supposed any thing but metal could have been worked. I thought it necessary to bring back with me some fragments of these bas-reliefs, as a specimen to others of what gave me so much surprise. One cannot help being struck with the little analogy which the greater number of these subjects have with the spot wherein they are immured; it requires the presence of mummies to persuade one's-self that these excavations are tombs: I have found here bas-reliefs representing games, such as rope-dancing; and asses taught to play-tricks and to rear on their hind-legs, which are sculptured with all the nature and simplicity which Bassan has shewn in representing the same animals on the canvas.

The plan of these excavations is not less singular; there are some which are so vast and complicated, that one would take them for labyrinths, or subterranean temples. Some of the same people, with whom we had just been at war, served me as guides, and the clink of money, that universal language, before which all hatred ceases, especially among the Arabs, had procured me friends with the fugitive inhabitants of Kurnu. Some of these had come to me privately when I was at a distance from our camp, and attended me with great fidelity; we penetrated together these subterranean labyrinths, which indeed resembled, by their mysterious passages and windings, the temples constructed for the trials of the initiated. After passing the apartments, adorned in the elegant style that I have just described, we entered long and gloomy galleries, which wind backwards and forwards in numerous angles, and seem to occupy a great extent of ground; they are melanchoy, repulsive, and without any decoration; but from time to time open into other chambers covered with hieroglyphics, and branch out into narrow paths that lead to deep perpendicular pits, which we

descended by resting our arms against the sides, and fixing our feet into steps that are cut in the rock. At the bottom of these pits we found other adorned chambers; and lower still, a new series of perpendicular pits and horizontal chambers, and at last, ascending a long flight of steps, we arrived at an open place which we found to be on a level with the chambers that we first entered.

It would have required several days to form an idea of the distribution of these subterranean works, and to take plans of such intricate labyrinths: if the magnificence displayed in the houses of the living was at all equal to that of these ultimate habitations, as we have some reason to suppose, from the sumptuous pieces of furniture painted in the tombs of the kings, how much must we regret that no vestige of them remains! What can have become of palaces that contained such opulence! how can they have disappeared! they cannot be buried under the mud of the Nile, since the quay which is before Luxor shews, that the elevation which the soil has undergone is very inconsiderable. Were they built of unbaked and therefore perishable earth! or did the great men, as well as the priests, inhabit the temples, and the people only huts!

During the whole expedition, we had been followed by a flight of kites and small vultures, which had become as familiar as they were naturally voracious. They fed on what we left behind us, and always rejoined us whenever we halted. In the days of battle, instead of being alarmed by the noise of cannon, they flocked about us from all sides; this time, however, our boat expedition had deceived our feathered acquaintance; but at the first noise of firing, and especially on the explosion of our mine, they made it a signal for collecting around us. We were much entertained with their address and familiarity; sometimes we threw down from the steep banks of the river a piece of meat, which they always caught before it touched the water, and now and then they would carry off the rations which the servants were bearing on their heads to the advanced posts. I have seen the kites, whilst our soldiers were cleaning fowls for the table, gently twitch from their hands the entrails and parts which were rejected; the vultures, however, had not the same dexterity, but their impudence equalled their voracity; they fed on the vilest and most corrupted offal that fell in their awy, and their nature partook of the infection of their food, for I have frequently attempted, but without success, to endure the stench of the carcases of these birds, though I flayed them the moment that I had killed them, either with a gun or pistol, and whilst they were yet warm.

In the evening, after some negotiation, my guides and myself parted, each satisfied with the other, and with an appointment for meeting again in the morning, which we were both interested to keep with punctuality.

The next day I was conducted to new tombs and galleries, which were less winding, and would serve as very agreeable habitations from their situation, which enjoys day-light, pure and healthful air, and a fine prospect: these were not different from the others in any point of decoration, they had similar ornaments and paintings. The rock, which is of a gravelly nature, is coated with a smooth stucco, on which are painted, in every colour, subjects of funeral processions, much less laboured indeed than the bas-reliefs, but equally interesting, from the subjects which are here represented. I regretted that the part which had been injured prevented me from following the whole order of these ceremonies, but the remains that are still perfect attest their extreme magnificence.

The figures of the gods are here carried by priests upon litters, with banners waving over their heads, and followed by personages bearing golden vases of several forms, calumets, arms, loaves of bread, victuals of different kinds, and coffers of various construction.

I could not distinguish in this procession which was the corpse; perhaps it was enclosed in some sarcophagus, and surmounted by the figures of the gods; the women marched in order, playing on musical instruments; one group of this kind was formed of three singers accompanying each other, one with the harp, another with a kind of guitar, and the third probably with some wind instrument; but here the figure is too much injured to enable us to determine what it might be.

If I had had time to draw all the meanders which adorn the ceiling, I should have copied all the ornamental lines which appear to so much advantage in Greek architecture, as well as those which form the materials of the rich and elegant decorations which we term the arabesque.

Beyond these subterranean caves is a monument built of unbaked bricks, the lines of which have something elegant in them. The slope of the walls and the capitals resemble the Egyptian style, but some of the outer ornaments, and the arches in the surbase, convince one that this an Arab monument: it is considerable in size, and, by its situation, it commands the whole territory of Thebes.

Several fragments of mummies were brought me: I promised an unlimited reward to any one who should procure me one whole and untouched; but the cupidity of the Arabs deprived me of this satisfaction; for they sell at Cairo the resin which they find in the belly and skull of these mummies, and there is no preventing them from committing this violence to them; and besides, the fear of selling one that might contain some treasures (though they have never found any in these antiquities) makes them always break the outer wooden covering, and tear that of painted cloth, which wraps round the whole body, wherever much pains have been taken in the embalming. The reader may judge how delightful this day was to me, in which I discovered so many new objects, of curiosity.

I had discovered, in climbing the mountains, that the tombs of the kings were very near the Memnonium; I was strongly tempted to return thither, and my guides pressed me to do so; but I was apprehensive of falling in with the fugitives that we had dispersed, and of becoming, in my turn, a hostage, or exchange against the sheep.

The third day I went to Medinet-Abu, and revisited this vast edifice with new admiration. Being no longer harassed by the hasty march of an army, I could examine at leisure this immense group of buildings. In a portico, I had time to observe, that the sculptures on the inner wall represented the exploits and the triumph of some hero, perhaps Sesostris, who had carried his arms into foreign countries, and had obtained victories in India, as all these bas-reliefs seem to point out. Here I remarked the figure of a hero alone pursuing a whole army, who are flying from before him, and, to escape from his blows, throwing themselves into some river, perhaps the Indus. This hero, who is mounted on a small chariot, in which there is only room for himself, drives two horses, holding the reins on a level with his girdle: bucklers and heaps of arms are hung all about him, and around his car; his statue is gigantic, and he holds an immense bow, from which he is shooting arrows upon a bearded and long-haired enemy, who have not the least resemblance with the known forms of Egyptian heads. Further on, he is represented sitting on the back of his car, the horses of which are held by pages, and one person is counting out before him the hands cut off from the enemy killed in battle, whilst another is inscribing the number, and a third appears to be proclaiming the sum. Some travellers have seen a second heap of mutilations of another kind, which shew, that the hero has not been fighting against Amazons; but the figure of

these mutilations did not strike me, and I have accordingly not represented them. Prisoners are also brought to him, confined in different ways; they are all clothed with flowing and striped robes, their hair is long and matted, and tables of hieroglyphics follow, fifty feet in diameter, which doubtless explain the meaning of the figures that precede them. Returning to the left by another side of these galleries, a long bas-relief is seen, that represents, in two lines, a triumphal march: it is probably the same hero returning from his conquests; some soldiers covered with armour prove that the triumph is military, though a little further on nothing is to be seen but priests, or persons of the class of the initated, without arms, and with long and transparent tunics: the arms of the hero are covered with these garments; he is borne on the shoulders of men on a palanquin, with all the attendants of a divinity; before and behind him march priests, bearing palm-branches and calumets, and incense is presented to him. He arrives in this state at the temple of the tutelar deity of Thebes, whom I have already described, and offers to the god a sacrifice, in which he officiates as priest; the march continues, and the god is borne by twenty-four priests; the bull Apis, with the attributes of divinity, marches before the hero, and a long train of personages follow, holding each a banner, on the greater number of which are the representations of different deities. When arrived at the altar, a child appears with his hands tied behind his back, who is about to be immolated before the conqueror, who has stopped to receive this horrible sacrifice, or to assist at this execrable holocaust; beside them stands a priest, who is breaking the stem of a flower, and birds, who are flying away, emblems of the separation of the soul from the body. The account which Longus and Apuleius, in their romances of Theagenes and the Golden Ass, have transmitted to us of human sacrifices among the Egyptians, is therefore not a fable, and these polished people still retain some resemblance to barbarians. Next the hero himself makes a sacrifice to the god Apis, of a sheaf of wheat; a protecting genius accompanies him throughout; he changes his dress in the different parts of the ceremony, which perhaps marks his various dignities or degrees of initiation, but the same physiognomy is constantly preserved, which shews, that it is a portrait; his air is noble, august, and mild. In one picture he is holding nine persons, confined by the same chain. Are these the passions personified? or, do they represent nine conquered nations? Incense is offered to him in honour of these victories: a priest writes his annals, and consigns them to sacred memorial.

It is therefore proved, that the ancient Egyptians had written books; the famous *Toth* was then a book, and not inscribed tablets sculptured on walls, as has been often supposed. I could not help flattering myself, that I was the first to make so important a discovery; but I was much more delighted, when, some hours after, I was assured of the proof of my discovery, by the possession of a manuscript itself, which I found in the hand of a fine mummy, that was brought me: the reader should be a traveller, an enquirer, and an amateur, to sympathize with my rapture on this occasion. When it was brought me, I felt that I turned pale with anxiety; I was going to express my indignation at those who had violated the integrity of this mummy, when I perceived in its right hand, and resting on the left arm, a roll of papyrus, on which was a manuscript, that I should perhaps have never seen without this violation. I then blessed the avarice of the Arabs, and my good fortune, which had put me in possession of such a treasure, which I hardly dared to touch for fear of injuring this sacred manuscript, the oldest of all books in the known world. I could not venture to entrust it out of my sight, and all the cotton of my bed was devoted to wrapping it up with the utmost care. What could be its contents? Was it the history of this personage, the remarkable events of his life? was the period ascertained by the date of the sovereign under whom he lived? or did this precious roll contain maxims, prayers, or the history of some discovery? I regretted not being able to draw every thing that I had seen during the whole of this interesting day; but, however, I had ample reason to be satisfied, for what other traveller had seen so many new objects?

A few days afterwards, I joined a detachment who were going to make a circuit round this district. In our way we learnt that some of the enemy were at Harminta: I knew this place well enough, and it would have taken me a walk of a league and a half out, and as much back again, in a scorching sun, to little purpose; therefore, as three of our soldiers were without shoes, I proposed to our leader to keep them with me, and to go to Medinet-Abu, opposite to which we then were. Happily for me, the officer did not calculate on the insufficiency of so weak an escort, and we went all four well satisfied to pass the day in the shade of the porticoes of Medinet. The inhabitants, who recollected me by some little gifts that I had made them, instead of resisting us by arms, brought us fresh water, bread, ripe dates, and grapes, and I had leisure to view every thing of which I had only had a glance the evening before. I took candles with me, which gave me an opportunity of penetrating into the darkest places. I here found three

small chambers covered with bas-reliefs, which had always been dark; at the bottom of the third was a kind of stone-buffet, the hinges of which were still remaining, and this was all that was particular in this small adorned apartment, that was the innermost of three, and closed by three doors as strong as walls, which would make one expect to find some curious treasure. We also went into a small neighbouring temple, where we met with a little adventure: by the side of a sanctuary was a small room, occupied almost entirely by a monolithic temple of granite, which was thrown down; we were going to examine it, when all at once a pretty large beast jumped against the face of him that was holding the light, and gave him a deep scratch; I had just time to cover my head with my hands, and to stoop my shoulders, on which I received the first spring of the animal, who with the next threw me down, by rushing between my legs; he also overthrew my two companions, who were hastening to the door, and thus in a moment defeated us all. We came out laughing at our alarm, without being able to make out exactly what beast it was that had caused it, but probably it was a jackal that had chosen this place for a retreat, in which he had been disturbed for the first time of his life.

In my research I entered a hole which had been dug under the foundations of the part which appeared to me the most ancient of all; and yet even here, at the base of one of the principal pillars of the edifice, I discovered foundation stones, on which were sculptured numerous hieroglyphics, as finely executed as those that decorated the outer part of the building. From this circumstance, how great must we suppose the antiquity to be of edifices so decorated? and how many preceding ages of civilization would it require to be able to erect such buildings? How many ages, again, before these would have fallen into ruins, and served as materials for the foundation of other temples, which themselves have existed for so many centuries? The annals of this wonderful country are mysterious, obscure, and infinite.

At the north of these temples we found the ruins of two figures of granite, overthrown and broken. They might have been about thirty-six feet in height; their attitude was the usual one, of the right foot advanced, and the arms hanging down beside the body; and they doubtless adorned the gate of some large edifices, the ruins of which are now buried under the soil. I then went to the two colossi, supposed to be those of Memnon. These two pieces of art have nothing which seduces the judgment; but their proportions are faultless.

I again examined the block of granite, which lies between these two statues, and I am still more convinced that it is the ruins of the famous colossal statue of Osymandias, who, on the inscription, braved both the ravages of time and the pride of men; and that the two figures which are left standing are those of his wife and daughter.

Some of my friends from Kurnu had now joined me; I calculated that our party who had gone to Hermontis could not return till late. We therefore again began to search the tombs, always in the hopes of finding some that had not been ransacked, that I might light upon an unrifled mummy, and find out the manner in which they were laid within the tombs. After many painful and fruitless researches, we at last arrived at a hole before which were scattered numerous fragments of mummies: the opening was narrow, and we looked at each other to learn if there was any risk in going down; my companions were curious, and we determined that one of the volunteers, with my servant, should stay without to secure our guides, and prevent them either from going away or advancing to us. We then struck a light and entered the narrow passage; we were at first obliged to grope our way on our hands and knees, and in a minute's time one of our people cried out that he was nearly stifled; we sent him to the door to replace the centinel, and to send the latter to us taking his light; having crawled along nearly a hundred paces over a heap of dead and half decayed bodies, the vault became loftier, more spacious, and decorated with a considerable degree of care. We now found that this tomb had already been searched, and that those who had first entered it, not having torches, had used bushes to give them light, and these had set fire first to the linen and afterwards to the resin of the mummies, which had caused such a combustion as to split some of the stones, melt the gums and resins, and blacken all the sides of the cave. We could observe, however, that this vault had been intended for the burial place of two considerable persons, whose figures were sculptured in embossment, seven feet in height, holding each other by the hand. Above their heads was a bas-relief, representing two dogs in a leash, lying on the altar; and kneeling, two figures had the appearance of worshipping, which makes it probable that two friends were buried here, who were unwilling to part even in death. Besides this, there were lateral chambers unornamented, and fitted with corpses that had been embalmed with more or less care; shewing that though the tombs had been constructed and decorated by persons of consequence, they received not only the corpses of the founders, but of their children, friends, relations,

and perhaps all the servants of their house. Several bodies swathed up, but without any coffin, were laying on the ground, and there were as many of these as could be laid in a regular order. I here found the reason why so many small figures of baked earth, holding in one hand a whip, and in the other a bent staff, were constantly found near these tombs; for the religious enthusiasm of the Egyptians went so far as to lay these rows of corpses upon beds formed entirely of these little images, a handful of which I put in my pocket. From a number of bodies which were not swathed up, I could perceive that circumcision was a constant custom amongst them, that depilation was not practised amongst the women, that their hair was long and flexible, and the character of the head was in a fine style. I brought away with me the head of an old woman, which was as striking as that of the sybils of Michael Angelo, and indeed a good deal resembled them. We then descended with some inconvenience into several deep pits, where we found more mummies, and large long pots of baked earth, with covers representing human heads; they contained nothing but some kind of resin. I could have willingly taken several drawings here, but I was too much confined, we wanted air, our candle would hardly give any light, and especially it began to grow very late, and patroles had been sent out to seek for us; the generale had been beat, and signal guns fired; in short, our friends began to reckon us of the number of those whose habitations we were visiting, when one of our centinels came to give us the alarm. At our return we were reprimanded like truant school-boys, and indeed we had been guilty of many imprudences; but I was so highly contented with the booty that I had acquired during this day, that I remained in this pleasing state of mind till I learnt that our commanding officer, without any longer consulting me, had taken upon him to quit the left bank and to go to Luxor, there to wait further orders.

He was afterwardes blamed for having quitted his first position, but certainly no one was so much disposed to grumble at it as myself, as it tore me away from a place where I was very well off in every respect, living in perefect harmony with the inhabitants, by whom I should have remained quite unmolested, had the war continued even a month longer.

During my stay at Luxor I met with some fine medals of Augustus, Adrian, and Trajan, with a crocodile on the reverse, struck in Egypt in fine bronze with Greek inscriptions, and a great number of medals of Constantine. I also found in the court of a pri-

vate house a granite torso, of larger proportion than natural, representing the two signs of Leo and Virgo; I bought it and embarked it on board our boats.

As I was preparing to go on to Karnac, our detachment received orders to repair to several villages, where I found no particular object to interest me, and I now quitted for ever the great Diospolis.

## CHAPTER XXI.

*Embark at Keneh for Cairo—Water-fowl on the Nile—Panopolis—Quarries of Monfalut—Ruins of Antinöe—Murad-Bey attempts to penetrate into Lower Egypt—Repulsed—Monastery of the Chain—Pyramids of Saccara—Arrive at Cairo—A Turkish Fleet appears before Aboukir, and disembarks an Army—Battle of Aboukir—The Author arrives at Alexandria—Embarks for Europe with Bonaparte—Arrives at Frejus.*

I RETRUNED with a few sick soldiers to Keneh, and on my arrival there found two barks ready to sail for Cairo, and only waiting for my coming on board. On the fifth of July we set sail down the river. I saw Dendera and the Thebais gradually lessening to the view: that sanctuary which I had so often despaired of being able to penetrate, and which I had had the satisfaction of traversing so many times in every direction, so that at length it became that particular country of the world with which I was most minutely acquainted; the trees, the rocky eminences, the canals, the smallest monuments, every thing had become so deeply imprinted in my memory, that I was able to recognise and name each object within sight, and their several distances from each other.

We found the Nile more fully peopled than ever with all sorts of water-fowl: the pelicans had inhabited it for a month past: storks, Numidian cranes, several species of wild ducks, curlews and herons, enlivened all the islands that the river had not yet covered, and we saw large crocodiles even below Girgeh: in thirty-eight hours we had reached this town, which was already quite habituated to our government. Here we passed a day in laying in provisions and waiting for a wind: it became favourable, and in two hours we reached Minchieh, the ancient Ptolemais. The only remains of this large Greek city is a quay, of which I have already spoken, in but an indifferent state of preservation, though of a better construction than the Egyptian works of this kind: on the ruins is built a large village, inhabited chiefly by Christians.

Three miles lower down on the right bank of the river, are the remains of Chemmis or Panopolis, now called Achmin: there still is to be seen, as I am informed, a building buried up to the very roof, which no doubt, is the temple formerly dedicated to Pan, and consecrated to prostitution; a number of almehs and women of the town still subsist here, as at Metubis, if not under the special protection, yet at least acknowledged and tolerated by the government: I was told that on a particular day in every week they assembled in a mosque near the tomb of the sheik Harridi, where, mingling sacred with profane, they commit all kinds of indecencies.

Achmin is large and well situated on a tongue of land projecting into the Nile, and shouldered up by the chain of the Mokatam mountains, which, bending round in this place, forms a deep and difficult pass.

We passed the night before Antiopolis, which still retains a lofty portico, though much defaced, and on the tenth, at three in the afternoon, arrived at the port of Siut; General Desaix not being there, we only stopped to renew our provisions, and then glided swiftly away before those objects that had formerly detained us so long.

In the evening we anchored before Monfalut, and at day break found ourselves under the Mokatam, whose abrupt base is washed by the Nile: there were formerly quarries worked here, the grottoes of which still remain; they resemble those of Siut, and seem to have served as tombs to the ancient Egyptians, and as places of retreat to the first solitaries. From below Girgeh the climate alters very sensibly: the sun asserts his empire as long as he is present; but, when he has quitted the horizon, his place is no more supplied by that drying, unmitigated heat that exhausts the narrow valley of the Thebais.

Beyond Malui are seen, on the right bank, near the village of Sheik-Abade, the ruins of Antinöe, built by Hadrian, in honour of his favourite Antinous, who sacrificed his own life in Egypt to save that of his sovereign. It is not easy to imagine what could have decided the choice of a situation for the town of Antinöe, at the foot of the melancholy Mokatam, in a strait between two deserts, except that Besa, a more ancient town than Antinöe, and upon the ruins of which this latter had been built, was the place where the emperor was stopped by the disorder that menaced his life; and the priests of this city, at that time in high repute, declared, upon being consulted, that the patient would die, except some one devoted himself in his place.

By the side of the river appears one of the city gates, resembling a triumphal arch. It is decorated with eight corinthian pillars, between which are three arches springing from a buttress, ornamented with pilasters: this group of ruins is the most considerable of all that now remains of Antinöe. From this point there seems to have been a street passing in a straight line across the town to the opposite gate: both sides of this street appear to have been adorned with a colonnade of doric pillars, under which one might walk in the shade. There are still visible some of the shafts, and a few capitals, very much worn, on account of the friable nature of the limestone used in their construction. The houses were built of brick. The circuit of Antinöe was very great, if the ruins of Besa, by being mixed with its own, have not increased its extent.

We retired to our barks, whence I made a slight sketch of such of the ruins of Antinöe as could be seen from the water; we then proceeded to Meniet, and till this place the right bank of the Nile is almost wholly destitute of cultivation.

At day-break we found ourselves before the monastery of the Chain, situated on a peak of the Mokatam mountains. The monks who inhabit it swim into the stream to request alms of the boats that pass by. Besides being exposed alternately to the inclemency of three elements, they are in a manner destitute of the fourth; an immense desert cuts them off from all cultivation; they are burnt up by the rays of a vertical sun unremittingly darted on their dry and barren rocks; and it is with difficulty, and by swimming, that they can obtain a few occasional alms. It is called the *Monastery of the Chain*, because they can only procure supplies of water and other necessaries, by means of a long chain attached to a windlass that they let down to the river. It appeared by the different groups of buildings, and of monks that we saw on the rock, that the monastery is of considerable extent, and well peopled. Its inhabitants have a perfect resemblance to the solitaries whom they have succeeded, and the interior of the edifice is probably not materially different from the convents of St. Antony, of Mount Kolzim, and the Natron Lakes. Half a league lower down, the mountains retire from the river, the banks are flat and well cultivated, and the appearance of clouds announces our approach to the sea, and to a more temperate climate.

We spent the night near Abu-Siefen, a coptic monastery, the first position beyond Cairo, where our troops were lodged, and fortified themselves after the battle of the pyramids.

I again passed by the pyramids of Saccara, before that immense number of monuments which decorated the field of death, the necropolis of Memphis, and bounded that city on the south, as the pyramids of Gizeh did on the north. We might still be seeking in vain the site of that superb city, which succeeded in metropolitan dignity to Thebes, and even eclipsed its grandeur, if these sumptuous tombs did not attest its existence, and ascertain indubitably the extent of ground that it occupied. All the discussions published on this subject, and which render its situation uncertain, have been written by learned men who never visited Egypt, and were therefore incapable of judging how scrupulously exact are the descriptions of it given by Herodotus and Strabo.

At day-break we found ourselves between Alter-Anabi and Gisa, opposite Roda, with Cairo and Bulac on our right, forming a rich combination of verdure, finely contrasted with the bare and wild appearance of the two ridges that terminate the horizon. This little voyage fully persuaded me that it is a bad way to travel by water; the high banks intercept all view of the country, and the fear of losing the wind, or having it contrary, either change or destroy all one's plans: you are hurried by places where you wish to stop, and delay where there is nothing worth examination.

As I was the first member of the Institute who had arrived from Upper Egypt, my associates got around me and overwhelmed me with questions; my first pleasure was to find myself thus the object of their eager curiosity, and to profit by the observations that they made: I proposed to methodise my journal under their inspection, and then to ask questions of them in return; events, however, disposed otherwise of me. Murad-Bey, by means of his spies, had assembled some Arab hordes not far from the Natron Lakes, in the valley of Bahr-belameh, where he had promised to meet them; General Murat, however, had been detached against the Arabs, and had prevented the intended junction; the commander in chief had taken a station at the pyramids, in order to place Murad-Bey between Desiax and himself, when he learnt that a Turkish fleet of two hundred sail had appeared off Aboukir. Bonaparte immediately quits the pyramids, returns to Gizeh, forms his plans, gives orders, and having made the requisite provisions, marches by Rhamanieh, and takes a position at Birket, half way between Alexandria and Aboukir. While the different corps are collecting together, he goes to Alexandria, puts it in a state of defence, gives instructions how to prepare for any event,

sends orders to the army to march against the enemy, and rejoins it himself at day-break, on the 26th of July.

The Turks had effected their descent at Aboukir, and got possession of the intrenchments thrown up in front of the castle, the garrison of which also they had put to the sword, a thousand Turks, with two pieces of artillery, had posted themselves on a little hill to the right, two thousand more were intrenched on a hillock to the left, at the post of the wells; a third corps was stationed before the suburbs; the main body occupied the intrenchments, flanked by a formidable artillery, and the rest of the front was intersected by trenches, carried on each side to the sea shore. The reserve, with the etat-major of the bashaw, was drawn up on the ground between the intrenchments and the castle, into which was thrown a strong garrison.

Orders were given to attack the first advanced post, which was forced by the demi-brigades, under the command of General Destaing; the cavalry cut off the enemy's retreat, who were partly sabred and partly driven into the sea, where they were drowned. Bonaparte, feeling the importance of depriving the enemy of the wells, ordered the attack of the intrenched camp by which they were covered; this did not hold out long, and the fugitives being, in like manner, intercepted by the cavalry, shared the same fate as the former post: the troops, being formed in column, were led to the attack of the body stationed before the suburbs: it resisted for a moment, but soon retired under shelter of the houses: here, protected by the walls and narrow streets, it continued for some time longer to maintain the combat, but being charged with vigour, notwithstanding its advantageous situation, it was obliged to fall back upon the intrenchments, where the artillery and musquetry from the ramparts checked the pursuers: we rallied in the suburb, and after a few minutes, commenced at the same time a furious attack on the whole extent of these trenches, from right to left.

The infantry, under General Fugiere, performed prodigies of valour, while the cavalry repeatedly charged, exposed to the cross fire from the batteries and gunboats. Adjutant-General Le Turcq, at the head of his companies, endeavoured to force his way across the ditches, but was entangled in them and perished. The enemy, by sallying repeatedly in force, recovered the ground, which a handful of our soldiers, by their desperate intrepidity, had just taken possession of; the slaughter was mutual, and the event yet fluctuated in uncertainty.

There is in almost all battles a period when, after an equal struggle, both parties become sensible of the inefficacy of their

means and the inutility of their efforts, when the waste of strength and the sentiment of self-preservation inspire both sides with a wish to retreat; this is the critical moment, which the man of superior genius knows so well how to turn to his advantage, by bringing forward all his reserved strength and deciding the victory. The corps of reserve, under General Lasnes, received orders to charge.

At the moment when the Turkish troops had made a sortie, to cut off the heads of those who were left on the field of battle, the daring Murat, after encouragiug his soldiers, leads them on to a new charge; with equal velocity and intrepidity he forces his way through all the works of the enemy, turns their flank, and cuts off the retreat: this bold movement again animates the action, which soon becomes general; the enemy are attacked on all points, and at every point are forced: the works are carried, the route is complete; all who are not slain are made prisoners; the cavalry charge the fugitives even into the sea, where they had thrown themselves, in the vain hope of reaching their fleet by swimming. The whole force of the Turks was twenty thousand; six thousand were made prisoners, four thousand were left on the field, all the rest were drowned. Never was a battle more imperiously necessary, never was a victory more complete; thus did Bonaparte perform his promise to the gallant veterans whom he led back from Syria; thus triumphantly did he conclude his splendid career in Egypt. Inspired, no doubt, by his own good genius, or by that of France, he felt that the republic and all Europe demanded his return, to achievements equally brilliant with these, and still more extensively useful.

On his return to Cairo, Bonaparte examined my Journal most attentively; and, satisfied that the object of my mission had been accomplished, invited me to go to Alexandria, and carry thither the trophies of Aboukir. General Berthier, whose kindness I had experienced on all occasions, allowed me the company and assistance of my nephew on my return in the same handsome manner as Dufalga had resigned him to me when first entering upon the expedition: it was only a few days since I had quitted Thebes, and I seemed already within sight of Paris, my departure, which I had contemplated only obscurely, and at a distance, was fixed for the morrow; what at first I thought a dream, proved to be a reality, and I found myself borne rapidly along in the very track of my most anxious wishes: still, however, a feeling which I know not how to describe, made me regret my departure from Cairo, a town which I had inhabited only by short intervals, and

which I never had quitted without pain. I now found how naturally and imperceptibly an attachment steals on to the sweet and even enjoyment of a delicious temperature, which without the aid of other pleasures, inspires a continually active sensation of happy existence. This simple and daily renewed consciousness of delight, is the reason why it so frequently happens that Europeans, intending a stay of only a few months at Cairo, suffer themselves to grow old there, without being able to prevail upon themselves to depart.

In this surprising expedition it was my fate, both going and returning to be one of the van: in two days I embarked in a small armed vessel, that was waiting for us at Bulac. On the third day from our departure I found myself at Rahmanieh; we set out hence on the morrow, accompanied by a detachment of dromedaries and fifty men, for Demenhur, from which place, following the canal of Alexandria, after traversing the province of Garbieh, we arrived at Birkit, where we halted for the night. The next day we breakfasted at the well of Behder, and dined at Alexandria.

On my arrival here, the first things that struck my attention were two of our frigates ready for sea, lying at single anchor off the new port; not a single English cruizer was in sight, and I began to believe in prodigies. General Lasnes, Murat, and Marmont, were agitated with anxiety; we listened without saying a word; were unable to occupy our attention with any thing: were constantly crowding to the same window; scrutinizing the sea, and watching with suspicion the movements of the smallest boat: at length, at one in the morning, General Menou came to inform us, that Bonaparte was waiting for us on the beach. An hour after we had cleared the port, and at day-break, we got under weigh with a north-east wind, which continuing to blow from this quarter for two days, carried us out of the track of the English cruizers.

In order more certainly to avoid falling in with an enemy, we coasted along the arid shores of the ancient Cyrene, struggling against the current that set into the gulf, which remains even at present unexplored, on account of its dangerous navigation; nor was it without much difficulty in this season of light and variable breezes, that we were able to double the Capes of Derne and Doria: in this latitude we were again befriended by an easterly wind, that carried us across the gulf of Cidre; then doubling Cape Bon, we found ourselves at last opposite to the friendly ports of Europe. During the whole of this tedious coasting, we had not descried a single sail, and well convinced that we were under the guidance of no mean star, we indulged our joy in security. Bonaparte, as uncon-

cerned passenger, busied himself with geometry and chemistry, or unbent his mind by sharing in our mirth.

We passed before the gulf of Carthage, the harbour of Biserta, and came in sight of Lampedosa, inhabited by a man who breeds a few sheep and poultry.

On the next day we saw, at the distance of a league, the overhanging rock of la Pantalerie; soon after, we discovered the high mountains of Sardinia, and the road of Bonifacio, another station where we might have expected to meet an enemy; but here, as before, we saw nothing in the wide horizon to endanger our security; we carried with us Cæsar and his fortune. Corsica at length offered us the first sight of a friendly shore, and a brisk wind brought us to Ajaccio, where we sent in a boat to gain the latest intelligence concerning France, and to enquire whether there were any hostile squadrons on our coasts. While we were lying to for the boat, a sudden squall obliged us to come to anchor in the gulf, in the native country of Bonaparte. He was thought to have been lost, when chance thus brought him home: nothing could be more touching than the reception that he experienced; the batteries saluted on all sides, the whole population rushed to the boats and surrounded our frigates; the public enthusiasm had even triumphed over the fear of contagion, and the vessels were immediately boarded by crowds, crying out to Bonaparte: "It is we who have the plague, and must owe our deliverence to you." We had already heard of our first defeats in Italy, and now had to learn their fatal consequences: our stay here was employed in reading in the public papers the melancholy story of our disasters; all the fruit of our triumphant campaigns in Italy had been consumed in two battles: the Russians were upon our frontiers, and disorder, confusion and dismay were about to open for them a passage into the very heart of France.

The wind becoming favourable we again got under weigh, and on the second day after, towards evening, urged on by a fresh breeze, and already within sight of the French coast, as we were congratulating ourselves on our good fortune, we discovered two sail to windward, then five, and afterwards seven: we immediately took in our canvass, and the moon at the same time became covered with a thick fog. We could see nothing of the enemy's squadron, but heard in the wind their repeated signal guns, as they formed in a semicircle between us and the coast. It was now debated whether or not we should return to Corsica while the passage was still open to us: fortunately at this crisis Bonaparte assumed the command, and while, for the first time during the

voyage, he expressed his will, gave orders to commit himself to his fortune. We made for the coast of Provence, and at midnight were so near shore as to have no longer any apprehensions of the enemy. If, by following any other advice, we had gone to Corsica, we might have continued there to this very hour. At day-break we saw Frejus, and arrived safe in the same port, from which, eight centuries before, Saint Louis had embarked for his expedition to the same country, that we had just quitted.

Nothing could be more unexpected than our arrival in France, and the news of it spread with the rapidity of lightning. Scarcely had we displayed the flag of a commander in chief, when the shore was covered with people, who exclaimed, Bonaparte! in accents of most intense desire: the public enthusiasm became uncontrolable, all apprehensions of contagion were forgotten, and our two vessels were surrounded by boats filled with men, whose only fear was lest they should be deceived in their hopes of the arrival of Bonaparte. France herself poured forth her thousands before him, who was destined to restore her splendour, and already from her frontiers demanded of him the revenge of Marengo. Our hero was borne in triumph to Frejus, and in an hour after had set out for Paris.

Delighted to become again my own master, I stole from the multitude, and for the first time since my leaving France for Egypt, enjoyed the sweet satisfaction of being no longer crowded nor hurried. Formerly I should have thought myself a traveller and stranger at Frejus, but coming from Africa, I now seemed at home again, and one of the citizens of this little town, with nothing more to do. I arose late, I breakfasted at my full ease, I went to take a walk, visited the amphitheatre and the other ruins, looking with complacence at the frigates which had brought us, now lying at moorings in the harbour. Here terminates my journal.

END OF DENON'S JOURNAL.

END OF VOL. I.

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